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S.L.Nikolayev, S.A.Starostin

**A North Caucasian
Etymological
Dictionary**



S.L.Nikolayev, S.A.Starostin

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Этим. словарь С/Кавказа

A North Caucasian Etymological Dictionary

-56768-

Edited by S.A.Starostin

Обязательный
экземпляр



ГБУ "Национальная библиотека
Чеченской Республики
им. А. Айдамирова"

* Asterisk Publishers

Moscow 1994

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A North Caucasian Etymological Dictionary
by S.L.Nikolayev, S.A.Starostin

Edited by S.A.Starostin

Editor's Foreword

Preface

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Introduction

A Description of the Comparative phonology of the North Caucasian languages

Dictionary

Index of Roots

This volume includes a North Caucasian Database
with the special version of STARLING™ by S.A.Starostin

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* Asterisk Publishers
Moscow 1994

ISBN 5-861-70005-2

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This dictionary has a long history. The idea of composing it was already ripe in 1979, and the basic cardfiles were composed in 1980-1983, during long winter months of our collaboration with S. L. Nikolayev in the village of Dubrovki, some 300 miles away from Moscow. Nikolayev, being unable to get a job in Moscow, was teaching in the village school at that time, and I was visiting him from time to time, spending several weeks far from civilization.

The first version was handwritten and was ready around 1982. The second version was typed on a Cyrillic typing machine by S. Nikolayev in Dubrovki in 1983, a year before he came back to Moscow from his Dubrovki "exile". After that - until 1988 - the dictionary continued its life as original cardfiles plus handwritten manuscript plus typewritten manuscript. There was absolutely no prospect of publishing the dictionary, because some chief figures in Soviet caucasology were violently against our North Caucasian reconstruction, and there was no way of avoiding them while publishing the book. Consequently, I turned basically to Chinese and Altaic studies, and S. Nikolayev to Slavic. But I managed, together with and due to the reputation of Prof. I. M. Diakonoff, to publish a book in München, called "Hurro-Urartian as an Eastern Caucasian Language". This was in 1986, and the book did not go unnoticed by reviewers.

In 1987 things started happening. George Soros succeeded in opening a division of his foundation in Moscow. This was the first non-government institution we had ever seen. Then an American armenologist, Prof. John Greppin, came to Moscow from Cleveland, Ohio, looked at our data and wrote a recommendation letter to the Soros Foundation. I received a grant - just enough for buying a personal computer to make a camera-ready copy of the dictionary. In November 1988 a group of scholars, including S. Nikolayev and me, flew off to the USA to participate in the first Ann Arbor conference on historical linguistics (this was the first time most of us were abroad), where I bought the PC. I am glad to use this occasion to express my gratitude to Prof. Greppin and to the Soros Foundation for their assistance.

Since 1988 I was busy developing the database format for the dictionary (I will not go into computer details here, but I am rather proud that the computer program that I had designed primarily for the North Caucasian etymological dictionary is now widely used for all kinds of lexicographic purposes), writing the introduction with phonetic comparative tables, translating everything into English and typing it into the computer. Meanwhile the reconstruction and transcription system was slightly changed, some etymologies modified, some abandoned and some added. All changes were discussed with S. L. Nikolayev and approved by him, but all the work of the past five years was done exclusively by me, and I bear all responsibility for the final text of the dictionary. Now, in December 1993, the work seems to be completed. There is still very much to be done, both in comparative phonology and in etymology of North Caucasian, and I am quite sure that "Addenda et corrigenda" will follow, but I certainly feel that the publication of what we know so far is necessary.

The dictionary in its present state embraces roots common to East Caucasian and West Caucasian languages, as well as the roots shared by at least two subgroups of East Caucasian languages. I did not include roots attested within a single branch of East Caucasian (e.g., in Lezghian languages) or West Caucasian roots having no obvious parallel in East Caucasian. Sometimes, however, reference to such roots can be found in the body of the dictionary; I hope to publish all available roots of this kind later, in a separate edition.

The dictionary contains some information concerning grammatical reconstruction, but it is not a comparative grammar, so most inflectional morphemes were not included. However, pronouns and numerals are abundantly represented.

It is important to say that external data - all evidence in favour of the so called Sino-Caucasian or Dene-Caucasian hypothesis - is left out of the book. All reconstructions were made purely on the basis of the internal Caucasian evidence. It is clear that the final proof of the Sino-Caucasian hypothesis depends substantially on the North Caucasian evidence presented in this dictionary, but it should be a subject of a special study.

I would like to thank numerous friends and colleagues without whom this work would never have been done: Vyach. Vs. Ivanov, I. M. Diakonoff, A. B. Dolgopolski, V. A. Dybo, V. V. Shevoroshkin, A. Y. Militarev, I. Catford, S. V. Kodzasov, M. Ruhlen, V. Chirikba, V. Ardzinba. My special thanks are due to Ramazan Radzhibov - a speaker of Tsezi and the provider of most Khvarshi data in the dictionary; to M. Y. Alekseyev and Y. G. Testeletskii who took pains to read the whole manuscript and helped with many important corrections and suggestions; to O. A. Mudrak who helped designing fonts for the laser printer; to my son, George Starostin, who translated the lengthy "Introduction" into English; to American friends, Douglas Smith and Laura Little, who had read through the manuscript and corrected style; and finally to Prof. Greppin and the Soros Foundation, without whose assistance the work would have never been published.

S. A. Starostin

P R E F A C E

The present work is not the first comparative dictionary of North Caucasian languages (for East Caucasian cf. Leksika 1971, Khaidakov 1973; for part of West Caucasian see Kuipers 1975), but certainly the first etymological dictionary with systematic reconstructions. See the "Introduction" below for the outline of North Caucasian classification and comparative phonology.

The dictionary is an outprint from a computer database on North Caucasian languages, which actually is a system of interrelated database files on every subgroup of North Caucasian languages. This determines the structure of an average etymological entry which is the following:

1) Proto-North-Caucasian reconstruction. If there are no Western Caucasian reflexes, we give only the Proto-East-Caucasian reconstruction (it should be noted, that, in general, Proto-East-Caucasian and Proto-North-Caucasian differ only in a few minor details, see below);

2) The reconstructed meaning (the semantic reconstruction is of course quite tentative; we do not pretend that meanings can be exactly reconstructed in most cases).

3) Reflexes in daughter protolanguages, as well as in isolated Lak and Khinalug languages. If a root is attested only in one language of some subgroup (e.g., in Tindi, but in none of the other Andian languages), we still give a tentative reconstruction for that subgroup. It must be stressed that, for convenience, we grouped Avar together with Andian languages, although we do not present any Avaro-Andian reconstruction (only Proto-Andian). It should be kept in mind that the Avar forms do not go back directly to the Proto-Andian reconstructions. Therefore the tentative "Proto-Andian" forms, given in cases when the Avar form alone is attested, are doubly tentative (because no Andian forms are attested at all). Still we list them for uniformity's sake.

4) Within each subgroup we list reflexes in basic languages and dialects (see below). The reflexes are preceded by a list of enumerated meanings, and the respective numbers are repeated after particular reflexes (to avoid repetition).

The list of reflexes is followed by comments that include all additional information: semantic nuances, forms from other dialects, references and discussion. It is important to note that some existing intermediate reconstructions are also systematically given within the commentary: this concerns Proto-Gunzib-Bezhta, Proto-Tsezi-Khvarshi, Proto-Abkhaz-Tapant and Proto-Adyghe-Kabardian.

5) Every etymological entry is concluded by a general comment (with the same kind of information, but concerning the entry as a whole).

The corpus of the dictionary is followed by indices for every language - which, we are happy to say, were made with the help of a computer.

For Caucasian languages it is highly important to use the most reliable sources available, because in many early sources (such as all records of Dirr), as well as in some later ones (such as Khaidakov 1973 or Leksika 1971), phonetic transcription is

highly inaccurate and may be misleading. Throughout the dictionary we apply the following method of citation: for every language a single dialect and a single source is chosen as a standard. If relevant data from other dialects and/or sources are available, we give the reference explicitly (as an abbreviation). Below we list NC languages with a brief description of sources. Basic dialects are given in bold type.

1. Abkhaz

Abzhui dialect: The basic source, against which everything was tested, is now Shakryl-Kondzharia 1986-1987. Earlier the basic source was Bgazhba 1964a; Dzhanaushia 1954 was also frequently used, less often - Uslar 1887.

Bzyb dialect: The basic source is Bgazhba 1964b; Marr 1926 was also used (although the quality of records is poorer here). In 1980 one of the authors (S. A. Starostin) made his own recordings of the Bzyb dialect. Unfortunately, it was a Bzyb sub-dialect that lost hissing-hushing sibilants (the special archaic feature of Bzyb), which is why we seldom use these field records in the present dictionary.

2. Abaza

Tapant dialect. The basic source is Tugov 1967. Also used was Gonov 1956, as well as field recordings made by one of the authors (S. A. Starostin) in 1981. The data of the Ashkhar dialect are not described systematically and were utilized only occasionally.

3. Ubykh.

The basic source is Vogt 1963.

4. Adyghe.

Temirgoi dialect (literary Adyghe). The basic source is Vodozhdokov 1960. Less frequently we also used Kerasheva-Khatanov 1960.

A regular source for Bzhedug data is Kuipers 1975. Kuipers' dictionary also contains some Shapsug data, although there does not exist a systematic recording of Shapsug. The Abadzekh dialect (rather close to Temirgoi) is also not described systematically.

5. Kabardian (Circassian)

Dialect of the **Great Kabarda** (literary Kabardian): the basic source was Kardanov 1957 (as well as Bichoyev-Kardanov 1955). A source which was also utilised is Nogma 1956 (actually recorded in 1844 by A.M. Schögren, after Sh. Nogma's death).

Other Kabardian dialects (Mozdok, Beslene, Kuban) are not described systematically, but according to existing records they are quite close to literary Kabardian.

6. Batsbi

The basic source, against which all data were tested, is Kadagidze 1984. Other important sources are: Matsiyev 1932, Desheriyev 1953, Imnayshvili 1977, Schiefner 1856.

7. Chechen

Level-land dialect (literary Chechen): the basic source is Matsiyev 1961. Also useful in some cases is Karasayev-Matsiyev 1978; very valuable information is contained in Uslar 1888.

Data on all other Chechen dialects (Akka, Cheberlo, Melkhi, Itumkala, Galanchozh, Kista, Sharo, Khildikharo) were taken from Imnayshvili 1977.

8. Ingush

The primary source for Ingush is Dzhamalkhanov-Matsiyev-Ozdoyev 1962. Two other valuable sources are Matsiyev-Ozdoyev 1966 and Ozdoyev 1980.

9. Andi

Upper Andi (Andi proper). The basic source is now the vocabulary contained in Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990. We used also the data from Tsertsvadze 1965 (although there is no vocabulary there and one has to pick out Andi data from the text *passim*), as well as (with caution!) Dirr 1903. Extensive data on Andi, as well as on other Andian languages, are contained in Gudava 1964.

Data on other Andi dialects (Munib, Kvankhidat) are occasionally found in Gudava 1964 and Tsertsvadze 1965, but are not described systematically.

10. Botlikh

The vocabulary of Botlikh proper is taken from Gudava 1962. The Miansu dialect is not described systematically (occasional forms are taken from *ibid.* and Gudava 1964).

11. Godoberi

The vocabulary of **Godoberi** proper is taken from Saidova 1973. The Ziberkhala dialect is not described systematically (occasional forms are cited from Gudava 1964).

12. Karata

The basic source for **Karata** proper is Magomedbekova 1971. Occasional data from the Tokita dialect are cited from Gudava 1964.

13. Akhvakh

Northern Akhvakh: the primary source is Magomedbekova 1967. We also used the Akhvakh nominal recordings contained in Kibrik-Kodzasov 1990.

Vocabulary of other dialects of Akhvakh (Ratlub, Southern Akhvakh with the sub-dialects Tlanub and Tsegob) is rather systematically collected in Magomedbekova 1967; also valuable is, of course, Gudava 1964.

14. Bagvalal

Gemerso dialect: the basic source is Gudava 1971, as well as Gudava 1964. Both books contain some forms of other dialects: Kvanada, Tlondoda-Khushtada, Tlissi-Tlibisho.

15. Tindi

Tindi proper: the primary source is Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990 (we should perhaps mention that the data contained there were collected by the authors themselves during the MSU expedition of 1975).

The MSU expedition also collected some vocabulary of the Aknada dialect; some very sparse data on the Angida dialect are contained in Gudava 1964. However, there are no systematic recordings, and we rarely utilize this information in the dictionary.

16. Chamalal

Lower Gakvari dialect: the primary source is Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990, complemented by Bokarev 1949. The MSU expeditions also collected some vocabulary of the Upper Gakvari dialect (although it is still unpublished), as well as vocabulary of the more archaic Gigatl dialect. Some dialectal data (from Upper Gakvari, Gadyri, Gigatl) are also contained in Bokarev 1949 and Gudava 1964.

17. Avar

Khunzakh dialect (literary Avar): the basic source is Saidov 1967. Also used were Zhirkov 1936, Mikailov-Saidov 1951, Uslar 1889 (the latter source actually describes the Salatav subdialect of Khunzakh).

Of the numerous Southern Avar dialects only the Antsukh dialect was described more or less systematically. We cite its forms (from the Chadakolob subdialect) from Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990. All other Southern Avar dialectal forms (for the

Karakh, Andalal, Gid, Keleb, Untib, Shulani dialects) are taken from Mikailov 1959.

18. Tsezi

Kidero dialect: most Tsezi sources are recorded in Kidero. We do not note the source explicitly if the Tsezi form was taken from Bokarev 1959 or Imnayshvili 1963 (virtually identical idiolects were recorded); the mark Kid. is reserved for the forms cited from Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990, slightly differing from earlier records.

Forms from other dialects (Shaitl, Asakh, Shapikh, Sagada) are taken mainly from Imnayshvili 1963.

19. Ginukh

The main source is Lomtadze 1963; much information is also contained in Bokarev 1959.

20. Khvarshi

Khvarshi proper: until recently the basic source was Sharafuddinova-Levina 1961, as well as some scarce data in Bokarev 1959. However, due to Ramazan Nadzhipov, all forms were checked and many new forms collected in Khvarshi in summer 1992.

Other dialects (Inkhokvari, Kvantlada, Santlada) actually belong to Inkhokvari, which we regard as a distinct language, not a dialect of Khvarshi.

21. Inkhokvari

Inkhokvari proper: the main source is Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990 (just like the Tindi data, the nominal part of Inkhokvari records was taken down by the authors during the 1975 MSU expedition).

Occasional data from other dialects (Kvantlada, Santlada) are cited from Bokarev 1959.

22. Bezhta

Bezhta proper: the basic source is Madiyeva 1965; Bokarev 1959 was also used.

For the Khoshar-Khota and Tladal dialects the principal source is Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990.

23. Gunzib

Gunzib proper: the basic source is Bokarev 1961a. Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990 also contain records of the Gunzib dialect: forms taken from this source are marked

Gunz. (forms from Bokarev 1961a are left unmarked).

Occasionally we also cite unpublished expedition materials on the Nakhada dialect of Gunzib (very close to Gunzib proper).

24. Lak

Kumukh dialect (literary language): the main source is Khaidakov 1962. This dictionary is quite extensive and the forms are well recorded (except, unfortunately, labialisation which is poorly noted in most sources), so we used other sources on Kumukh (Murkelinski 1953, Uslar 1890) only occasionally.

We frequently use the MSU data (Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990) on the Khosrekhdialect (more or less regularly preserving labialisation). Forms from all other Lak dialects (Bartkhi, Vitskhi et al.) are taken from Khaidakov 1966.

25. Dargwa

Akushi dialect: all forms cited from Abdullayev 1950.

Systematically recorded are also data of the Urakhi dialect (called Khürkili by Uslar 1892), as well as data of the Chirag dialect (a subdialect of Amukh, recorded in Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990). We should note that in some of the entries the Urakhi data are sometimes adduced, when the Akushi data are not available. A notation like "Ak. ab²a (Ur.)" is equivalent to "Ur. ab²a". We were unfortunately not able to include the latest MSU recordings of the Megeb dialect.

Forms of all other dialects are basically cited from Musayev 1978.

26. Lezghi

Northern dialect (literary Lezghi). The main source is Talibov-Gadzhiev 1966 (with occasional additions from Gadzhiev 1951 and, very rarely, from Uslar 1876). Literary Lezghi is actually a mixture of all Northern dialects (Güne, Yarki and Kurakh); forms from these dialects, when attested, are taken from Meilanova 1964 and Gaidarov 1963.

Forms from the Khliut subdialect of the Akhty dialect are cited from Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990; other Akhty forms, as well as "forms from other Southern dialects (Samur, Kuba) are taken from Meilanova 1964 and Gaidarov 1963.

27. Tabasaran

Southern dialect (literary Tabasaran). The most extensive source is Khanmagomedov 1957. We also use Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990, containing records of the Kandik subdialect of Southern Tabasaran (one of the authors, S. Starostin, took part in collecting them in 1974).

For the Northern dialect we possess systematic MSU recordings of the Dübek subdialect (Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990) and of the Khanag subdialect (Uslar 1979 - a manuscript published more than a hundred years after it was written). Data of other subdialects can be occasionally found in Magometov 1965.

28. Agul

Keren dialect (Richa subdialect): the basic source is Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990. The same source also contains systematically recorded data of the Koshan dialect (Burshag subdialect), as well as nominal recordings of the Gekkhun (Burkikhan) and Fite dialects. Verbal recordings, as well as recordings of Agul proper (Tpig subdialect) were also done by the MSU expeditions, but for some reason were left unpublished.

Other sources for Agul, that we have used less extensively, are: Dirr 1907 (rather poor quality of records), Shaumyan 1941 and Magometov 1970. We also used field records of the Kurag dialect that were kindly supplied by M. Y. Alekseyev.

29. Rutul

Mukhad dialect (Luchek subdialect): the basic source is Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990. We should note that one of the authors (S. Starostin) took part in collecting Luchek vocabulary during the expedition of 1974.

Data of the Mishlesh subdialect were kindly presented to us by M. Y. Alekseyev. The MSU expeditions collected also forms from other dialects (Shinaz, Ikhrek, Khnov) which we use in this dictionary although they are still unpublished. However, most data from dialects other than Luchek are taken from Ibragimov 1978 (it is worth noting that the latter source contains also some valuable Tsakhur recordings).

30. Tsakhur

Mikik dialect: the basic source is Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990. For some reason Mikik verbs were left unpublished in this edition, although they were collected by the MSU expedition of 1974; we cite them from our cardfiles.

Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990 present also a systematic description of the vocabulary of Tsakhur proper, as well as nouns from the Gelmets dialect.

The only other existing source of Tsakhur vocabulary is the highly unreliable work by Dirr (Dirr 1913), which we preferred not to utilize.

31. Kryz

Kryz proper: data taken from Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990 (the authors have themselves collected Kryz lexical data during the MSU expedition of 1977).

Occasionally cited are materials from the Alik dialect, collected by the same expedition, but not yet published. Other dialects (Dzhék and Khaputli) were not recorded systematically.

32. Budukh

All data contained in the dictionary were taken from Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990 and checked with Meilanova 1984.

33. Archi

At present the most authoritative and extensive source is Kibrik-Samedov 1977. A few words (for some reason left out of Kibrik-Samedov 1977) were taken from Mikailov 1967 and from Dirr 1908 (a highly unreliable source).

34. Udi

Nidzh dialect: the basic source is Gukasyan 1974. All data were checked with Dzheiranishvili 1971 and Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990 (we avoided using the highly unreliable recordings of Dirr 1904).

All forms from the Vartashen dialect are also cited from Gukasyan 1974.

35. Khinalug

At present the principal source is Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990 (containing more data and more accurately recorded than Kibrik-Kodzasov-Olovyannikova 1972).

All Hurro-Urartian data contained in the dictionary duplicate the materials in Diakonoff-Starostin 1986 (with some minor corrections).

Throughout the text of the dictionary we use names of researchers while citing forms from some non-basic sources. Following conventions are being observed:

(Bokarev) stands for Bokarev 1959 (for all Tsezian languages)

(Bokarev) stands for Bokarev 1949 (for Chamalal)

(Gudava) stands for Gudava 1964 (for all Andian languages)

(Desheriyeu) stands for Desheriyeu 1953 (for Batsbi)

(Ibragimov) stands for Ibragimov 1978 (for Rutul and Tsakhur)

(Imnayshvili) stands for Imnayshvili 1963 (for Tsezi)

or for Imnayshvili 1977 (for all Nakh languages)

(Isakov) stands for Isakov-Khalilov 1986 (for Tsezian)

(Khaidakov) stands for Khaidakov 1973 (for all EC languages)

(Leksika) stands for Leksika 1971 (for all EC languages)

(Lomtadze) stands for Lomtadze 1963 (for Ginukh)

(Madiyeva) stands for Madiyeva 1965 (for Bezhta)

(Magometov) stands for Magometov 1965 (for Tabasaran)

or for Magometov 1970 (for Agul)

(Marr) stands for Marr 1926 (for Abkhaz)

(Matsiyev) stands for Matsiyev 1932 (for Batsbi)

(Radzhibov) stands for Ramazan Radzhibov's records (for Tsezi and Khvarshi)

(Shaumyan) stands for Shaumyan 1941 (for Agul)

(Schiefner) stands for Schiefner 1856 (for Batsbi)

(Tsertsvadze) stands for Tsertsvadze 1965 (for Andi)

(Uslar) stands for Uslar 1876 (for Lezghi);
for Uslar 1887 (for Abkhaz);
for Uslar 1888 (for Chechen);
for Uslar 1889 (for Avar);
for Uslar 1892 (for Dargwa);
for Uslar 1979 (for Tabasaran).

Throughout the text of the dictionary we use a unified phonetic transcription, developed specially for Caucasian languages. It is basically the same transcription as in Kibrik, Kodzasov 1988, 1990, but with an important distinction: glottalized consonants are marked with a *.*, not with an apostrophe (monosymbolic writing places groups glottalization together with basic laryngeal features, such as voice or voicelessness, and distinguishes it from complementary features, like tenseness or palatalization). What is listed below simultaneously represents the alphabetical order accepted in the dictionary.

NB: Computer data handling has its drawbacks. Within the whole text of the dictionary the end of the word is treated as a special symbol, being the last in the alphabet (thus, e.g., *qa* comes after *qat*, not before). When this flaw was discovered, it was already too late to reorder all the entries in the dictionary and in the indices. The reader should keep in mind this peculiarity.

? - glottalized laryngeal (glottal) stop

?^w - same, labialized

ʕ - voiced emphatic laryngeal fricative

ʕ^w - same, labialized (in Abkhaz - also palatalized)

ʔ - glottalized emphatic laryngeal stop

ʔ^w - same, labialized

a - back low unrounded vowel (short or irrelevant as to the length distinction)

ā - same, but short

ā - same, but long

ā - front low unrounded vowel (short or irrelevant as to the length distinction)

ā̄ - same, but short

ā̄ - same, but long

A - some back unrounded vowel (symbol used in reconstructions)

Ā - some back short unrounded vowel (symbol used in reconstructions)

Ā - some back long unrounded vowel (symbol used in reconstructions)

b - voiced labial stop

b̄ - same, palatalized

b^w - same, labialized

b^w - same, labialized and palatalized

b̄ - tense voiced labial stop

c - voiceless (aspirated) hissing affricate

c^w - voiceless (aspirated) labialized hissing affricate

č - voiceless (aspirated) hissing-hushing (= palatalized) affricate

č^w - voiceless (aspirated) palatalized labialized hissing affricate

č̄ - voiceless (aspirated) dentolabialized hissing-hushing affricate

c̄ - tense (unaspirated, but in Avaro-Andian languages - aspirated) hissing affricate

c^w - tense (unaspirated, but in Avaro-Andian languages - aspirated)

labialized hissing affricate
 ċ - tense (unaspirated) hissing-hushing (= palatalized) affricate
 ċ^w - tense (unaspirated) palatalized labialized hissing affricate
 C - some consonant (symbol used in reconstructions)
 ç - lax glottalized hissing affricate
 ç^w - lax glottalized labialized hissing affricate
 ċ̣ - lax glottalized hissing-spirated) palatalized labialized hissing affricate
 C - some consonant (symbol used in reconstructions)
 ç - lax glottalized hissing affricate
 ç^w - lax glottalized labialized hissing affricate
 ċ̣ - lax glottalized hissing-hushing (= palatalized) affricate
 ç^w - lax glottalized palatalized labialized hissing affricate
 ç̣^v - lax glottalized dentolabialized hissing-hushing affricate
 ç̣ - tense glottalized hissing affricate
 ç̣^w - tense glottalized labialized hissing affricate
 ċ̣ - voiceless (aspirated) hushing affricate
 ċ̣^w - voiceless (aspirated) labialized hushing affricate
 ċ̣ - voiceless (aspirated) palatalized hushing affricate
 ċ̣^w - voiceless (aspirated) palatalized labialized hushing affricate
 ċ̣^v - voiceless (aspirated) dentolabialized hushing affricate
 ċ̣ - tense (unaspirated) hushing affricate
 ċ̣^w - tense (unaspirated) labialized hushing affricate
 ċ̣ - tense (unaspirated) palatalized hushing affricate
 ċ̣^w - tense (unaspirated) palatalized labialized hushing affricate
 ċ̣^v - tense (unaspirated) dentolabialized hushing affricate
 ç̣ - lax glottalized hushing affricate
 ç̣^w - lax glottalized labialized hushing affricate
 ç̣ - lax glottalized palatalized hushing affricate
 ç̣^w - lax glottalized palatalized labialized hushing affricate
 ç̣^v - lax glottalized dentolabialized hushing affricate
 ç̣ - tense glottalized hushing affricate
 ç̣^w - tense glottalized labialized hushing affricate
 d - voiced dental stop
 ḍ - same, palatalized
 ḍ^w - same, labialized
 ḍ^w - same, palatalized and labialized
 ḍ - tense voiced dental stop
 δ - voiced interdental fricative
 e - front mid-low unrounded vowel (short or irrelevant as to the length distinction)
 ē - same, but short
 ē - same, but long
 E - some front unrounded vowel (symbol used in reconstructions)
 Ē - some front short unrounded vowel (symbol used in reconstructions)
 E - some front long unrounded vowel (symbol used in reconstructions)
 ə - mid mid-low unrounded vowel (short or irrelevant as to the length distinction)
 ǝ - same, but short

ǝ - same, but long
 f - voiceless labial fricative
 f̣ - tense (voiceless) labial fricative
 g - voiced velar stop
 ḡ - same, palatalized
 ḡ^w - same, labialized
 ḡ^w - same, palatalized and labialized
 g̣ - tense voiced velar stop (affricate)
 G - voiced uvular stop (affricate)
 Ḡ - same, palatalized
 Ḡ^w - same, labialized
 Ḡ^w - same, palatalized and labialized
 G̣ - tense voiced velar stop (affricate)
 γ - voiced velar fricative
 ḡ̣ - same, palatalized
 γ^w - same, labialized
 ḡ̣^w - same, palatalized and labialized
 h - voiceless laryngeal fricative
 ḥ^w - same, labialized
 H - some laryngeal (symbol used in reconstructions)
 ḥ - voiceless emphatic laryngeal fricative
 ḥ^w - same, labialized
 ḥ̣ - voiced laryngeal fricative
 ḥ̣^w - same, labialized
 i - front high unrounded vowel (short or irrelevant as to the length distinction)
 ī - same, but short
 I - same, but long
 ĭ - palatal glide
 I - after any vowel or consonant signifies pharyngealization
 ī - mid high unrounded vowel (short or irrelevant as to the length distinction)
 ị̆ - same, but short
 ị̄ - same, but long
 j - palatal resonant
 k - voiceless (aspirated) velar stop
 ḳ - same, palatalized [in Tindi: palatal]
 ḳ^w - same, labialized
 ḳ^w - same, palatalized and labialized
 ḳ - tense (unaspirated) velar stop [but in Avaro-Andian languages except Tindi - tense velar affricate]
 ḳ̣ - same, palatalized [in Tindi - palatal]
 ḳ̣^w - same, labialized
 ḳ̣^w - same, palatalized and labialized
 ḳ̣ - glottalized velar stop
 ḳ̣̣ - same, palatalized [in Tindi - palatal]
 ḳ̣^w - same, labialized
 ḳ̣^w - same, palatalized and labialized
 kx - glottalized velar affricate (symbol used only in some intermediate reconstructions)

k: - tense glottalized velar affricate
 k:ʷ - same, labialized
 K - some back (velar or uvular) consonant (symbol used in reconstructions)
 l - lateral resonant
 l̥ - same, palatalized
 ɭ - lateral resonant or glide (symbol used only in reconstructions)
 ʎ - voiceless (aspirated) lateral affricate
 ʎ - same, palatalized
 ʎʷ - same, labialized
 ʎʷ - same, palatalized and labialized
 ʎ: - tense (unaspirated) lateral affricate
 ʎ: - same, palatalized
 ʎ:ʷ - same, labialized
 ʎ:ʷ - same, palatalized and labialized
 ʎ - lax glottalized lateral affricate
 ʎ - same, palatalized
 ʎʷ - same, labialized
 ʎʷ - same, palatalized and labialized
 ʎ: - tense lateral affricate
 ʎ - same, palatalized
 ʎʷ - same, labialized
 ʎʷ - same, palatalized and labialized
 ɮ - voiced lateral affricate
 ɮ - same, palatalized
 ɮʷ - same, labialized
 ɮʷ - same, palatalized and labialized
 λ - voiceless lateral fricative
 λ - same, palatalized
 λʷ - same, labialized
 λʷ - same, palatalized and labialized
 λ: - tense lateral fricative
 λ: - same, palatalized
 λ:ʷ - same, labialized
 λ:ʷ - same, palatalized and labialized
 ʟ - voiced lateral fricative
 ʟ - same, palatalized
 ʟʷ - same, labialized
 ʟʷ - same, palatalized and labialized
 m - labial nasal resonant
 m̥ - same, palatalized
 n - dental nasal resonant
 n̥ - same, palatalized
 ŋ - velar nasal resonant
 N - some nasal resonant (symbol used in reconstructions)
 o - back mid-low rounded vowel (short or irrelevant as to the length distinction)
 ɔ - same, but short

ɔ̃ - same, but long
 O - some back rounded vowel (symbol used in reconstructions)
 ɒ - some back short rounded vowel (symbol used in reconstructions)
 ɔ̃ - some back long rounded vowel (symbol used in reconstructions)
 ɔ̃ - front mid-low rounded vowel (short or irrelevant as to the length distinction)
 ɔ̃ - same, but short
 ɔ̃ - same, but long
 p - voiceless (aspirated) labial stop
 p̥ - same, palatalized
 pʷ - same, labialized
 pʷ - same, palatalized and labialized
 p: - tense (unaspirated) labial stop
 p: - same, palatalized
 p:ʷ - same, labialized
 p:ʷ - same, palatalized and labialized
 p̥ - glottalized labial stop
 p̥ - same, palatalized
 p̥ʷ - same, labialized
 p̥ʷ - same, palatalized and labialized
 P - some labial consonant (symbol used in reconstructions)
 q - voiceless (aspirated) uvular affricate
 q̥ - same, palatalized
 qʷ - same, labialized
 qʷ - same, palatalized and labialized
 q: - tense (unaspirated) uvular stop [but in Avaro-Andian - tense uvular affricate; in some Lezghian languages (Rutul, Shakhdaghi) it is functionally not tense, but voiced, because they lack other tense consonants - but actually pronounced as voiceless tense unaspirated]
 q̥ - same, palatalized
 q̥ʷ - same, labialized
 q̥ʷ - same, labialized and palatalized
 q - lax glottalized uvular affricate
 q̥ - same, palatalized
 q̥ʷ - same, labialized
 q̥ʷ - same, palatalized and labialized
 r - dental vibrant
 r̥ - same, palatalized
 rʷ - same, labialized
 ʀ - voiced uvular fricative
 ʀ̥ - same, palatalized
 ʀʷ - same, labialized
 ʀʷ - same, labialized and palatalized
 R - some resonant (symbol used in reconstructions; in Proto-Tsezi-Khvarshi it denotes: "either *r or *l")
 ʀ - voiced pharyngeal fricative
 s - voiceless hissing fricative

s^w - voiceless labialized hissing fricative
 š - voiceless hissing-hushing (= palatalized) fricative
 š^w - voiceless palatalized labialized hissing fricative
 š^v - voiceless dentolabialized hissing-hushing fricative
 s: - tense hissing fricative
 s:^w - tense labialized hissing fricative
 š: - tense hissing-hushing (= palatalized) fricative
 š:^w - tense palatalized labialized hissing affricate
 ʃ - glottalized hissing fricative
 ʃ - glottalized hissing-hushing fricative
 ʃ^w - glottalized hissing labialized fricative
 ʃ^v - glottalized dentolabialized hissing-hushing fricative
 ʂ - voiceless hushing fricative
 ʂ^w - voiceless labialized hushing fricative
 ʂ - voiceless palatalized hushing fricative
 ʂ^w - voiceless palatalized labialized hushing fricative
 ʂ^v - voiceless dentolabialized hushing fricative
 ʃ: - tense hushing fricative
 ʃ:^w - tense labialized hushing fricative
 ʃ: - tense palatalized hushing fricative
 ʃ:^w - tense palatalized labialized hushing fricative
 ʃ:^v - tense dentolabialized hushing fricative
 t - voiceless (aspirated) dental stop
 t̥ - same, palatalized
 t^w - same, labialized
 t̥^w - same, labialized and palatalized
 t: - tense (unaspirated) dental stop
 t̥: - same, palatalized
 t:^w - same, labialized
 t̥:^w - same, labialized and palatalized
 t̪ - glottalized dental stop
 t̪ - same, palatalized
 t̪^w - same, labialized
 t̪^w - same, palatalized and labialized
 θ - voiceless interdental fricative
 T - some dental consonant (symbol used in reconstructions)
 u - back high rounded vowel (short or irrelevant as to the length distinction)
 ŭ - same, but short
 ū - same, but long
 ʊ - front high rounded vowel (short or irrelevant as to the length distinction)
 ŭ - same, but short
 ū - same, but long
 ɸ - labial glide
 v - voiced labial fricative
 V - some vowel (symbol used in reconstructions)
 ʋ - some short vowel (symbol used in reconstructions)

ʋ - some long vowel (symbol used in reconstructions)
 w - labial resonant
 x - voiceless velar fricative
 x̥ - same, palatalized
 x^w - same, labialized
 x̥^w - same, labialized and palatalized
 x: - tense velar fricative
 x̥: - same, palatalized
 x:^w - same, labialized
 x̥:^w - same, palatalized and labialized
 χ - voiceless uvular fricative
 χ̥ - same, palatalized
 χ^w - same, labialized
 χ̥^w - same, labialized and palatalized
 χ: - tense uvular fricative
 χ̥: - same, palatalized
 χ:^w - same, labialized
 χ̥:^w - same, palatalized and labialized
 ʁ - voiceless pharyngeal fricative
 z - voiced hissing fricative
 z^w - voiced labialized hissing fricative
 ž - voiced hissing-hushing (= palatalized) fricative
 ž^w - voiced palatalized labialized hissing fricative
 ž^v - voiced dentolabialized hissing-hushing fricative
 ʒ - voiced hushing fricative
 ʒ^w - voiced labialized hushing fricative
 ʒ̥ - voiced palatalized hushing fricative
 ʒ̥^w - voiced palatalized labialized hushing fricative
 ʒ^v - voiced dentolabialized hushing fricative
 ʒ - voiced hissing affricate
 ʒ^w - voiced labialized hissing affricate
 ʒ̥ - voiced hissing-hushing (= palatalized) affricate
 ʒ̥^w - voiced palatalized labialized hissing affricate
 ʒ̥^v - voiced dentolabialized hissing-hushing affricate
 ʒ̥ - voiced hushing affricate
 ʒ̥^w - voiced labialized hushing affricate
 ʒ̥̥ - voiced palatalized hushing affricate
 ʒ̥̥^w - voiced palatalized labialized hushing affricate
 ʒ̥̥^v - voiced dentolabialized hushing affricate

In the dictionary we usually left superfluous features unmarked. E.g., in all East Caucasian languages hushing affricates are phonetically palatalized; since they are not opposed to non-palatalized affricates, we did not mark their palatalization. On the other hand, in West Caucasian languages the opposition in palatalization between affricates is usual, and one has to mark it carefully.

This principle is violated only once: in all East Caucasian languages we regularly mark tense affricates with a colon, even if they are not opposed to lax ones (this concerns, e.g., the affricate q: in most Andian languages). We do it in order to conserve a uniform transcription (otherwise we would have to write, e.g., Tind. miq: 'road' - although it is pronounced exactly like Akhv. miq:i and goes back to *miq:i).

Some additional phonemic features are not reflected in the list of phonemes presented above:

1) nasalization of vowels (marked with ~);

2) pharyngealization of vowels and consonants (marked with ɬ). Usually it is rather difficult to decide (in any particular language that possesses this feature) whether it is a feature of consonants, vowels, or both (a prosodic feature), and the decision varies from language to language (see the discussion in Trubetzkoy 1931 and the comments on pp. 465-473).

3) In Proto-North-Caucasian and Proto-East-Caucasian we introduce a distinction, marked as (underlining) of the first affricate or fricative in the root. This is probably a phonational feature like tenseness, which can be reconstructed only if the root contains a fricative or an affricate (see below, pp. 90-91).

Dynamic accent is marked by the sign ' ; tonal distinctions are left unmarked (they still await description).

Morphemic boundaries are usually marked by a hyphen (-); the place of insertion of the variable class markers is, however, marked by the symbol =.

In comparative phonetic tables variants are delimited by the symbol / if their distribution is known; by the symbol ~ if their distribution is not discovered. The latter symbol (after a bracket) also introduces possible alternative reconstructions in the text of the dictionary. The symbol * between phonemes is used when the choice between two variants is uncertain (because of insufficient evidence).

In phonetic tables the hyphen (-) denotes position: thus, "k-" means "k in initial position"; "-k-" - "k in medial position", "-k" - "k in final position". If any two positions are combined, the hyphen is omitted: thus, the expression "k: in non-final, k in final position" can be noted as "k:-,k:-,k" or, shorter, as "k:-k".

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA Avaro-Andian
 Abadz. Abadzekh dialect of Kabardian
 Abaz. Abaza
 Abkh. Abkhaz
 Abzh. Abzhui dialect of Abkhaz
 Ad. Adyghe
 Afg. Afgani
 Ag. Agul
 AK Adyg (Adyg-Kabardian)
 Ak. Akushi dialect of Dargwa
 Akht. Akhty dialect of Lezghi
 Akhv. Akhvakh
 Akk. Akka dialect of Chechen
 Akkad. Akkadian
 Akn. Aknada (Aknada-Angida) dialect of Tindi
 Al. Alik dialect of Kryz
 Alyut. Alyutor
 Am. Amukh dialect of Dargwa
 Ams. Amsar dialect of Rutul
 Anch. Anchikh dialect of Karata
 And. Andi
 Andal. Andalal dialect of Avar
 Ants. Antsukh dialect of Avar
 Arab. Arabic
 Arak. Arakul dialect of Lak
 Arch. Archi
 Archo. Archo dialect of Karata
 Arm. Armenian
 Ars. Arsug dialect of Agul (subdialect of the Koshan dialect)
 Asakh. Asakh dialect of Tsezi
 Ashkh. Ashkhar dialect of Abaza
 Asht. Ashtikuli dialect of Dargwa
 AT Abkhaz-Tapant

Av. Avar
 Avest. Avestan
 Azer. Azeri
 Bacb., Batsb. Batsbi
 Bagv. Bagvalal
 Balk. Balkarian
 Balkh. Balkhar dialect of Lak
 Bartkh. Bartkhi dialect of Lak
 Besl. Beslene dialect of Kabardian
 Bezht. Bezhta
 Botl. Botlikh
 Bud. Budukh
 Burk. Burkikhan dialect of Agul
 Bursh. Burshag dialect of Agul
 Bz., Bzyb. Bzyb dialect of Abkhaz
 Bzhed. Bzhedug dialect of Adyghe
 Chab. Chabakori dialect of Karata
 Chad. Chadakolob dialect of Avar
 Cham. Chamalal
 Chan. Chan
 Cheb. Cheberlo dialect of Chechen
 Chech. Chechen
 Chir. Chirag dialect of Agul
 Cush. Cushitic
 Dig. Digor dialect of Ossetian
 Düb. Dübek dialect of Tabasaran
 EC East Caucasian
 Engl. English
 Fij. Fij dialect of Lezghi
 Fit. Fite dialect of Agul
 Gad. Gadyri dialect of Chamalal
 Gag. Gagatl dialect of Andi
 Gal. Galanchozh dialect of Chechen
 Gapsh. Gapshima dialect of Dargwa
 GB Gunzib-Bezhta
 Gelm. Gelmet dialect of Tsakhur
 Georg. Georgian
 Germ. Germanic
 Gid. Gid dialect of Avar
 Gig. Gigatl dialect of Chamalal
 Gin. Ginukh
 God. Godoberi
 Got. Gothic
 Gr. Greek
 Gunz. Gunzib
 Gün. Güne dialect of Lezghi

Hebr. Hebrew
 Hitt. Hittite
 HU Hurro-Urartian
 Hung. Hungarian
 Hurr. Hurrian
 IE Indo-European
 Ikhr. Ikhrek dialect of Rutul
 Ind. Indian (Old Ind. - Old Indian)
 Ing. Ingush
 Inkh. Inkhokvari
 Iran. Iranian
 It., Itumk. Itumkala dialect of Chechen
 Itsar. Itsari dialect of Dargwa
 K. - Kurag dialect of Agul (recorded by M.Y. Alekseev)
 Kab. Kabardian (Circassian)
 Kad. Kadar dialect of Dargwa
 Kafir. Kafiri
 Kait. Kaitag dialect of Dargwa
 Kand. Kandik dialect of Tabasaran
 Kar. Karata
 Karakh. - Karakh dialect of Avar
 Keg., Keger. Keger dialect of Avar (subdialect of Andalal)
 Kel. Keleb dialect of Avar
 Ker. Kere dialect of Agul
 Kh. Khamaitlakh dialect of Tsezi
 Khak. Khakuchi dialect of Adyghe
 Khan. Khanag dialect of Tabasaran
 Khant. Khanty
 Kharb. Kharbuk dialect of Dargwa
 Khild. Khildikharo dialect of Chechen
 Khin. Khinalug
 Khiv. Khiv dialect of Tabasaran
 Khl. Khliut dialect of Lezghi
 Khn., Khnov. Khnov dialect of Rutul
 Khniukh. Khniukh dialect of Rutul
 Khosh. Khoshar-Khota dialect of Bezhta
 Khosr. Khosrek dialect of Lak
 Khu. Khushtada dialect of Bagvali
 Khud. Khudig dialect of Agul
 Khup. Khupri dialect of Tsezi
 Khür. Khürig dialect of Tabasaran
 Khvarsh. Khvarshi
 Kich. Kiche dialect of Rutul
 Kid. Kidero dialect of Tsezi
 Kirgh. Kirghiz
 Kist. Kista dialect of Chechen

Kosh. Kosha dialect of Agul (= Bursh.)
 Kryz. Kryz
 Kub. Kubachi dialect of Dargwa
 Kuba. Kuba dialect of Lezghi
 Kuban. Kuban dialect of Kabardian
 Kul. Kuli (Vachi-Kuli) dialect of Lak
 Kum. Kумык
 Kumukh. Kumukh dialect of Lak
 Kur. Kurakh dialect of Lezghi
 Kuyad. Kuyada dialect of Avar (subdialect of Andalal)
 Kvan. Kvanada (Kvanada-Gemerso) dialect of Bagvalal
 Kvankh. Kvankhidatl dialect of Andi
 Kypch. Kypchak
 Lak. Lak
 Lat. Latin
 Lev. Level-land dialect of Chechen
 Lezg. Lezghi
 L.-Enkh. Lower Enkhida dialect of Karata
 L.-Gakv. Lower Gakvari dialect of Chamalal
 Lit. Lithuanian
 Luch. Luchek dialect of Rutul
 Mans. Mansi
 Mar. Mari
 Masht. Mashtada dialect of Karata
 Meg. Megeb dialect of Dargwa
 Megr. Megrel
 Mek. Mekeg dialect of Dargwa
 Melkh. Melkha dialect of Chechen
 Miars. Miarsu dialect of Botlikh
 Migr. Migrakh dialect of Lezghi
 Mik. Mikik dialect of Tsakhur
 Mishl. Mishlesh dialect of Tsakhur
 Mong. Mongolian
 Mord. Mordva
 Mozd. Mozdok dialect of Kabardian
 M.-Pers. Middle Persian
 MSU - materials of the expeditions of the Moscow State University
 Mug. Mugi dialect of Dargwa
 Muir. Muiri dialect of Dargwa
 Mukh. Mukhad dialect of Rutul
 Mukhakh. Mukhakh dialect of Tsakhur
 Mun. Munib dialect of Andi
 Mükhr. Mükhrek dialect of Rutul
 Mür. Müregi dialect of Dargwa
 Nakh. Nakhada dialect of Gunzib

N.-Akhv. Northern Akhvakh
 NC North Caucasian
 Nidzh. Nidzh dialect of Udi
 Nüt. Nütüg dialect of Lezghi
 Obokh. Obokh dialect of Avar (subdialect of Andalal)
 Osset. Ossetian
 PAA Proto-Avaro-Andian
 PAK Proto-Adyghe-Kabardian
 PAT Proto-Abkhaz-Tapant
 PGB Proto-Gunzib-Bezhta
 PEC Proto-East-Caucasian
 Pers. Persian
 Pharch. Pharcho dialect of Chechen
 PHU Proto-Hurro-Urartian
 PIE Proto-Indo-European
 PK Proto-Kartvelian
 PL Proto-Lezghian
 PNC Proto-North-Caucasian
 Pol. Polish
 PT Proto-Turkic
 PTsKh Proto-Tsez-Khvarshi
 PWC Proto-West-Caucasian
 Rach. Rachabaladi dialect of Karata
 Ratl. Ratlub dialect of Akhvakh
 Rats. Ratsitl dialect of Karata
 Rich. Richa dialect of Agul
 Rikv. Rikvani dialect of Andi
 Russ. Russian
 Rut. Rutul
 S.-Akhv. Southern Akhvakh
 Sag. Sagada dialect of Tsezi
 Samurz. Samurzakan dialect of Abkhaz
 Santl. Santlada dialect of Inkhokvari
 Scyth. Scythian
 Sem. Semitic
 Sh. Shaitl dialect of Tsezi
 Shangud. dialect of Avar
 Shaps. Shapsug dialect of Adyghe
 Shar. Sharo dialect of Chechen
 Shin. Shinaz dialect of Rutul
 Shugn. Shugnan
 Shul. Shulani dialect of Avar
 Sirg. Sirgokala dialect of Dargwa
 Slav. Slavic
 Sogd. Sogdian
 Sum. Sumerian

Svan. Svan
 Tab. Tabasaran
 Tap. Tapant dialect of Abaza
 Tat. Tatar
 Tem. Temirgoi dialect of Adyghe
 Tind. Tindi
 Tlad. Tladal dialect of Bezhta
 Tlan. Tlanub dialect of Akhvakh
 Tleb. dialect of Avar
 Tlis. Tlissi (Tlissi-Tlibisho) dialect of Bagvalal
 Tlond. Tlondoda (Tlondoda-Khushtada) dialect of Bagvalal
 Tok. Tokita dialect of Karata
 Tokh. Tokharian
 Tp. Tpig dialect of Agul
 Tsakh. Tsakhur
 Tseg. Tsegob dialect of Akhvakh
 Tsez. Tsezi (Dido)
 Tsirkh. Tsirkhe dialect of Agul
 TsKh Tsezi-Khvarshi
 Tsud. Tsudakhar dialect of Dargwa
 Turk. Turkish
 U. dialect of Agul
 Ub. Ubykh
 Ud. Udi
 Udm. Udmurtian
 U.-Gakv. Upper Gakvari dialect of Chamalal
 Ukr. Ukrainian
 Ulz. Ulzig dialect of Tabasaran
 Unt. Untib dialect of Avar
 Ur. Urakhi dialect of Dargwa
 Urart. Urartian
 Vart. Vartashen dialect of Udi (basic dial.)
 Ved. Veden dialect of Chechen
 Veps. Veps
 Vikhl. Vikhli dialect of Lak
 Vitskh. Vitskhi dialect of Lak
 WC West Caucasian
 Yark. Yarki dialect of Lezghi
 Zak. Zakatal dialect of Avar
 Zan. Zan
 Zib. Zibirkhali dialect of Godoberi
 Zil. Zilo dialect of Andi

Names of protolanguages are usually abbreviated as PWC, PEC, PL etc. However, in etymological headings we use "W.-Cauc." for PWC, "Nakh." for PN, "Av.-And." for PAA, "Tsez." for PTs, "Darg." for PD and "Lezg." for PL.

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INTRODUCTION

A description of the comparative phonology of the North Caucasian languages.

The family of North Caucasian languages is a distinct white spot on the linguistic map of the Old World. Despite the presence of a number of quite valuable works (starting with those of N. S. Trubetskoy [Trubetskoy 1922, 1926, 1929, 1930, 1931], then - Y. A. Bokarev, [Bokarev 1961, 1981], T. Gudava [Gudava 1964, 1979], B. Giginayshvili [Giginayshvili 1977], A. Kuipers [Kuipers 1963, 1975] and others), we can certainly state that up to the present there is no common notion of the original phonologic structure of Proto-North-Caucasian. This is the result of several factors (not the least of which is the extreme complexity of phonetic and phonological systems of the regarded languages), but the main reason seems to be the lack of any ancient written tradition of the North Caucasian languages. Until recently the matter was aggravated by insufficient description of phonetic, morphological and lexical systems of many North Caucasian languages, but now this gap may be considered virtually filled (thanks to the active work of researchers during the last twenty years, and mainly to the systematic field research of the Department of Structural and Applied Linguistics of the Moscow University under the guidance of A. Y. Kibrik and S. V. Kodzasov who kindly provided the authors of this work with the expedition materials concerning a number of little known languages (published later as [Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990]).

The absence of ancient languages - a natural resource for reconstruction - can be compensated for in two ways. The first method is to choose a number of modern languages as the basis for reconstructing the protolanguage of the whole family; the data from other languages are included in the already discovered rows of correspondences afterwards. This method is certainly accurate at the first stage of research, and is therefore used in the works of N. S. Trubetskoy, Y. A. Bokarev and B. Giginayshvili. But more preferable - especially if the languages of the family are well studied - would be another method; namely, the reconstruction (as full and adequate as possible) of several intermediate protolanguages and, only afterwards, of the initial system. Here intermediate protolanguages stand for the missing old languages; besides, since in this case the data of all the languages are considered, the reconstructed state of the language will inevitably be more trustworthy than in the first case - assuming that one uses correct methods of reconstruction.

This work uses the following intermediate reconstructions:

1) Proto-West-Caucasian (PWC). The proper West Caucasian reconstruction is based on the reconstruction of two intermediate protolanguages: Proto-Abkhaz-Tapant (PAT) and Proto-Adyghe-Kabardian (PAK), with due regard for the data of the third branch of the West Caucasian languages, Ubykh. The reconstruction of PWC that is used in this work was completed by S. A. Starostin on the basis of his own reconstruction of PAT (with account of available works, those of K. V. Lomtadze [Lomtadze 1944, 1964, 1976] in particular), and of A. Kuipers' reconstruction of PAK (see [Kuipers 1963]).

2) Proto-Nakh (PN). The reconstruction of the PN phonologic system has been done by S. L. Nikolaev, with account of the work of D. Imnayshvili [Imnayshvili 1977].

3) Proto-Andian (PA). While reconstructing the PA system we based our work completely upon the excellent reconstruction of Proto-Andian consonantism, completed by T. Gudava [Gudava 1964]. Single corrections and the reconstruction of PA vocalism were made by S. L. Nikolaev.

4) Proto-Tsezian (PTs). The reconstruction of the PTs phonologic system was completed by S. L. Nikolaev and was based on the reconstruction of two intermediate protolanguages: the Proto-Tsezian-Khvarshi (PTsKh) and the Proto-Gunzib-Bezhta (PGB), also done by S. L. Nikolaev. The author only partly used the correspondences of Y. A. Bokarev's classic work [Bokarev 1959], and his reconstruction seriously differs from the PTs reconstruction suggested in the posthumous edition of the work of T. Gudava [Gudava 1979].

5) Proto-Dargwa (PD). The initial reconstruction of the Proto-Dargwa system was done by M. Epshtein on the basis of field materials, collected and prepared by I. O. Olovyanikova during the Caucasian expeditions of the Department of Structural and Applied Linguistics of the Moscow University. This work uses this reconstruction (with some corrections by S. L. Nikolaev).

6) Proto-Lezghian (PL). The reconstruction of the Proto-Lezghian system has been completely done by S. A. Starostin. Its main issues and differences from the later published reconstruction of B. B. Talibov [Talibov 1980] are related below (see pp. 122-179); see also [Alekseyev 1985].

7) Proto-East-Caucasian (PEC). The reconstruction of the PEC phonologic system has been accomplished jointly by the authors of this work on the basis of comparison of the above mentioned protolanguages and also of three modern languages - Lak, Avar and Khinalug - that are taxonomically outside the listed genetic units. Some aspects of the PEC reconstruction resemble or coincide with the results of the reconstructions of N. S. Trubetskoy, E. A. Bokarev and B. K. Giginayshvili, but the number of differences surpasses the number of resemblances (not mentioning the fact that quite a lot of aspects, such as the reconstruction of vocalism or of the laryngeal system, are not regarded at all by the authors named above).

While comparing the reconstructed PEC and PWC systems it became clear that the second system can be almost completely deduced from the first (see below for some exceptions from this rule). Thus the finally obtained Proto-North-Caucasian

(PNC) phonologic system virtually coincides with the PEC, at least on today's level of our knowledge. Therefore, for practical purposes, we shall operate below with the WC languages as if they were part of the East Caucasian family (though this is surely wrong from a taxonomic point of view). Already after the authors completed the PNC reconstruction, there appeared new evidence for the fact that the Hatti and the Hurro-Urartian languages, localised in ancient Asia Minor, are related to the North Caucasian language family (see the works [Ardzinba 1979, Ivanov 1985, Diakonoff-Starostin 1986]). However, we do not use their evidence in this work: because of its fragmentation they still do not offer much for the PNC reconstruction.

Of course, the detailed account of the reconstruction of all intermediate protolanguages mentioned above could not fit within the limits of one book (the manuscript of the PL reconstruction alone takes about 500 typewritten pages). Within the limits of this work we plan to give only the tables of phonetic correspondences with a minimum of necessary commentary.

1. Phonetic tables.

1.1. From PNC to the intermediate (proto)languages.

Below we will inspect the reflexes of the PNC phonemes in PEC (and further in PN, Avar, PA, PTs, Lak, PD, Khinalugh and PL) and in PWC. The data of Avar, Lak and Khinalugh are given in their modern shape (for Proto-Avar and Proto-Lak it would also be possible to give the forms, reconstructed on the basis of modern dialects, but the dialects of Avar and Lak respectively form very compact genetic unities, and such a reconstruction would not be very informative).

1.1.1. Consonantism

For PNC the following system of consonants is reconstructed:

	Occlusives			Fricatives		Resonants		Glides	
	Voiceless		Voiced	Glottalized	Voiceless	Voiced			
	(lax)	or	aspirated)						
Labials	p		b	ɸ	f		w	m	ɰ
Dentals	t		d	ɬ			r	n	j
Hissing	c		ɟ	ç	s	z			
Hushing	ç		ʒ	ʝ	ʃ	ʒ			
Palatal									
(hushing-hissing)	č		ǰ	č	š	ž			
Lateral	ʎ		ʟ	ʎ	λ		l		ɭ
Velar	k		g	k	x				
Uvular	q		G	q	χ	ʁ			
Laryngeals				ʔ	h	ɦ			
Emphatic laryngeals				ʕ	ħ	ʕ			

Two more very rare voiced fricatives are reconstructed for PEC (lateral ʎ and velar ɣ), as well as the supposedly interdental fricatives θ and ð: These phonemes have no correspondences in PWC, and their existence in PNC is dubious. In fact, it is possible phonologically to treat *w, *r and *l as voiced fricatives, and *ɰ, *j, *ɭ respectively - as resonants (thus avoiding the reconstruction of glides altogether).

The typical features of the PNC consonantism were:

a) the ability of all consonants except the labials and resonants to be combined with the following resonant w. We do not regard these combinations on the PNC level as labialized phonemes; this would lead to postulating too many (a typologically unlikely number) phonemes for PNC. However, since in some descendant languages the 'w' combinations develop specifically and, as a rule, are transformed into monophonemic sequences, it seems convenient to regard them in the tables together with simple phonemes.

b) the presence in affricate series (hushing, hissing, palatal, lateral, as well as velar and uvular) of the so-called "gemimates", which will be marked below by underlining respective phonemes (ç, ʒ, g, and so on). For these consonants on the PNC level the monophonemic treatment is also inconvenient (for the same reason as for the labialized ones); moreover, there are reasons to suppose that the opposition of "gemimated" and "nongemimated" consonants initially had a prosodic nature (see below). The PNC gemimates will also be placed in the tables together with simple phonemes, because they regularly give monophonemic reflexes in descendant languages.

In the tables hyphens mark reflexes in different positions (C- in the beginning, -C in the middle, C in the end); the sign / divides motivatedly split reflexes (i. e. different reflexes of the same phoneme, whose appearance is caused by factors known and explained in the comments); the sign ~ divides unmotivatedly split reflexes (i. e. different reflexes of the same phoneme, whose appearance is caused by factors yet unknown).

1.1.2. Labial consonants.

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khi	PWC
*p	*p	*p	*p	p	*p	p	*p	*p	p	*p/p:
*b	*b	*b	*b	b	*b	b/p:	*b/p:	*b~p:	b~p:	*b/p:
*p	*p	*b~p-	*b	b	*b-	p	*p~b	*p	p, b	*b-, -p-
*f	*f	*h~χ	*x~h	x~χ	*χ~h	h~χ	*x~χ:	*χ:		*x~
*f	*f	*h~pχ	*š:	š:	*λ~χ:	x~χ~χ:	*x	*λ:	px-	*f~x~
*ɰ	*v	*w	*w	w	*w	w	*w	*ɰ	w~j	*w~j
*w	*w	*b	*b	b	*b	b, w	*b	*w	w~0	*w~0
*m	*m	*m	*m	m	*m	m	*m	*m	m	*m

Notes.

In the labial series, as in all the others (except the laryngeals), we reconstruct a triple opposition "voiceless (lax)": "voiced (tense)": "glottalized" in the subsystem of occlusives. In Lak, Dargwa and (judging by the available examples) Khinalugh the initial *b is represented by p: most often if there is no adjacent voiced or glottalized occlusive, and by b in other cases. The phoneme *b in PL is rather rare and represents *b only in expressive forms (in other cases *p).

The postulation of labial fricatives f and f̥ for PNC and PEC causes much doubt for us, first of all because of rather unsystematic reflexes in descendant languages, where the unmotivated splitting of reflexes is often observed. However, the presence of some semantically quite trustworthy and widespread roots among the words with the regarded correspondences does not allow presently to consider these rows occasional and unessential. We may deal here with the result of phonologisation of some old positional distinctions in descendant languages, whose general principle is hard to determine because of the lack of material.

The opposition *ɥ~*w is completely parallel to that of *j~*r (see below), though, unlike *j, the phoneme *ɥ is reconstructed only in pronominal and grammatical morphemes (for example, in the 2nd pers. sing. pronoun, see p. 1014-1015). It is, however, not quite clear in which row one should reconstruct *ɥ (a glide), and in which - *w (a resonant). We tentatively reconstruct *w for the more frequent phoneme (with w/b reflexes), and *ɥ - for the other row of correspondences (modern languages do not as a rule distinguish between /ɥ/ and /w/).

In the above table we only list the reflexes of the resonants *w and *m in initial and medial positions without the combinations with other consonants; the behaviour of such combinations will be specially considered below (see pp. 62-72). But there is one more type of cases, namely the modification of initial *w, *m and *b under the influence of following syllable-final resonants *n, *m and *l. One may note that in nominal NC roots variations of initial m,w,n and b occur very frequently. These variations up to now were either not explained at all, or were explained by the interchange of "petrified" class markers. However, after serious examination, all of them can be reduced to a comparatively small number of rows of correspondences that agree well with the reconstruction of resonants in the medial consonant clusters (see below, pp. 62-72). The general system of correspondences looks like this:

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khi	PWC
*w(..n)	*m-	*m~b-	m~b-	*m~b-	b-	*b-	*w-	w~m-	*m~0-
*b(..n)	*b-	*m~b-	m-	*m-	m-	*m-	*m-	m-	*b~m-
*w(..m)	*b-	*b-	m-	*b-	b-	*b-	*w-	w-	*m~0-
*b(..m)	*b-	*b-	m-	*b-	b-	*m-	*m-	m-	*b~m-
*w(..l)	*b-	*m-	b-	*m~b-	b-	*m-	*w-	w-	*b-
*b(..l)	*b-	*m-	b-	*m~b-	b-	*m-	*m-	m-	*b~m-
*m(..n)	*n-	*m~n-	m~n-	*m-	m-	*m-	*m-	m-	*b~m-

It is also necessary to make some more particular remarks about the behaviour of labial consonants in separate languages:

1) Lak regularly drops initial syllables with nasal m- (and also with b- < *w-) and subsequent narrow vowels i, u (about the similar process in Lezghian see below, page 127).

2) PWC regularly splits the reflexes of PNC voiceless occlusives and affricates. The general rule of distribution is as follows: before short PNC vowels PWC preserves (with proper modifications) the initial opposition of laryngeal features (voicelessness, voice, glottalisation), but before long PNC vowels (on the reconstruction of long vowels see below, p. 72ff.) a special series of PWC tense (so-called "preruptive") consonants takes the place of initial voiced, voiceless and glottalized consonants.

This special feature of the PWC reflexion seems to be connected with the general process of shifting the quality and quantity vowel features onto the preceding consonants that occurred in PWC (and led to an extraordinary expansion of the consonant system and to a corresponding extraordinary reduction of the vowel system in PWC). This process is best seen in the subsystem of affricates; in the explosive (labial and dental) series only the intensification of consonants mentioned above happens regularly; the shift of vowel quality features to consonants is regularly seen only in PWC monoconsonantic roots.

3) Resonant consonants reconstructed for PNC can either be preserved or disappear in PWC, though the latter happens more often. The reasons for this process (that has not afflicted only the resonant *m, regularly preserved in PWC except in middle position in consonant combinations) are not quite clear yet. However, we think the suggestion of a secondary loss of resonants in PWC is more trustworthy than the alternative suggestion of a secondary appearance of different resonants (in the beginning and in the end of a root) in PEC. It is this circumstance (also considering the prevalence of roots with one obstruent and one or more resonant consonants in PNC; on the structure of the root see below) that has caused the prevalence of monoconsonantal roots in PWC. Among the consonants listed above, the process of the loss of resonants has also affected the resonant *w.

4) Besides the processes listed above, we must also mention the denasalisation *m- > *b- that regularly happens in PWC before the following syllable-final liquid *r and *l.

1.1.3. Dental consonants.

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*t	*t	*t	*t	t	*t	t	*t	*t	t	*t/*t:
*d	*d	*d	*d	d	*d	t~d	*d~t:	*t~*d	d~t:	*d/*t:
*t	*t	*t	*t	t	*t	t	*t	*t	t	*t/*t:

Dental consonants in combination with w.

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*t _w	*t _w	*t	*t(w)	t	*t(w)	t	*t	*t(w)	t	*t(w)
*d _w	*d _w	*t	*d(w)	d	*d	t:-,d	*t:-,d	*t:(^w)	d	*t(w)/ *t:(^w)
							*d(w)			
*t _w	*t _w	*t	*t(w)	t	*t(w)	t	*t	*t(w)	t	*t(w)/ *t:(^w)

Dental resonants and glides.

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*j	*j	*j-0	*j-0	*j-0	*j-0	*j-0	*j	*j-0	*j-0	*j-0
*r	*r	*d-r	*r	r	*r	*r	*d-r	*j-r	r/z	*r-0
*n	*n	*n	*n	n	*n	*n	*n	*n	n	*n-0

Comments.

1) The opposition of voiced and voiceless dentals is generally reliably reconstructed for PEC and PNC, though there are some untrivial moments in the development of voiced consonants in descendant languages (particularly the devoicing *d_w > t in Nakh and in PWC).

In Lak d is generally met in intervocal position as a reflex of *d_w as well as in expressive and reduplicated roots; in other cases we have a normal reflex *d > t. We must also note that many modern dialects have further changed -d- to -r-, and the variation -d-/-r- is frequently met in literary Lak.

In PL the voiced reflex *d is also for the most part attested in expressive forms. On the development of *d in medial clusters see below.

2) Some words in EC languages reveal a peculiar variation of t-type and s-type reflexes. The following correspondences are established: a) PN *-t-, Av., PA *-t-, Lak. -s-, PD *-s-, PL *-t-; b) PN *-t-, PA *H-, s-, Av. -s-, PT *s:-, t-, Lak. -t-, PD *H-, s-, PL *-s-, t-. In these series we may tentatively reconstruct interdental fricatives *θ and *θ̄. Their PNC antiquity is dubious (first of all, because of the lack of WC parallels); some cases are probably loanwords in PEC.

3) Concerning the behaviour of dentals (explosives and resonants) in PWC see comments 2 and 3 on page 43.

4) It is necessary to make a few general notes on the behaviour of labialized consonants in descendant languages. Generally labialization is better preserved by back consonants (see below); as for front ones, they often reveal a tendency to delabialize. Delabialization is most often caused by position (vocalic environment), but cases with unmotivated delabialization are not unusual either. In this work it is not possible to go over the details of the behaviour of labialized consonants in individual languages, and we use the designation C(w) to indicate that labialization is generally preserved, but can disappear, depending on the position within the word. We must also say that among the NC subgroups labialization has completely disappeared only in PN (though having left some traces in a specific development of originally labialized consonants.)

5) Initial resonants *j, *r and *n (just as the labials *w, *m, see above) modify their reflexes in different languages if following syllable-final resonants are present. The general system of correspondences in this case looks like this:

PNC, PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*j(...r)	*d-	*r-	r-	*r-	d-(~2-)	*j-	*j-	*j-	*0-
*j(...n)	*j-	*j-	*j-(~s-)	*j-		*j-	*j-	*j-	*j-0-
*j(...l)		*r-	r-	*j-	l-	*l-	*j-	*j-	
*r(...n)	*d-	*r-	n-	*r-	n-	*n-	*j-	*j-	*r-
*j(...m)	*j-	*j-	*j-	*j-~j-	m-~n-	*j-	*j-	*j-	*j-0-
*r(...m)	*d-	*r-	n-	*r-	n-	*d-	*j-		*0-
*n(...m)	*m-	*n-	n-	*n-	n-	*n-	*n-	n-	*0-

It must be stated that roots with resonant combinations *r(...r), *n(...l), *r(...l), *n(...n) are not attested; in roots with the combination *n(...r) the initial *n- behaves normally (i. e. it is always preserved as n-). Roots with initial dental resonants are more rare than roots with initial labial resonants (this explains the lack of some types of combinations and also some gaps in reflexes).

1.1.4. Hissing consonants.

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*c	*c	*c	*c	c	*s:	c	*c	*s-,c	c	*s(~2)/°c:
					(°Ntt)					
*3	*3	*3	*z	z	*s	s:~c:, Rz	*c:	*c:~z	c:,Rz	*3~z/°c:
					(°Ntt)					
*ç	*ç	*ç	*ç	ç	*ç	ç	*ç	*ç	ç~z	*ç~z/°c:
					(°Ntt)					
*s	*s	*s	*s	s	*z(*z:)	s	*s	*s	s(-z?)	*s
*z	*z	*s	*d	d	*d	t:	*d	*z	z	*s

Hissing consonants in combination with -w-

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*cw	*cw	*ç,Rç	*s	c	*z	c	*s:-, s~s:	*s:(^w), s(^w)	ps~ pç-,c:	*s ^w /c ^w
*3w	*3w	*d-,ç	*z	z	*s	z	*3	*c: ^w		*3 ^w (~z ^w)
*çw	*çw	*t-, ç,Rç	*ç	ç	*ç	ç	*ç	*ç(^w)	-z	*ç(^w)-*z(^w)/ *c:(^w)
*sw	*sw	*ç	*s(^w)	s	*z	s(^w)	*s:	*s:(^w)	s	*s(^w)-z(^w)

Hissing "gemimates".

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
* <u>č</u>	* <u>č</u>	* <u>c</u>	* <u>c</u> :	c:	* <u>s</u>	s:~c:	* <u>c</u> :	* <u>c</u> ,Rc:	c	* <u>c</u> (~z) /c:
* <u>čw</u>	* <u>čw</u>	(<u>*st</u>)	* <u>s</u> :(<u>w</u>)	c:	* <u>s</u> : <u>w</u> * <u>s</u>	s:	* <u>s</u>	* <u>s</u> :		* <u>z</u> ^w
* <u>ž</u>	* <u>ž</u>	(<u>*Nt</u>)	* <u>č</u> :	č:	* <u>c</u>	č	* <u>z</u>	* <u>č</u> :	č	* <u>č</u> ~z
* <u>žw</u>	* <u>žw</u>	* <u>t</u> -, <u>č</u>	* <u>č</u> :(<u>w</u>)	č:(<u>w</u>)	* <u>c</u> (<u>w</u>)	č	* <u>z</u>	* <u>č</u> : <u>w</u>	č	* <u>č</u> (<u>w</u>)
* <u>č</u>	* <u>č</u>	* <u>č</u>	* <u>č</u> :	č:	* <u>c</u> ~ <u>č</u>	č~ <u>c</u> :-, <u>č</u> ,Rz	* <u>č</u> , Rc:	* <u>č</u> ,Rc:	č	* <u>č</u> ~z
* <u>čw</u>	* <u>čw</u>	(<u>Nt</u>)	* <u>t</u> -(<u>?</u>), <u>č</u> ,Rž	* <u>č</u> :(<u>w</u>)	č:(<u>w</u>)	* <u>c</u> ~ <u>č</u>	č(- <u>c</u> :-)	* <u>č</u> :-, * <u>č</u> (<u>w</u>)		* <u>č</u> (<u>w</u>) ~z(<u>w</u>)
* <u>š</u>	* <u>š</u>	* <u>s</u>	* <u>s</u> :	s:	* <u>s</u> :	s:	* <u>s</u> :	* <u>s</u> :	s(~z?)	* <u>s</u>
* <u>šw</u>	* <u>šw</u>	* <u>š</u>	* <u>s</u> :(<u>w</u>)	s:	* <u>s</u> :	s(<u>w</u>)	* <u>s</u> :	* <u>s</u> :(<u>w</u>)		* <u>s</u> ^w

Comments.

1) Not all rows of correspondences listed above (and therefore the reconstructed protoforms) are established with equal reliability. For example, the voiced fricative *z is reconstructed only in the 1st person singular pronoun (however, this reconstruction seems valid to us because voiced fricatives of other series are reconstructed in some other pronominal roots as well). The combination *zw is not reconstructed at all for PNC; as for PEC, we can talk about the reconstruction of *zw only in onomatopoeic roots.

However, in general the system of reconstructed phonemes and combinations suggested above seems to explain the present correspondences more adequately than the reconstructions suggested before (a five-affricate and three-fricative system of E. A. Bokarev or a five-affricate and two-fricative system of B. K. Giglneyshvili can not explain the whole variety of NC languages correspondences).

Let us go over some details of reflexes of hissing sounds in separate subgroups.

2) PN. In PN, as the table shows, hissing sounds are preserved as they are, but are transformed if a -w- follows. The disappearing labialization in this case transforms hissing sounds into hushing, while initial voiced and glottalized labialized affricates develop into dental explosives. We must state that in particular cases (e.g. if a labial resonant is present before the affricate) the delabialization could have occurred even before the described processes; in such cases PN has the reflexes of ordinary hissing sounds.

Other processes were also active in PN that have seriously complicated the picture of the reflexation of hissing sounds. First, desaffrication č,č > š occurred in medial combinations with preceding liquid resonants (it is significant that such desaffrication is absent in the hushing series, see below, and therefore occurred in PN even before the transformation of labialized hissing sounds). Second, geminated tt (tt) appeared in the place of different PEC hissing affricates in medial combinations with preceding nasal resonants (the nasals themselves disappear in this case). It must be stated that PN *tt (tt) cannot in principle be explained (as, e.g., by N.S.Trubetskoy, see [Trubetskoy 1930]) as a reflex of a single PEC (PNC) phoneme,

because this PN cluster is simultaneously present in several rows of correspondences. PN reflects in the same way (as tt) the PEC geminates *č and *ž after the liquid *l; in these cases we must probably suggest a preliminary development *lC > *nC. A special feature of PN reflexation is the fact that the development *C > tt never happens if a -w- follows (in all these cases we have normal PN hushing reflexes).

Most difficult to explain are cases of PN reflecting PEC hissing (and hissing-hushing, see below) affricates and fricatives as a *st (*st) cluster (both in initial and non-initial positions), not included in the table above. The simplest solution would be the reconstruction of PEC combinations like *st, that were preserved in PN, but lost in other languages. However, this solution seems to be wrong - basically because of the fact that the *st (*st) reflex is also observed in place of PEC fricatives.

One may note that in all cases where we can reconstruct *j and a sibilant (not hushing) affricate or fricative within one root, PN has a *st (st) reflex. Thus one can formulate a rule, according to which all hissing and hissing-hushing (but not hushing!) phonemes develop into *st-clusters in PN (probably as a result of distant palatalization) after or before a *j. In some cases we may therefore reconstruct medial clusters like *-jc- or *-js- on Nakh evidence alone.

The second type of cases, where the development *C > *st(*st) occurs, are the combinations of hissing affricates with the preceding resonant -l-, perhaps, also through the stage *lC > jC > st(st). However, we know some cases in which original combinations like *lC preserve the liquid (as -r-) in PN. In general, this question needs further elaboration.

One should finally note that there is no clear-cut distinction between *st and *stj in PN: the distinction is preserved only in Batsbi, and there is considerable variation between st and stj there, according to existing sources. We may suppose that originally the distinction between *st and *stj was as solid as that between *t and *tj, but it was impaired already on the PN level.

3) Andi-Avar-Tsezian languages. Here it is necessary to pay attention to the fricativization of labialized *cw and *cw in PA (in this respect Andian languages differ seriously from Avar, and usually this difference is not regarded with due attention.) The other processes that have changed the subsystem of hissing consonants in Avar-Andian languages are quite simple (the development *ž > z, *č > c; the merger of glottalized and voiced geminates in *c:). In PTs there occurred a further deglottalization *c: > *c: > c and fricativization of all non-glottalized affricates that led to an untrivial PTs system of fricative distinctions *s - *s: - *z - *z: (for their reflexes in individual languages see below, page 112).

4) Lak, PD and PL. First of all we must note a positional development *č > *c: (*ž) in combinations with preceding medial resonants that is common for all three of these subgroups. The row of correspondences "PL *c: : PD *c: : Lak. z : Av., PA *c:", usually serving as a basis for reconstructing PEC voiced *ž (see [Trubetskoy 1930, Bokarev 1961 et al.]), thus appears to be in complementary distribution with the row of correspondences "PL, PD, Lak *č : Av., PA *c:" (usually ignored). It must be emphasized that in our reconstruction we clearly distinguish the PEC (and PNC) phoneme *ž (that does not give glottalized reflexes) and the geminates *č and *ž

that often give glottalized reflexes.

It is worth noting that Khinalug, in its reflexation of PEC *č, is clearly connected with Western Daghestan languages (*č is always reflected as č, in post-resonant positions too), and not with Lezghian, to which it is often attributed.

5) PWC. In the table we have listed PWC reflexes of PNC hissing phonemes before non-front PNC vowels. Before original front vowels PWC regularly reveals palatalized affricates and fricatives; this is the consequence of the basic rule active in PWC, concerning the shift of quantitative and qualitative vocalic features to preceding consonants. The quantitative aspect of this rule in PWC led to the appearance of a tense ("preruptive") *c: (*c:~) reflecting all PNC hissing affricates before originally long vowels. It is quite possible that hissing fricatives could also become tense (in the same position) in PWC; but within PWC the evidence for reconstructing the distinction *s - *s: is still missing (see below on the PWC reconstruction).

One can also pay attention to the unmotivated variation of voice/voicelessness (and also glottalization) in some PWC reflexes. The reasons for a secondary voicing in PWC are not clear yet (it could be possibly connected with the fall of laryngeals in PWC).

1.1.5. Hushing consonants.

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*č	*č	*č	*č	č	*č	č	*č	*č	č	*č~ž
*ž	*ž	*ž	*ž	ž	*ž~č, Rž	ž~č:	*ž~č:	*č:	ž	*ž~ž/č:
*č	*č	*č	*č	č	*č	č	*č	*č	č	*č (~č)
*š	*š	*š	*š	s	*ž	š	*š	*š		(*š)
*ž	*ž		*š:	ž		ž		*ž	j/š	*š

Hushing consonants in combination with -w-.

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*čw	*čw	*č	*č(°)	č	*č	č(°)	*č	*š(°)	ps~č	*čw/č:
*žw	*žw	*ž	*ž	ž	*ž:(°),	č~š:	*ž	*č:(°)		*ž(°)
					č, Rž(°)					
*čw	*čw	*š-	*č(°)	č(°)	*č(°)-,	č	*č	*č(°)		*č(°)~
		č			č(°)					ž(°)
*šw	*šw	*š	*š(°)	s/x	*ž~ž:	š(°)	*š:	*š:(°)	š	*š(°)

Hushing "gemimates".

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*č	*č	*č	*š:	š:	*š~š:	š~č:	*š:	*č~š:	š(?)	
*čw	*čw	*č	*č(°)	č:	*š~š:	š~č:	*č	*čw		*č(°)
*ž	*ž	*č	*č:	č~č:	*č	č	*č:	*č:	ž(?)	*ž
*žw	*žw		*č:	č:		č		*č:		
*č	*č	*č	*č:	č:	*č~č	(R)ž		*č, Rč:	č	
*čw	*čw	*š	*č(°)	č:(°)	*č-	č	*č	*čw		*č~ž/č:
			č:							
*š	*š	*š	*š:	š:	*š:	š:	*š:	*š:		*š/s:
*šw	*šw	*š	*š:(°)	š:(°)	*š~š:	š:	*š~š:	*š(°)	š	*š(w)

Comments.

1) Hushing phonemes are generally more rare than the hissing ones. Therefore here we observe somewhat more gaps in correspondences. The voiced fricative *ž is reconstructed only for one root - the 1st pers. pl. excl. pronoun (see above on the reconstruction of *ž in the 1st pers. sg. pronoun). The reconstruction of the PNC combination *žw is also rather dubious.

2) In PN the hushing sounds are generally reflected more uniformly than the hissing ones: in all cases hushing reflexes are present. We must note a specific reflex of the labialized *čw (in initial position) and *čw as a hushing fricative *š. It is important that hushing sounds never yield the PN *it or *st reflexes that are so typical for the system of hissing affricates and fricatives.

3) In Andi-Avar we must notice a specific reflexation of the "geminate" č as a fricative *š:, as well as variations between reflexes *č: and č: in the place of PEC gemimates *ž and *č. In Avar we also see the complementary distribution of s and x reflexes in the place of a common Avar-Andian lax fricative *š: x - in front of i, s in other cases (in details see [Starostin 1987, 448-450]).

4) In PTs hushing fricatives are generally reflected in a manner similar to that of the hissing ones (see above); but the reflexation of affricates is quite different. The most serious difference is the lack of fricativization of the affricate *č (and, in some positions, *ž) that led to their merger with the reflexes of "gemimates" *ž and *č. We must also note a very specific PTs reflex of the initial labialized *čw > t(°) (such a desaffrication is unusual for Daghestan languages).

5) In Eastern Daghestan languages the reflexation of hushing sounds is generally similar to that of hissing ones (also as far as concerns the development of the glottalized "geminate" *č), though there are some minor differences (for example, in the subsystem of fricatives).

6) The development of hushing consonants in PWC is typologically similar to their development in PTs (neither family has fricativized the affricate *č, though the fricativization of the hissing *c is present). In other respects the development of hushing sounds in PWC is characterised by standard features (the appearance of palatalized hushing sounds before original front vowels, strengthening before initially long vowels). As in other local series, there is a variation of

voice/glottalization in reflexes of originally glottalized consonants, as well as (more rarely) of voice/voicelessness in the reflexes of initially voiceless (lax) consonants. It must be stated that PWC hushing consonants are more often subject to the process of secondary delabialization than consonants of other local series.

In some cases we have an unexpected affricate reflex in PWC where PEC has fricatives. It is not to be excluded that this reflex must be explained by a fusion of a fricative with the dental derivational prefix *d-(*t-), that in PWC could probably be attached to nominal stems.

1.1.6. Palatal (hissing-hushing) consonants.

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*č	*č	*c	*č	č	*š:(~s:-)	č	*c	*č	č	*č/č:(~c:)
*ž	*ž	*ž(Ntt)	*ž	ž	*ž:-,š	z,-š:-č:	*c:	*č:(~ž)	č:	*z
*č	*č	*č-, ss,(Ntt)	*č	č	*č/č	č	*č	*č	č	*č~č
*š	*š	*s	*s~š	s/x	*ž,-š~s	š:	*š:-, s~š	*s:-,š	s(?)	*s
*ž	*ž	*s	*z		*ž:	z	*ž	*c:		*z

Palatal consonants in combination with -w-

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*čw	*čw	*c	*č(w)	č(w)	*ž,-š:	č(w)	*s:	*š:-, č(w)		*čw~č(w)
*žw	*žw	*ž	*ž(w)	ž	*ž:-,š:-,š	z	*č:	*č:(w)	c:	*s~(?) / č:(w)
*čw	*čw	*ps-, ss~č	*č(w)	č(w)	*č(w)	č(w)	*č~č	*č(w)	č,-z	*ž(w)~ z~c:w
*šw	*šw	*ps-,s	*š(w)	s/x	*š	š	*s:	*s:	s(w)	*šw
*žw	*žw	*š	*š:	ž	*ž:	z		*žw	z/s	*šw

Palatal "gemimates".

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*č	*č	*c-	*c:	c:	*s:	s:	*c:	*č	c	*č(~ž)
		(~š-)	*č:	č:	*š:	š	*s:	*š:(w)		*žw
*čw	*čw	*c-	*š:	č:	*č:	č	*c:	*č:	~c	*č(?)
		*č	*č:	č:	*č	(~ž)				
*č	*č	(Ntt)	*č:	č:	*č	č,Rz	*č,	*č,Rč:	č	*č (č)
		(Ntt)				Rc:				
*čw	*čw	*č		č:	*č~c	č	*č	*čw~čw		*č(w)
*š	*š	*ss-	*š:	s:	*š:-,š:	š:	*š:	*š:	š(?)	*s
*šw	*šw	*ps-,ss	*š:-,s:	š:	*š:	š(w)	*s:	*šw~šw	ps(w)-	*šw/s:w

Comments.

1) We have to reconstruct a third affricate series in PEC and PNC, because there is a great number of etymologies with correspondences that do not at all fit into one of the two usually postulated affricate series. A typical feature of the third series is the prevalence of hissing reflexes in PN and PD, while in other languages, as a rule, hushing reflexes are dominant.

2) Palatal (hissing-hushing) consonants in PWC and PNC had approximately the same frequency as the hushing ones (see above). Therefore not all rows of correspondences are established with equal reliability. In particular, the combinations *žw and *šw are very rare (the last one is reconstructed only for the personal pronoun of the 2nd pers. pl.) The reconstruction of the voiced fricative *ž is not quite reliable. Finally we must state a weak ability of palatal "gemimates" to combine with labialization (only the combinations *čw and *čw are reconstructed quite reliably).

3) As we noted above, in PN hissing reflexes are typical. Another thing is common with the hissing series is the appearance of the PN geminate tt (tt) in the place of various medial affricates (in the same positions as in the hissing series in combinations with preceding nasal resonants). Furthermore, in the place of PEC hissing phonemes as well as PEC palatal affricates and fricatives, a specific combination st(st) can be developed (adjacent to an older *j or following the resonant *l, see above, page 47). Still, there are some differences in the palatal reflexation and the hissing reflexation; some phonemes (the glottalized *č and the fricative *š) have a specific medial reflex *ss; labialized hissing and labialized palatal sounds have quite different reflexes in PN.

4) In PA and in Avar, palatal reflexes in most cases have merged with hushing reflexes (only occasionally - in the case of some fricative phonemes and the affricate *č - do we meet hissing reflexes; there is also a characteristic correspondence "PA *š: : Av. č:" as a reflex of PEC *čw, that, as far as the development of laryngeal features is concerned, is rather similar to the hissing series - cf. PEC *čw > PA *s:, Av. c: - than to the hushing series). On the distribution of s and x reflexes in Avar see page 49.

5) In PTs, in most cases, we also encounter hushing reflexes of PEC palatal sounds (though sporadic hissing reflexes here are more usual than in Avar-Andian languages). It is still hard to formulate the principles of the distribution of hissing and hushing reflexes in PTs (sometimes such variations are observed inside a single lexeme); we can only state the fact that in initial position PEC *č > PTs *č, but in other positions > PTs *č. However, we must note that, while hushing reflexes in PTs are generally prevalent, the general development of palatals here is quite different from that of PEC hushing phonemes (cf. the fricativization *č > š:, *ž > š with an analogical fricativization *c > s:, *ž > s, but *č, *ž > č with the preservation of the affricate features).

6) In Lak the reflexes of palatals generally merge with the reflexes of the hushing phonemes (see above). However, we must note a specific development of

fricatives (more similar to the development of hissing than hushing fricatives), as well as the regular presence of the hissing z in all rows, where one could expect the hushing ž (as a reflex of PEC *ž, *ž, *žw, *žw, *ž).

7) Dargwa is strikingly different from all other Daghestan languages in its treatment of palatals; in most rows of correspondences (except only the fricatives *š, *š and affricates *žw, *čw, where sporadic hushing reflexes are observed) Dargwa reveals hissing reflexes that bring it closer to Nakh languages. One can see that except some minor differences in development, PEC hissing and palatal affricates give the same reflexes in Dargwa.

8) In PL palatals generally merge with hushing phonemes (though the fricatives and the labialized *čw, *čw develop in a somewhat different way than the respective hushing consonants). As for Khinalug, we can observe there both hissing and hushing reflexes, but there are too few examples from this language to establish strict rules of reflexation.

9) In PWC we can state a variation of hissing and hushing reflexes, whose distribution it is yet hard to establish. As regards the development of laryngeal and quality features, palatal sounds in PWC develop in a manner similar to other affricates and fricatives (see above). It must be emphasized that PNC palatal (hissing-hushing) consonants have no direct relation to modern hissing-hushing consonants, present in Adyg languages, in Ubykh and in some Abkhaz dialects (see below on their origin).

1.1.7. Lateral consonants.

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*λ	*λ	*l~	*λ	λ	*λ:-, L	x:~x	(*h-), k	*λ-, λ:	č(?)	*λ/λ:
*L	*L	*l-, r(L)	*l	l	*L:	k: (~l)	*g~k:	*λ:	γ	*L~l
*λ	*λ	*l-, (-L~l, (-Rλ-))	*λ	l	*λ	k (~l)	*k	*λ	k	*λ~L
*λ	*λ	*l	*λ	λ	*λ	x	*-x:-	*λ:	x	*λ/λ:
*λ	*λ	*l	*l	l	*l	l	*l	*l	l	*l~0
*l	*l	*l	*r	r	*r	l	*l	*l	l	*l~0

Lateral consonants in combination with -w-

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*λw	*λw	*l~k-, -x-	*x~w-, -k-	x(w)	*k~w	k(w)	*k(w)	*λ(w)		*λ
*Lw	*Lw	*l-, -g-	*k~w	l-, -g-	*k(w)	-k:(w)	*k:(w)	*λ(w):		*L
*λw	*λw	*k	*λ	l	*λ	k(w)	*k(w)	*λ(w)	k	*λ~w
*λw	*λw	*f-, lχ	*λ(w)	λ	*λ(w)	h~x:(w)	*x:(w)	*λ(w)		*λw/λ:

Lateral "gemimates".

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*λ	*λ	*lχ-, (r)λ	*λ:	λ:	*λ:	x:-, -k:-(-l)	*k:	*λ:	k	*λ~
*λw	*λw	*k-, λ	*λ:	λ:	*λ:-	x:-, -k:-(-l)	*x(w)	*λ:(w)	k-	*λ(w)
*L	*L	*l-, λ, Rλ	*λ:	λ:	*λ	k:-l	*k:(l)	*λ:	k	*L
*Lw	*Lw	*l-, λk, Rλ	*λ:(w)	λ:(w)	*λ	k:-l	*k:(w)	*λ:(w)		*L(w)~
*λ	*λ	*lχ-, Rλ	*λ:	λ:	*λ~λ	k:-l	*γ	*λ:	k-, -k:-, -g	*L~l/λ:
*λw	*λw	*-λk	*λ:	λ:	*λ~λ	k(w)	*γ(w)	*λ:(w)	k	*λ~w
*λ	*λ	*l-	*λ:	λ:	*λ:-, L	h~x	*-x:-	*λ:		L~w, L~w
*λw	*λw	*f-, l, Rλ	*x(w)~	x(w)~	*λ:-, -λ-	h~x:(w)	*x(w)	*λ:(w)		*λw

Comments.

1) In the 1st pers. pl. incl. pronoun we can reconstruct for PEC a voiced lateral fricative *L (cf. a similar reconstruction of voiced fricatives in other personal pronouns, see above) with the following reflexes: PN *lχ(?), Av., PA *λ:, PTs *l, PL *L, Khin. k. At any rate, PWC correspondences for PEC *L are missing, and this phoneme is not included in the table for lateral consonants.

2) In PN the initial system of laterals has undergone serious transformations. Two lateral phonemes (PN *λ and *L) are preserved in PN only in medial position. The basic principle of the reflexation of laterals in PN is the preservation of lateral reflexes (l, λ, lχ) of non-labialized PEC phonemes and the appearance of velar (and uvular) reflexes in the place of PEC labialized laterals. The *l-reflex, occasionally met in labialized series of correspondences, is probably a consequence of an early delabialization of corresponding phoneme combinations in PN; only the PEC medial labialized *λw and *Lw have systematically yielded lateral reflexes in PN. When labialized laterals are velarized in PN, they are usually reflected in the initial position as *k (original non-glottalized occlusives), *k (original glottalized phonemes) and *f- (original fricatives); in medial position we observe the reflexes *χ, *g, *χk. PEC *Lw in a few as yet unclear cases can be reflected in PN (in non-initial position) as *q.

3) Avar-Andian languages are rather conservative in the reflexation of laterals. Except some well-known processes (like the development *λ > Av. l), we must also note a rather systematic process of velarization of labialized laterals (that has not affected only the combinations of -w- with lax *λ and *λ, as well as with the "geminate" L). However, it must be stated that this process was going on

basically in non-initial position; in initial position only the development * λ w > x" (as well as * λ w > x") had occurred, and the appearance of initial k; k (in the place of * λ w, * λ w) is probably caused by the dissimilative influence of the following resonant *t. Sporadically (as reflexes of * λ w and * λ w) we also meet non-velarized λ ; λ ; probably as a result of early delabialization.

We must also note a specific correlation of Av. λ :- PA * λ :- in the place of PEC labialized * λ w (on the similar development of PEC * $\underline{c}$ w > Av. c; PA *s; PEC * $\underline{c}$ w > Av. $\underline{c}$; PA * $\underline{s}$: see above).

4) The same process of velarization of old labialized laterals, except for the velarization of fricatives, is typical for PTs; thus, the beginning of this process can be dated from as far back as the period of Avar-Andi-Tsezian unity. In other respects the reflexation of laterals in PTs is generally similar to the reflexation of consonants in the hissing and hushing series; e. g., we observe the fricativization of all affricates, except the glottalized and the voiced "geminate".

5) In all Eastern Daghestan languages, lateral consonants (except the resonant l) are lost at present; the only exception is Archi, which has obviously preserved the laterals as a result of contact with Avar-Andian. But evidently the process of the loss of laterals was comparatively recent; thus, in Lak, together with normal velar reflexes in many series of correspondences, we observe a sporadic l reflex; we can reconstruct a PL system of lateral affricates and fricatives even without using the Archi data (see below).

We must state that the opposition of voiced and glottalized "gemimates" in the lateral, as well as in other affricate series, is generally reconstructed on the basis of Eastern Daghestan evidence. However, the development of these gemimates here differs a bit from their development in other affricate series; glottalized gemimates here do not merge with the reflexes of plain glottalized consonants (cf. * λ > PL * λ ; PD * γ vs. * λ > PL * λ , PD *k), while voiced gemimates give reflexes, similar to those of PEC voiced (not aspirated) * $\underline{L}$. Therefore we could swap the reconstructions and reconstruct $\underline{L}$ instead of λ and vice versa. This, however, would contradict the circumstance that the PEC geminate * $\underline{L}$ < PNC * $\underline{g}$ (see below) has the same reflexes in Eastern Daghestan languages. Therefore it is probably appropriate here to suggest a shift in reflexation; first occurred the development * $\underline{L}$ > * $\underline{L}$, and then the initial geminate * λ became voiced, taking the place of the lost $\underline{L}$ (with the following development > PL * λ ; PD * γ - cf. * $\underline{z}$ > PL * $\underline{c}$; PD * $\underline{z}$ and so on).

We should note the following specific features of development in individual Eastern Daghestan languages:

a) in Lak: we observe a regular palatalization of velar reflexes before the vowels a, i (k > $\underline{c}$; k: > $\underline{c}$; k > $\underline{c}$; x > $\underline{s}$; x: > $\underline{s}$) - this process (not noted in the table) has affected both original lateral and velar sounds (see below). In addition, if pharyngealization is present, we can sporadically meet uvular reflexes * λ > χ l as well as * $\underline{L}$ > * χ l > *j.

b) in Dargwa, as in Lak, if an adjacent pharyngealized vowel is present, we sometimes meet uvular or laryngeal reflexes instead of velar ones.

On the further development of lateral reflexes in Dargwa dialects and Lezghian languages see below, pp. 117-119, 131, 144.

Khinalug stands close to Eastern Daghestan languages in its treatment of

laterals: for the most part they have been transformed here into velars (it is unclear yet whether the development λ > $\underline{c}$ is regular). However, because of insufficient evidence, Khinalug reflexes in many rows of correspondences are yet unclear.

6) In PWC lateral consonants systematically give lateral reflexes (on the reconstruction of PWC laterals see below, page 1). As for the development of qualitative and laryngeal features in PWC, the lateral series is similar to other affricate series (fricativization * λ > λ and some other special features of development bring the lateral series close to the hissing one).

7) The opposition of two lateral resonants - *l and * $\underline{L}$ - is reconstructed on the basis of the reflexes of Western Daghestan languages (where *l > r). The status of the phoneme * $\underline{L}$ in PEC and PNC is not yet quite clear (some features draw it near to resonants, others - to fricatives). In PWC *l and * $\underline{L}$, as other resonants (see above), are subject to loss.

The behaviour of the initial *l before the following syllable-final resonants n and m requires a special comment (it is worth noting that there are no examples of * $\underline{L}$ in this position). We have the following correspondences here (although on the whole there are not many examples):

PNC, PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khinalug	PWC
*l(.,n)		*n-	m-		(*m- > 0-)	*l-	*l-		
*l(.,m)	*l-m-	*r-	r-	*n-	l-	*l-	*n-		*l-m-0-

An unusual reflex m- in Avar (and *m- > 0- in Lak; on the development of the initial *m in this language see above, page 43) is explained by the fact that in the single example where we have Avar and Lak reflexes, the medial consonant, following *n-, is labialized; this labialization conditioned the secondary labialization of the initial nasal. Tsezian and Khinalug reflexes of *l- with the following nasals are not attested yet.

1.1.8. Velar consonants.

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khinalug	PWC
*k	*k	*k	*k	k	*k	k	*k	*k	k	*k
*k	*k	*k	*k	k	*k	k	*k	*k	k, -0, -Ng	*k/k:
*g	*g	*g	*g	g	*g, g ₁	g-k:	*k:	*g-k:	g	*g
*x	*x	* χ	* λ	λ	* λ - λ :	x	*x	* λ	$\underline{s}$ (?)	*x

Velars in combination with -w-

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khinalug	PWC
*kw	*kw	*k	*k(°)	k(°)	*k(°)	k(°)	*k(°)	*k(°)	k	*k"/k:°
*gw	*gw	*k(°g)	*g(°)	g(°)	*g ₁ °	g°~	*g°~	*k(°)	g	*g"/k:°
					(~g°)	k:°	*k:°	*g(w)		
*kw	*kw	*k	*k(°)	k(°)	*k(°)	k(°)	*k(°)	*k(°)	k, -Ng	*k°~g°
*xw	*xw	* χ	*x(°)	x(°)	*L-	x(w)	*x(°)	* λ (°)	x	*x°

(~ λ) λ :

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*k	*k	*k	*k	k~g	*k	k:	*k:	*k		*k(?) / k:
*kw	*kw	*k	*k ^w	k(°)	*k(°)	k(°)	*k(°)	*k:(°)	k:°	*k°
				~g(°)						
*g	* <u>g</u>	- see above, page 53								*γ
*gw	* <u>g</u> w	- see above, page 53								*γ(°)
*k	*k	*g, k	*k:	k:	*k(~k)	k:	*k:	*k:~k	k	*k
*kw	*kw	*k	*k:(°)	k:(°)	*q(°)	k(°)	*k:(°)~	*k:(°)~	k	*q°~b°
		(~j q?)			(~q(°))	k(w)	k(w)	k(w)		
*x	*x	*χ	*λ:	λ:	*λ:	x:	*x	*λ:	x	*x
*x ^w	*x ^w	*pχ~χ	*λ(°)	x~λ		x:(°)	*x:(°)	*λ:(°)		*xw

Comments.

1) Velar consonants, judging by their phonological features, were regarded as an affricate series (typical features - the presence of fricatives and geminates) in PNC and PEC. This situation is best preserved in modern Avar-Andian languages (that have a tense k: opposed to the lax k, as well as a velar fricative x), but to some extent the traces of the original state are preserved in other languages as well.

2) The velar fricatives *x, *x: are reconstructed for PNC primarily on the basis of the joint evidence of Nakh and West-Caucasian languages, where their reflexes are markedly different from the reflexes of lateral fricatives (see above). However, in other languages the reflexes of velar and lateral fricatives are also somewhat different (e.g., in PD both lateral fricatives have merged in lax *x, while both velar ones have merged in tense *x:, etc.). For the detailed account of the reconstruction of the opposition of velar and lateral fricatives (not reconstructed by N. S. Trubetskoy and differently reconstructed by E. A. Bokarev and B. K. Giginayshvili) see Starostin 1987, 440-441.

3) There is some evidence in favour of reconstructing a PEC voiced fricative *γ (correspondences: PN *b~g; PA *h~*?: Av. g; PTs *h~0; PD *γ; PL *g~k:), as well as the combination *γw (correspondences: PN *b~: PA *h: Av. g(°): Lak g(°)~h: PL *b~). However, not a single root with this fricative has a PWC correspondence - therefore the presence of *γ in PNC is still dubious.

4) The tense affricate k:, present in Avar-Andian languages, in all cases known to us, has developed either from laterals (see above) or from uvulars (see below). Therefore we cannot reconstruct PEC and PNC velar geminates in its place. However, there is a rather significant number of words that in different languages show velar reflexes with non-standard correspondences of laryngeal features. We have grouped these correspondences into rows where it seems plausible to reconstruct the geminates *k and *kw respectively (if we suppose a development *k > *k, *kw > *k(°) in Avar-Andi-Tsezian and the development *k > *k: or *k > *k in the Lak-Lezghian-Dargwa area).

5) Some special comments on the behaviour of voiced *g and *gw are appropriate.

The split of reflexes (*g > g~k:) is observed in Lak and PL. One can note that in Lak g occurs basically within grammatical and pronominal morphemes and within expressive words; otherwise k: is common. In PL the split rules are not quite clear, but it seems that g occurs in some cases within medial clusters after preceding liquid and nasal resonants, while in some other cases it is a result of assimilation (or dissimilation) to adjacent consonants.

As for *gw, the situation here is more complicated:

a) in PN the basic reflex is probably *k (cf. *dw > *t, see above), but in some cases (probably as a result of early delabialization) we observe the development *gw > *g.

b) in PTs the rules of the variation *g°~g₁° are not clear (as opposed to the distribution of non-labialized reflexes *g/*g₁, see above).

c) in Lak and PL the voiced reflex *g(°) is typical after an immediately preceding resonant; as for Dargwa, there is not enough evidence for establishing reliable rules of distribution.

6) The voiced geminate *g can not be reconstructed for PEC; as for PNC, it is reconstructed on the basis of the correspondence PEC *g : PWC *γ (one of the few cases, when we can suppose a difference between PNC and PEC).

7) In Lak, velars (both original ones and reflexes of laterals, see above) usually become palatalized and develop into hushing consonants before the vowels a, i; this (obviously late) process is not specially noted in the table.

8) In PTs the reflex of the labialized geminate *kw is regularly shifted into the uvular series (a phenomenon opposite to the one that was happening in many languages with labialized uvulars, see below). The same shift is typical for PWC (this is one of several characteristic phonetic isoglosses between PTs and PWC); it is not quite clear whether the sporadically occurring PN reflex *kw > j q is somehow related to this. We must state that in PTs, in some cases, we also observe the development *kw > q(°) in initial position, but it is less regular (in most cases in PTs the initial k(°) is preserved).

9) In PWC, velars generally are preserved (with the standard development of quantity and quality features, depending on the vocalic environment). We must note the devoicing *gw > kw (similar to what happened in PN; see above on a similar development of the labialized dental *dw in PWC and PN), and also the presence in some cases of an unexpected glottalized reflex of old non-glottalized "geminates" (however, the evidence available is not quite reliable).

1.1.9. Uvular consonants.

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*q	*q	*q	*q	h,Rχ	*χ~b:, Rχ:	q	*q	*χ	q,-χ(?)	*χ/q:
*G	*G	*b	*b	b	*χ~b:	q:	*q:	*q:	q:	*b
*d	*d	*q~?	*d	ɣ	*d	q~?	*d-	*d	q,-b	*d(-b)
*χ	*χ	*χ	*χ:	χ:/h,	*χ:/b:-), Rχ	χ:~h	*χ:-,	*χ	χ	*χ(/q:?)
*b	*b	*b	*b	b	*χ~b:	b	*b	*b	ɣ	*b

Uvular consonants in combinations with *w.

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*qw	*qw	*ph-	*q(ʷ)	h,Rχ	*χ~b:-, Rχ:	q(ʷ)	*q(ʷ)	*χ(ʷ)	q	*χʷ
*Gw	*Gw	*q~b	*b(ʷ)	b(ʷ)	*χ(ʷ)~ b:(ʷ)	q:(ʷ)	*b(ʷ)-, q:(ʷ)	*q:(ʷ)	q-	*bʷ
*dw	*dw	*b2~ 2-,d (~b,?)	*dw-, k(ʷ), Rq(ʷ)	ɣ-, k(ʷ), b	*q(ʷ)	2-(w-) ~d-,k(ʷ), R?	*d(ʷ)-, k(ʷ), Rq(ʷ)~R?	*d(ʷ)	q-, k	*dʷ~ Gʷ/ q:(ʷ)
*χw	*χw	*χ	*χ:-, Rχ	χ:(ʷ) ~h,Rχ (~Rh)	*χ:-, Rχ~ Rb:	χ(ʷ) ~h	*χ(ʷ)	*χ(ʷ)	χ	*χʷ
*bw	*bw	*H	*bʷ	bʷ	*b:ʷ	h(~bʷ)	*h~h-,b	*b(ʷ)	b~χ	*bʷ

Uvular "gemimates".

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*g	*g	*b~q (~Rχ)	*q:	q:	*χ:	q~χ:	*q/qI:	*χ:~ q,Rq:	χ(?)	*G~b
*gw	*gw	*b~q	*q:(ʷ), k:(ʷ), Rq:(ʷ)	q:(ʷ), k:(ʷ), Rq:(ʷ)	*χ:(ʷ)	q:(~)(w), x:(ʷ), Rqʷ~Rχ:ʷ	*q:(ʷ), k:(ʷ), Rq:(ʷ)	*χ:(ʷ) ~q(ʷ)	q:-, k, Rq:	*qʷ~ χʷ/ q:ʷ
*G	*G	*q~b	*q:	q:	*q	q	*b-,q:	*q:/ q:I	q	*G
*Gw	*Gw	*ph~ q-,d	*q:(ʷ)	q:(ʷ)	*q(ʷ)	q(ʷ)	*bʷ (~0)	*q:ʷ- q:ʷ,	q (~b?)	*bʷ~ q(ʷ)
*d	*d	*b-, q	*q:	q:	*q~q	q,Rb	*q-, q~?, Rh(RhI)	*q,-q: (/qI- q:I)	q, -R	*d~b /q:

PNC	PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*dʷ	*dʷ	*ph- ~d-, q	*q:(ʷ)-, k:(ʷ), Rq:(ʷ)	q:(ʷ)-, k:(ʷ), Rq:(ʷ)	*q(ʷ)~ q(ʷ) ~2-, k(ʷ), Rq(ʷ)	q:(ʷ)~ ~2-, k(ʷ), Rq(ʷ)	*qʷ- Rq(ʷ)	*q(ʷ) (~q:Iʷ-)	q-, k, Rq	*qʷ~ Rw/ qʷ:
*ɣ	*ɣ	*χ- h	*χ,Rχ: (/χ:-)	h/χ:-, Rχ:	*χ:~b: (/h)	χ:~h (/h)	*χ: (~h)	*χ: (~h)	χ	*χ(~b?)
*χw	*χw	*p(h)- h	*χ(ʷ), Rχ(ʷ):	χ:(ʷ)~ h,Rχ	*χ:(ʷ) ~b:(ʷ) ~h(h)	χ:(ʷ)	*χ:(ʷ)	*χ:(ʷ)	pχ- χ	*χʷ

Comments.

1) Many North-Caucasian languages (Tsezian, Lak, Dargwa, Lezghian, Ubykh) possess, besides plain uvulars, a special series of uvular pharyngealized consonants (though in many of those languages pharyngealization can be combined not only with uvulars, and from the phonological point of view it may be considered an independent vocalic or prosodic feature - see [Starostin 1987, 465-466]). Pharyngealization (and the pharyngealization of uvulars in particular) is apparently the result of the fall of certain laryngeals (see below), therefore we do not reconstruct a special pharyngealized uvular series for PNC. However, it must be noted that pharyngealization rather often (especially in PL) leads to the modification of the reflex of the uvular consonant. Such modified reflexes were indicated in the table by the pharyngealization marker - l; the lack of such a marker in any row of correspondences means that the quality of a pharyngealized reflex does not differ from a corresponding non-pharyngealized one.

2) In the reflexes of the labialized uvular affricates *dʷ, *gʷ and *qʷ in Avar-Andian, Lak, Dargwa and Khinalug, we observe a very characteristic parallel development: the uvular affricates in non-initial position shift to the velar series. This shift does not occur in combinations with preceding liquid resonants (r and l) or in initial position (a single exception from the last rule is the numeral "two", which is characterized by the development *dʷ- > *kʷ-; this is apparently motivated by the exceptional monosyllabic structure of this root). For the correspondence Av. k: : PL *qʷ, E. A. Bokarev [Bokarev 1981] and B. K. Giginayshvili [Giginayshvili 1977] reconstruct a tense affricate *k:. The correspondence of Av. k: : PL *qʷ is interpreted by E. A. Bokarev as reflecting the PEC tense affricate *k:, while B. K. Giginayshvili classifies it (as well as the correspondence of Av. k: : PL *qʷ, not noticed by E. A. Bokarev) as irregular (with a provisional reconstruction *k). Neither of the authors have given thought to the circumstance that all the listed correspondences demand the obligatory presence of labialization and the medial position of corresponding reflexes and therefore are in strict complementary distribution with the correspondences "Av.-And. q: : PL *qʷ", "Av.-And. *qʷ: PL *qʷ" and "Av.-And. *q:(ʷ): PL *qʷ". These facts do not leave any doubt as to the necessity of reconstructing PEC (and PNC) uvular consonants in all these cases.

The development of uvular labialized *gw, *dw and *qʷ into velars in medial postvocalic position has not at all afflicted Nakh, Tsezian, Lezghian and West-Caucasian languages. This development must be dated in a rather late period (after the break of the Avar-Andi-Tsezian unity); this is an important areal

phonetic isogloss, which obviously can provide us with information about the geographic location of separate families of the East-Caucasian languages in the period about the 2nd-3rd millennium B.C.

3) For Nakh languages, the difference between the reflexes of *χ and *χ̣ is characteristic (other tense and lax fricatives usually merge there - see above), as well as the specific initial reflexes of labialized uvulars (*qw-, *χw-, *Gw-, *ḡw) > *ph-, *q̣w > *ḅw). The reasons for the sporadic appearance of the reflex ʁ (along with regular q and ḡ) in many rows of correspondences are not yet clear.

4) Avar-Andian languages demonstrate a rather specific positional development of uvular fricatives ("the swapping of places" of the reflexes of *χ and *χ̣ in all positions respectively, except the position after the medial liquid resonants; historically it can be explained as the treatment *χ = χh and *χ̣ = χ respectively in an independent position (not in combinations with consonants), with a further allophonic development *χ > χ, *χh > χ̣). In Avar this process was going on not quite consequently; as a result we see frequent variations between χ̣ and h (the latter reflects in Avar an earlier lax *χ̣ (in all positions except after original medial liquid resonants, where the fricative χ is preserved as a rule, see [Starostin 1987, 448-449]). One may also note the presence of the emphatic laryngeal h instead of χ̣ in Avar in words with lost pharyngealization (a rare case of segment reflection of pharyngealization in Avar).

5) In Tsezian languages the distribution of the reflexes of *χ is similar to that of Andian languages (see above) and probably dates from the period of Avar-Andi-Tsezian unity. Unfortunately, it is hard to show a similar distribution for the reflexes of PEC *χ̣: it is connected with the general instability of PTs fricative reflexes of PEC uvulars (we observe here an unmotivated and unexplained variation *χ̣~ʁ̣, *χ̣̣~ʁ̣̣).

In other respects, the behaviour of uvulars in PTs is similar to that of other affricates.

6) In Lak we must note the variation q̣~ʁ̣ in the place of PEC *q̣, as well as the variation between χ̣ and h (the latter appears as h if pharyngealization is present) in the place of PEC uvular fricatives. We can not state any strict rules of distribution between these reflexes; they apparently result from old dialect mergers. One can also note the voicing *Rḡ > *Rḡ̣, parallel to the similar process in the system of front affricates (see above).

7) In Dargwa, as in Lak, we meet the reflex ʁ̣ in the place of PEC *q̣, and occasionally - h in the place of *χ̣; however, these sporadic reflexes are much less common here than in Lak (thus, the fricatives *χ̣, *χ̣w and *χ̣w give quite uniform reflexes). The Lak Rḡ (< *rḡ) corresponds here to the combination *Rh (*RhI) that has obviously developed from an earlier *Rḡ̣; therefore, Dargwa also reveals a positional voicing of the reflex of the glottalized geminate *ḡ after medial resonants (parallel to the development of other similar geminates, see above).

8) In PL we see a split of the reflexes of several uvular consonants, depending on the presence or lack of pharyngealization (the *q̣:l reflex, expected in the place of PEC *G with pharyngealization, shifted early to lax (aspirated) *q̣:l, but a new *q̣:l has developed here in the place of the voiced geminated *G̣; thus there

occurred a kind of "shift" of pharyngealized uvular consonants). PL reflexes of uvular voiced and glottalized geminates are very complicated; we see different positional complementary distributions of reflexes and a different development of pharyngealized and non-pharyngealized variants. In particular, one may note an untrivial development, *ḡ > *q̣, in final position (i.e. in the final position of the PL nominal root already after the reduction of final vowels, see below) as opposed to the glottalized reflex *ḡ in initial and medial position (e.g., inside verbal roots). Despite the complexity of PL reflexes, they seem inwardly quite logical and are confirmed by a large number of examples, therefore seem quite reliable to us.

9) The development of labialized uvulars in Khinalug is another feature that strictly distinguishes this language from Lezghian and brings it closer to Lak-Dargwa dialect zones on one side, and to Andi-Avar on the other. On the contrary, the development *χw- > pχ- (as well as some other features of consonantism) cuts Khinalug off from other Daghestan languages and brings it closer to Nakh. Unfortunately the materials on this interesting language are rather scanty, and the reflexes of some phonemes in it are either completely unknown or not reliable.

10) In the reflexes of uvulars in PWC, as in those of the consonants of other local series (see above), we observe sporadic variation between voice/voicelessness and (more often) glottalization/voice. In other respects the development is standard (e.g., we observe the appearance of "new tense" consonants in the place of old voiceless uvulars before initially long vowels as well as the appearance of palatalized and labialized variants of reflexes, depending on the quality of original following vowels).

In two roots there is an unusual correspondence PEC *χw : PWC *ʁ̣. The reasons for the appearance of a lateral reflex in PWC (we can judge about its laterality by the Abkhaz reflex l, see below) are yet unclear (it is not to be excluded that in PWC these roots had a combination like *r-χ̣ with the following development *rχ̣̣ > *rw: the reflexes of this *rw could have merged with those of the PWC *ʁ̣ in individual languages). This correspondence is not included in the general table (because of the uncertainty of its interpretation), though it seems quite real and reliable.

1.1.10. Laryngeal consonants.

PNC, PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*ʔ	*ʔ̣, 0	*ʔ̣~h-	ʔ̣, 0	*ʔ̣	ʔ̣, 0	*ʔ̣, 0	*ʔ̣	ʔ̣, 0	0
*h	*H	*h~h	h	*h	h-	*ʔ̣~h-	*h	h-	0
*ɦ	*ɦ, -0	*ɦ~	ɦ~ʃ	*ʔ̣~j-, -0(1)- ~h-	ʔ̣~j	*ʔ̣~h-, ɦ-0	*ʔ̣-/ hl-, -ʔ̣(1)-	ɦ(ʔ̣), -0	0
*ʔ̣	*H-	*H	h~ʔ̣-	*H-, ʔ̣	ʔ̣-	*ʃ-	*ʔ̣	ʃ	0
*ɦ	*ɦ, 0		ɦ, 0	*ɦ-, -(1)	-h-	*ɦ-	*j	-0	0
*ʃ	*h	*ʔ̣-	ʃ	*ʔ̣-	h	*ɦ~h	*h		0

Laryngeals in combination with -w-

PNC, PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*?w	*H	*?~b-, -?-	?~b	*?	h~b-, -0-	*?	*?(I)w	w-	0
*hw	*(b)2-, 2~0	*H	h(~h-)	*h~ h-,j-, j~w	?I-,0 h~j-, j~w	*h- (~w-), h~0	*?		0
*fiw	*H-(~b-), h	*H	h~s	*h~?-, ?I- ?(~0I-) (j-), 0I(j)	?I- (h~j-, j~w)	*h- (~b-?)	*h- (~w-?)		0
*?w	*b2-,h	*h(w)	b	*h~h- ?I~ j-,0	?I~ j-,0	*h~h (~?)	*?(w)	p-	0
*hw	*h-,2	*h~h(w)h	*h-	?I~ bl-,0I	*?~ hl-	*?w-			0
*?w		*H	s	?I-	*?(w)	*?(I(w))			

Comments.

1) Laryngeals are the most unstable class of consonants in North Caucasian languages. Their exact reflexes are often hard to establish (especially in PN and PA, where in some cases we use the symbol H, denoting an arbitrary laryngeal). Laryngeals are subject to frequent articulatory variations; such processes as dropping, development into j (for nonlabialized laryngeals) or w (for labialized ones) are typical for them. In PWC, as it is shown in the table, all laryngeals have been simply dropped (laryngeal consonants cannot be reconstructed for PWC, see below).

Despite these difficulties, however, the established correspondences allow us to reconstruct a six-laryngeal system for PEC - three plain (*?, *h, *fi) and three emphatic (*?, *h, *fi) (and for PNC by extrapolation). A typical feature of the emphatic laryngeals is that nouns that contain them reveal in Avar an immobile accent paradigm (the so-called "Paradigm A"), while words with plain laryngeals (or without laryngeals) have in Avar either an oxyton or a mobile accent paradigm (paradigms B and C).

In the table above we give only the reflexes of laryngeals in independent (initial and medial) positions. For their reflexes in combinations with other consonants (that seriously differ from their independent reflexes), see below.

1.1.11. Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters in PNC and PEC can be divided into three main groups:

a) Clusters of identical consonants - the so-called "geminate" (their reflexes were shown above). These clusters have a "quasiphonemical" character, because, like simple consonants, they can occupy the second position in medial clusters with preceding resonants. On a possible prosodic treatment of the PNC "geminate", see below.

b) Clusters of obstruents (except labial ones) with a following resonant

w (their reflexes were also shown above). They too can occupy the second position in medial combinations with preceding resonants (therefore complexes like -rtw- or -nçw- are possible).

c) Clusters of different consonants that have an exact "biphonemical" status, i.e. do not let other consonant phonemes precede them. The components of these clusters are obstruents (plain or "geminate", with the following w or without it) and resonant consonants.

The reflexes of the cluster types a) and b) (that can theoretically be treated as monophonemic) have been examined above. The c) type clusters may be grouped as follows:

1) Clusters of obstruents. The combinations of oral obstruents were apparently not allowed (or extremely rare) in PNC and PEC; but there is a numerous and important group of clusters of oral obstruents and laryngeals (combinations like CH- and HC-).

2) Clusters of obstruents and resonants. In PEC and PNC, combinations like RC are allowed; they are rather rarely encountered in initial position and very frequently otherwise. A subtype of this type of clusters are the combinations "resonant+laryngeal" (RH). The combinations of oral obstruents and following resonants (CR) were not allowed; however, the combinations "laryngeal+resonant" (HR) are reconstructed quite reliably (see below).

3) Clusters of resonants. This type of combinations is rather rare and usually met only in non-initial position.

In this section we will examine only the medial combinations of consonants in nominal roots; as for the behaviour of initial consonant clusters (in most languages simplified) as well as of consonant clusters in verbal roots, we would rather examine them in the section concerning root structure and prosody (see below).

As we see from the above, possible clusters inside the PNC (PEC) root were RC, RH, HR, RR; we will now examine their reflexes.

1.1.11.1. Clusters of the type RC ("resonant"+"obstruent").

A typical feature of the behaviour of such clusters in North-Caucasian languages is the frequent dropping of resonants and the usual instability of their reflexes. Its consequence is in particular the fact that in PTs and PWC clusters like this were altogether simplified and preserved only the second obstruent component (in PTs some resonants have left a trace by having nasalized the previous vowel). We must specifically note the instability of the resonant *-l-, which is not preserved almost anywhere, but which has a tendency to change either into -r- or into -n- (with a possible following disappearance and nasalization of the previous vowel).

1.1.11.1.A. Clusters "resonant+labial consonants".

Such clusters are rather rare (the most frequent are combinations of the resonant -m- with different labials) and have the following reflexes:

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*rp	*p	*p		*p		*rp	*rp		
*rb		*p					*rp:		*b
*lp	*p		l(V)p	*p	p	*rp	*p		*p:
*mp	*m	*b	m	*m	m	*m~b	*m	m	*p(?)
*mb	*b	*b	b	*b~mm		*m	*m		

It can be seen that the nasal -m- has a tendency to consume the following explosive articulation. On the whole, the reconstruction here is rather tentative - primarily because the clusters in question are rare (each cluster being present in one or two examples, and in many cases reflexes in individual languages are not attested at all).

1.1.11.1.B. Clusters "resonant+front consonants"

The general picture of reflexation here is as follows (the symbol T means any front consonant - dental explosive, hissing, hushing or palatal):

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*rT	*(r)T	*rT/(r)T	(r)T	*T	rT	*rT/T	*rT	T	*T

In PN and Avar, -r- either disappears or is preserved (statistically in Avar the disappearance of this consonant is prevalent). In PA r is preserved if T is a dental explosive, but it can disappear before affricates or fricatives. In Dargwa -r- is usually preserved, but regularly disappears before the glottalized *č, *c̣. The most stable reflexation is that of PL and Lak on one side (where *r is always preserved) and in PTs and PWC on the other (where it always disappears).

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*lT	*(r)T	*T/nT	(r)T	*(V~)T	(r)T	*rT/T	*lT/T	T	*T

The resonant *l in combinations with front consonants is reconstructed basically on the evidence of PL (on the reconstruction of *l-clusters in PL see below, page 153).

In PN and Avar, *l in the examined combinations can either develop into r or disappear (the distribution between these two types of reflexes is unclear yet); on a special reflexation of some clusters with *l in PN (> PN *tt, *st) see above, page 47). Lak has similar reflexes (either development into r or disappearance of *l), though here we also meet sporadic cases of preserving -l- or the change -l- > -n-.

In PA *l (unlike *r, see above) usually disappears, leaving no trace. However, before the PA hushing consonants *č, *z we see the development *l > *n (in single cases even the preservation of l).

In PTs the medial *l regularly disappears, leaving behind a nasalisation of the preceding vowel (apparently through an intermediate state *-l- > *-n-).

In PD the reflexes of *l are generally similar to those of *r; *l usually develops into r, but it can disappear before following hissing consonants (not only

before glottalized, as in the case of *r).

PL preserves *l in most cases; this consonant disappears only before hushing sounds in the sequence *mVlč- > *mVč- (apparently as a result of a progressive nasalization *mVlč- > *mVnč- > *mVč-).

Finally, in Khinalug (in the few attested cases) and in PWC *-l- disappears without a trace.

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*nT	*nT/T/rT	*nT/T	nT/T	*(V)T~(V)T	nT/T	*(n)T	*nT/rT	T	*T

The medial *n, as all other resonants, is best preserved in PL (though the sequences *bVnT-, *mVnT- in PL had undergone an early dissimilative development *mVnT- > *mVrT- or resonant dropping *mVnT- > *mVT-).

In PN *n is preserved before dental explosives, develops into *r (becomes subject to denasalization) or disappears before fricatives and disappears before affricates. A similar distribution of reflexes (though without the development *n > r) is met in Avar and Lak, where *n is usually preserved before dental explosives, but dropped before affricates.

In PA *n usually is preserved in combinations; however, if a nasal *n is present in initial position or in the following syllable it disappears by dissimilation; sometimes it is dropped also before fricatives.

In PD *n is in most cases preserved, though it may sporadically disappear.

In Khinalug, PWC and PTs *-n-, like the other resonants, usually disappears. PTs reveals in some cases the nasalization of the preceding vowel; however, sometimes *n disappears without any trace.

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*mT	*nT/T	*(n)T	T	*(V)T~(V)T	(n)T	*mT/nT/T	*mT/T	mT/T	*T

In PL and PD, the nasal in clusters of the type *mT is usually preserved, disappearing only (as a consequence of dissimilation) after the initial resonants. PL always preserves the labial character of *m, while Dargwa preserves *m proper only if a hissing consonant is following; in other cases it turns into n.

PA and Lak reveal a variation between *nT and *T; in Khinalug in the few known cases we observe either the preservation of m, either its disappearance (with unclear distribution).

In PN *m (unlike *n, see above) usually disappears before dental explosives, but is preserved (as n, rarely m) before affricates; the character of Nakh reflexes before original fricatives is not quite clear. It must be noted that when the original affricates after *-m- develop into PN *tt (see above, page 46), *-m- (just as *-n-) regularly disappears. In rare cases in PN we see a sporadic denasalization *-mT- > *-bT-.

Avar regularly simplifies *mT > T (including the position before dental explosives, where the old *n is preserved, see above). The same is true for PTs (where we observe the same occasional nasalization of the previous vowel, as in the case with *n) and for PWC.

The resonants *w and *j are rather rarely met as components of medial consonant clusters; the medial -j- is not preserved at all in modern languages, but it

can be reconstructed in some cases, judging by the character of the PN reflex of adjacent affricates or fricatives (see above, page 47).

Front consonants themselves, as components of clusters with preceding resonants, usually give normal reflexes (see above), though we must note a specific development of the voiced dental *d, which may be consumed by the preceding resonant articulation:

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*rd	*rd~r	*rd	rd~r	*d~r	rt:~d	*(r)t:	*rt:	r	*d
*rdw	*t	*rd	rd	*d	rt:	*rt:	*rd		
*ld		*ld	(l)d	*l	j(?)~ll	*lt:	*rt:		
*nd	*d	*nd	(n)d	*d	t:~nn	*(n)t:			*d
*md	*d	*(n)d	d	*d~d	(n)t:~d	*(n)t:	*mt~t:		

1.1.11.1.C. Clusters "resonant+lateral consonants".

In the table of correspondences given below we will mark the laterals by the symbol L, and velars - by K. Before laterals we reconstruct the same set of resonants that we do before other obstruents (i.e. *r, *l, *n, *m; *w is met very rarely and its reflexation will not be specially examined; combinations with *j cannot be reconstructed).

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*rL	*rL	*rL	L	*L	K	*(r)K	*rL	K	*L

As we see in this table, *r in lateral clusters is preserved by PL, PN, PA and (not always) in PD; in other languages *-r- disappears.

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*lL	*L	*rL	rL	*L	rK	*rK	*L		

The clusters "l+lateral" are reconstructed here only from systematic considerations (by analogy with the development of *l in combinations with other consonants). The loss *l > 0 in PL, where resonants usually are preserved, is characteristic; it is quite probable that the lateral articulation of *l was preserved here too, which ultimately resulted in its dropping by dissimilation with the following lateral obstruent. In rare cases, when *l and the following lateral obstruent happen to be divided by the syllable border, *l can even be preserved in PL. In other languages *l can either develop into r or disappear; however, it is worth noting that its reflexes in most languages differ from those of *r.

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*nL	*rL	*nL/L	L	*L	K	*(n)K~rK	*nL/L	K	*L

The resonant *n, in combinations with following laterals, is also rather unstable. It is preserved in PA (but disappears here as a consequence of

dissimilation after initial resonants: *wVnL- > *mVL- ~ *bVL-), in PL (with a similar disappearance *wVnL- > *wVL-), and sometimes in PD (though the disappearance *n > 0 or the development *n > r is more frequent here). In other languages *n disappears before laterals (although PTs, Lak and Khinalug may preserve its trace as nasalization of initial resonants; in Lak this nasalization was followed by the dissimilative denasalization of *-n- and its development into -r-: *bVnL- > *mVnL- > *mVrK-). In PN it develops into -r-.

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*mL	*L	*mL/L	L	*L	nK	*(n)K	*mL/rL		*L

The resonant *m is preserved in PA (though it disappears as a consequence of dissimilation in the sequence *bVmL- > bVL-) and in PL (where *m in the same sequence had undergone a more complicated development: *bVmL- > *bVnL- > *mVnL- > *mVrL-). In Lak *mL > nK (unlike the sequence *nL, where *n disappears). In other languages the reflexes of *m and *n in clusters with laterals usually coincide.

1.1.11.1.D. Clusters "resonant+back consonants".

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*rK	*(r)K	*rK/(r)K	rK/(r)K	*K	rK/K	*(r)K	*rK	nK	*K

The resonant *r before back consonants is preserved in PL and regularly disappears in PTs and PWC. In PN -r- may be both preserved and dropped. In PA and Avar such a variation is observed before uvular consonants; before velars r is usually preserved. In Lak r is preserved in most cases, but regularly disappears before uvulars which yield Lak q. Finally, in Khinalug, judging by the few available examples, *r either disappears or develops into n.

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*lK	*(r)K	*nK/K	K	*(V)K	(r)K	*(r)K	*lK/K		*K

The resonant *l, before back consonants, usually behaves more or less in the same way as before the front ones. It is preserved in PL (though we must specially note the development of the sequence *wVlK- > *wVK- ~ *wVnK-). In PN, PD and Lak there is a variation between the reflexes K and rK (in Lak and PD lK may also be sporadically preserved). In Avar -l- is sporadically preserved, too, although in most cases the resonant disappears. In PA *l, before back consonants, regularly develops into n (but in the sequence *wVlK- > *wVnK- > *mVK- this medial nasal disappears through dissimilation; Avar in this position sometimes reveals not the disappearance, but a dissimilative development *wVnK- > mVrK-). In PTs *l first developed into a nasal, then disappeared, leaving behind the nasalization of the previous vowel. Finally, in PWC we observe a regular disappearance of the resonant in clusters like this.

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*nK	*K	*nK/K	nK/K	*(V)K~(V)K	nK	*rK	*nK/K	(n)K	*K

The combination *nK is preserved in Avar-Andian (with the usual limitation: -n-> -0- after initial resonants) and in Lak. In PL *n is preserved before velars but disappears before uvulars (combinations "n+uvular" are missing in PL). In the sequence *mVnK- the resonant -n- can be preserved or disappear arbitrarily (*mVnK- > *mVnK- ~ *mVK-); we must specially note a dissimilative development *bVnQ- > *mVnQ- > *mVrQ-). In PTs, after the disappearance of *-n-, the nasalization of the previous vowel can be preserved (as in combinations with front consonants, see above). In PN and PWC *n usually disappears.

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*mK	*mK~nK	*nK	K	*(V)K	nK~wK	*nK	*mK		*K

The nasal labial in combinations with the following back consonants is well preserved in PL and sometimes preserved in PN (though more often transformed into -n-); in PD *m may be preserved in reduplicated morphemes (i.e. on the syllable border), but usually develops into -n-. Traces of labialization are also found in Lak, where we can sometimes discover a denasalized reflex -wK-, though in most cases we find the reflex -nK-. This reflex is usual in PA. In Avar (as in the case with the combination *mT), PWC and PTs the nasal disappears (and in PTs often, though not always, leaves a trace as the nasalization of the preceding vowel).

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*wK	*(b)K	*(w)K	K	*K	(w)K	*(b)K	*(w)K		

The resonant *w is met more often before back consonants than before others (though on the whole it is much less frequent than other resonants). It may be preserved in PN (as b), in PA, Lak, PD (as b) and PL.

1.1.11.2. Clusters of the type RH ("resonant"+"laryngeal").

Of all the subgroups of North-Caucasian languages such combinations (and only a limited number of them) can only be reconstructed for Proto-Andian. However, there is a whole series of phenomena that may be conveniently explained if we assume the presence of such combinations in PNC and PEC. First of all, there are frequent cases of the loss of non-initial resonants in PD, Lak, PTs, Avar and PN, which rather often (see below) correlate with the presence of RH clusters in PA. In these cases it is natural to suggest a development of the type *-RH- > *-H- > -0- with the weakening of resonant articulation in the medial cluster (a phenomenon which is quite usual in other medial clusters, see above) that led to the disappearance of the resonant, and ultimately to the disappearance of the whole medial cluster (because intervocalic laryngeals are themselves very unstable, see above). We must emphasize that in these cases there is no question of any grammatical affixes ("determinatives") being joined or not joined to the root, because in two subgroups - PL and PA - the resonants in the examined cases are always preserved,

and because in other languages, if resonant reflexes are present, they reflect the same PNC resonant (and not different ones, which would be natural, if we were dealing with reflexes of different grammatical morphemes).

The second circumstance to which we must pay attention is the presence, in PL, in many of the cases mentioned above (i.e. as correspondences to PA clusters of the type *RH and to the dropped resonants in other languages) of the so-called "tense" resonants *m:, *n:, *l: (on the reflexes of these consonants in modern Lezghian languages, see below). This means that in PL there occurred a process inverse to the one described above - i.e. the strengthening of resonants in combination with following laryngeals, with a total consumption of the laryngeal articulation. It must be emphasized that the *RH-clusters are the only source of PL tense resonants; the sometimes proposed suggestion that in these cases we are dealing with earlier combinations of the type *mb or *nd is thus apparently unfounded.

The combinations "resonant+laryngeal" can be divided into three main types by the character of reflexation in the subgroups. We tentatively reconstruct therein the laryngeals *ʔ, *h and *ɦ (tense resonants in PL appear in two last types of combinations, therefore the reconstruction of similar laryngeals would be natural for them; however, the question where to reconstruct *h and where *ɦ is solved rather arbitrarily, primarily because laryngeal reflexes are missing in most languages, and PA reflections are not sufficient to determine the exact character of laryngeal articulation in PNC and PEC).

Since Avar has both barytonal and non-barytonal accent paradigms in words with *RH-clusters (see above, page 62, on the connection of Avar paradigms with the quality of laryngeals), there are reasons for reconstructing both plain and emphatic laryngeals in *RH-clusters (the latter having caused the appearance of the immobile paradigm A in Avar). We can thus also reconstruct the combinations *Rʔ, *Rh, *Rʕ, that, however, generally give the same segment reflexes as the combinations *Rʔ, *Rh, *Rɦ (the difference between the combinations of the types *Rʔ and *Rʕ is probably also reflected in Lak, see below).

The development of the clusters of the type *RH may be summarized in the following way:

A. Clusters of the type *Rʔ/*Rʕ

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*mʔ(*mʕ)	*m~0	*mH	m	*(V)0	m/0	*m	*m	m	*0
*nʔ(*nʕ)	*n~0	*nʔ	n~0	*(V)0	n/0	*n~0	*n	n	*0~n
*rʔ(*rʕ)	*r~0	*r(H)	0	*(V)0	r/0	*r~0	*r		*0
*lʔ(*lʕ)	*0	*rH	r	*r	l/0	*l	*l	l	*0(*~l)
*ɦʔ(*ɦʕ)	*0	*l(H)	l	*0	l/0	*l	*l	l	*0

The variation between zero and non-zero reflexes is observed in some cases in PN, Avar and PD. In PWC, in most cases, we observe zero reflexes (which corresponds to the general tendency of dropping resonants in PWC). Characteristic for PTs is the compensating nasalization of the vowel preceding the lost resonants

(which also confirms the suggestion of original consonant clusters here - cf. a similar phenomenon in the development of *RC-clusters, see above).

As for Lak reflexes, in the few cases, when Lak and Avar reflexes are present at the same time, we have Lak 0 corresponding to the Avar paradigm A (cf. *ja* : *ber* 'eye', *ka* : *k'er* 'hand') while the preservation of the resonant corresponds to Avar paradigms B and C (cf. *ula* : *'er* 'board, pole', *çun* : *ç:inu* 'navel', *qan* : *'onó* 'flat stone'). Thus, we may suggest that PEC *R²-clusters are reflected in Lak as resonants, while *R²-clusters yield 0 (with the disappearance of resonants before *-2> -0-).

B. Clusters of the type *Rh/*Rh.

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*mh(*mh)	*m(~0)	*m	m	*m	0	*m	*m:		*0
*nh(*nh)	*0	*nH	0	*(V)0	0	*0	*n:	0~n	*0
*rh(*rh)	*0	*r	r	*(V)0	0	*0	*r	0	*0
*lh(*lh)		*r	0		0	*0	*l:		*0
*th(*th)	*l	*l	l	*l	0	*0	*l:	l	*0

This type of clusters is characterized by the presence of tense resonants in PL (except *r, which only has a lax variant in PL), the prevalent disappearance of resonants in Lak and Dargwa (except *m, which is always preserved in Dargwa) and the lack of laryngeals in PA reflexes (except the combination *nh > *nH). The latter may to some extent serve as an argument for reconstructing the laryngeal *h in this case: since the reflexes of the cluster types A and C (see below) in PA generally coincide, but somewhat differ from the reflexes of type B, it is natural to suggest that in types A and C we are dealing with the reflexes of the laryngeals *? and *h (whose non-initial reflections coincide in PA, but differ from the reflection of *h: see above, page 61).

C. Clusters of the type *Rh/*R².

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*mh(*m ²)	*0	*m(H)	0	*(V)H	m	*m	*m:		*0
*nh(*n ²)	*0	*n?	n	*(V)0	n	*n	*n:	0	
*rh(*r ²)	*0	*rH	r	*0	r	*r	*r		*0
*lh(*l ²)	*0		r	*r	l~0	*l	*l:		
*th(*t ²)	*0	*l(H)	0(~l)	*l	l	*l	*l:	l	*0(~l)

In this type of clusters PL has the same reflexes as in the previous one, while PA reflexes generally coincide with the reflexes of the type *R²/*R². For PN zero reflexation is typical, while, on the contrary, PD (and, in most cases, in Lak) regularly preserve resonants.

As a conclusion to this section we must note the preservation of the distinction between two lateral resonants (*l and *t) with following laryngeals;

this opposition is lacking in the clusters of the type *RC (see above), which once again emphasizes the ambiguous character of the phoneme *t in PNC and PEC (the possibility of regarding it both as an obstruent and a resonant).

Reliable cases of combinations of the resonants *w and *j with following laryngeals have not been found.

1.1.11.3. Clusters of the type *HR ("laryngeal"+"resonant").

In some nominal roots we discover correspondences somewhat similar to those described in p. 1.1.11.2, but differing in several respects. In some languages (e.g. in Tsezian and Andian) the reflexes are just the same, but in others (e.g. in Nakh, Avar and Lezghian) we meet a total loss of resonants and the preservation of the reflexes of laryngeal consonants. In these cases we tentatively reconstruct original PEC (and PNC) clusters of the type *HR, suggesting either the development *HR > *RH or *HR > *H in descendant languages. Here we will list all types of such correspondences, known to us:

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*?n		*n(H)	n	*(V)0	0	*0	*?		
*?r	*0	*r?	r		0	*0	*j		*r
*hn	*n	*nH	n~0	*n	0	*0~j	*h	(?)l	*0
*hl~fil	*?	*r(H)					*l~l:		*0
*h ² t	*?	*l	ç	*l	0		*l	0	
*hr	*h		h	*r			*r	z	
*hn	*n	*n?			0l	*h	*hl		
*?n	*0~h	*nH	0	*(V)h	0	*h	*?	0	(*m)
*?n	*n	*n(H)	h	*(V)0			*j	0	
*hr	*0	(*h)	0	*0	r	*r	*r		*r
*hl		*r	r	*(V)0			*j~?		
*çr	*0	*r	0	*(V)0		*0	*?		
*çn(?)		*?			n	*n	*n		

*HR-clusters are more rare than *RH-clusters, therefore in many cases the reconstructions are quite tentative.

1.1.11.4. Clusters of the type *RR ("resonant"+"resonant").

In a small number of nominal roots we discover a variation of reflexes of different resonants. We may suppose that these variations reflect original clusters of resonants, simplified in all descendant languages. We can establish the following rows of correspondences:

PNC,PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khin	PWC
*rn	*rn	*nH	n	*n	n	*r	*r		*r
*ln		*n	n		l		*l~l:		
*mn	*n	*m					*m		*0

PNC, PEC PN PA Av PTs Lak PD PL Khin PWC

*wn m *w
 *nm *m *n n *m nn *m *n
 *wt *l *l l *w

In some words it seems possible to reconstruct also other medial clusters of resonants with *w and *j as the first component; in such clusters all languages usually reflect only the second resonant (though sometimes we see reflexes similar to *RH-clusters); as for the first component, it is indirectly reflected in its influence on vowels or initial consonants.

1.1.2. Vocalism.

The only attempt to reconstruct the PEC (Proto-Daghestan) vocalism was made by E. A. Bokarev, who had reconstructed an original system of five vowels, based on a small number of examples from Avar, Lak, Dargwa, Lezghian and Tabasaran (see [Bokarev 1981]). At the present time the data of the reconstructed PN, PA, PTs, PD and PL languages call for a total revision of the correspondences established by E. A. Bokarev. It must be also noted that it now seems pointless to reconstruct nasalized vowels (on their secondary development in PTs as a result of the fall of medial resonants, see above), as well as the pharyngealized ones (on their origin, see section 1.1.3); however, we have reasonable evidence in favour of the distinction between long and short vowels.

The reconstruction of vowels is made generally on the basis of nouns (see below on the behaviour of vowels in verbal roots). We should also note that vowels behave quite differently in medial and word-final positions.

1.1.2.1. Medial vocalism.

In medial (non-final) position we reconstruct 9 vowels for PNC (or 18-vowels, considering the length feature);

*i *ī *ū *ū̄ *ɨ̄ *ɨ̄̄ *ū̄ *ū̄̄
 *ē *ē̄ *ə̄̄ *ə̄̄̄ *ō̄̄ *ō̄̄̄
 *ā̄̄̄̄ *ā̄̄̄̄̄̄

In the tables below we demonstrate three types of reflexes: 1) reflexes when there is no labial w adjacent to the vowel; 2) reflexes of the vowel after the labial w; 3) reflexes of the vowel before the labial w. Such a division is necessary, because labialization in North-Caucasian languages has significantly influenced the development of vowels.

The development of vowels is also influenced by pharyngealization (that appears as a result of the fall of laryngeals, see below), as well as by nasalization in PTs (that appears as a result of the fall of medial resonants, see above). We list the nasalized variants of PTs reflexes after the main ones in square brackets. See below for more detailed comments on the development of vowels in East-Caucasian languages.

In West-Caucasian languages, the original PNC vocalism system has been totally destroyed (as we know, most modern West-Caucasian languages possess bi- or trivocalic systems that have developed from the initial PWC bivocalic vowel system). The main principle of the reflexation of vowels in PWC is as follows:

a) front vowels are reflected as the palatalization of the preceding consonant, being themselves transformed into neutral *ə/a; if the preceding consonant is labialized, it becomes palatalized too. This gives rise to the specific series of "palatalized-labialized" consonants (on their development in West-Caucasian languages, see below).

b) the labialized back vowel *u is reflected as the labialization of the preceding consonant; thus, the reflexes of non-labialized consonants before *u merge with the reflexes of labialized consonants. The vowel itself is also transformed into neutral *ə or *a.

c) the mid vowels *i, *ə as well as back *o, *a are reflected in PWC as neutral *ə or *a;

d) long vowels in PWC merge with short ones, but preceding consonants become tense (strong). This gives rise to the specific series of PWC tense (so-called "preruptive") consonants.

Generally speaking, all the listed rules of vowel reflexation in PWC can be reduced to one: the transfer of qualitative and quantitative features of vowels onto the preceding consonants. As a result of this rule, the system of vowels in PWC was drastically reduced, but the system of consonants was significantly increased (because of the appearance of palatalized, "palatalized-labialized" and "tense" phonemes). We must note that the height opposition of two PWC vowels (*ə/*a) still cannot be connected with the respective opposition in PEC. High vowels were probably originally reflected as *ə, mid and low vowels - as *a, but afterwards, under the influence of ablaut, the connection of PWC vowel height with the corresponding Proto-North-Caucasian phonetic categories became obscured.

In the table given below we do not list PWC reflexes (which were basically described above).

PNC, PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs ¹	Lak	PD	PL	Khin
*i	*ā	*i	i	*ī ²	i ³	*i-a ⁴	*i	i
*(Cw)i	*ū-ō /ā	*C ^w i ~*Cu ⁵	C ^w e ~Co	*C ^w i	C ^w a~ Cu	*Cu~ C ^w a	*C ^w i	Cu-C ^w a
*ī(Cw)	*ū/ā	*iC ^w ~uC	i~u	*iC ^(w) ~ uC[ē]	VC ^(w)	*iC ^w ~aC ^w	*iC ^w	
*ī	*e/ā	- *ī	- *ī	- *ī	i	- *ī	- *ī	- *ī
*(Cw)ī	*ō~ū/ā	- *ī	- *ī	- *ī	C ^w i~Cu	- *ī	- *ī	- *ī
*ī(Cw)	*ō/ā	- *ī	- *ī	- *ī	iC ^w ~uC	- *ī	- *ī	- *ī
*ū ⁶	*ō~ī	*i	e~i	*a[ā]	u~a	*a(~u)	*e~ā	
*ū̄(Cw)	*ū~ī	*iC ^(w)	o~i	*e[ō]	u~a	*a	*e~ā	
*ū̄	*ō/ā	- *ū̄	- *ū̄	- *ū̄	- *ū̄	- *ū̄	- *ū̄	- *ū̄

PNC, PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs ¹	Lak	PD	PL	Khin
*u(Cw)	*o/a	= *ū	= *u	= *ū	= *ū	= *ū	= *ū	i ¹²
*ē	*ā ⁷	*o ⁸	a ⁸	*[ō] ⁹	a	*e/a ¹⁰	*e-ā ¹¹	u
*(Cw)e	*o/a	*C ^w i~	C ^w a~	*C ^w ~Cō	a~u	*C ^w e~	*C ^w e~	u
		C ^w o	Cu	[C ^w ~Cō]		C ^w a	C ^w a	
*ē(Cw)	*ō~ē	*iC ^w ~	a	*[ō]	a~u	*eC ^w ~aC ^w	*eC ^w ~	u
		oC ^w				āC ^w ¹¹		
*ē	*ē~i/a	*i	e ¹³	*i(~ā?) ¹⁴	a	*e~i ¹⁵	*e ¹⁶	i
*(Cw)e	*ō~ē	*C ^w i~	Cu~	*C ^w i	C ^w i~	*C ^w e~	*C ^w e	u
		Cu	C ^w e, Co ¹³		Cu	Cu ¹⁵		
*ē(Cw)	*ē/a	*iC ^w	e~o	*iC ^w	a~u	*eC ^w ~	*eC ^w	i
				[ōC]		*iC ^w		
*ā	*i ¹⁷	*i	i ¹⁸	*i[i] ¹⁹	i ²⁰	*i ²¹	*ā ²²	i(-u)
*(Cw)ā	*ī	*C ^w i	i~	*C ^w i[i]	C ^w V	*Cu~C ^w a	*C ^w ā~	i
			u ¹⁸			C ^w e	C ^w e	
*ā(Cw)	*ī	*iC ^w	a~u	*i	i~u	*iC ^w ~uC	*āC ^w	
	(~ū, ō)							
*ā	*o/a	= *ā	= *ā ²³	*[ō~ē]	= *ā	= *ā	= *ā i~i	
*(Cw)ā	*ā	= *ā	= *ā	*C ^w e	= *ā	= *ā	= *ā	
*ā(Cw)	*ā	= *ā	= *ā	= *ā	= *ā	= *ā	= *ā i	
*ī	*ā ²⁴	*o	a	*i[e]~u	a	*u	*i(-i?)	i~u
*(Cw)ī	*ō/a	*C ^w o/	u~C ^w e	*C ^w i	Cu~	*u~a ²⁸	*Cu~C ^w i ²⁹	
		C ^w i ²⁵	/C ^w a ²⁶	[ē] ²⁷	C ^w a			
*i(Cw)	*ā	*oC ^w	u~o	*iC ^w [ē]	aC ^w ~	*aC ^w ~uC	*uC~iC ^w ³¹	
		~iC ^w	(~a) ³⁰		uC			
*i	*ā ³²	*i	i	*i[ō] ³³	u~i	*i~u	*i(*ji-)	i~i~u
*(Cw)ī	*u/a	*C ^w i	u~i ³⁴	*C ^w i	u~i	*C ^w i~	*C ^w i~	i
		~Cu		[C ^w i]		Cu	Cu ³⁵	
*i(Cw)	*ā	*iC ^w ~	i	*i	u~i	*i~u	*iC ^w	
		oC ^w						
*ō	*o/a	*i ³⁶	o	*[ō] ³⁷	a(-u)	*a	*a(*ja-) ā~a, o	
*(Cw)ō	*ū~ō	*C ^w o	o	*o~ō	u	*u~a ³⁸	*Cu~C ^w a ³⁹	
*ō(Cw)	*ō	*iC ^w	o~u	*[ō]	iC ^w	*a	*aC ^w	
		~uC			~aC ^w ⁴⁰			
*ō	*ē/a	*i ^{36, 41}	= *ō	o[ā~ō] ⁴²	= *ō	= *ō	= *ō	= *ō
*(Cw)ō	*ō/a	*C ^w i	= *ō	*u~ō	= *ō	= *ō	= *ō	
		~Cu						
*ō(Cw)	*ē~ō/a	*iC ^w	= *ō	*o~ō	= *ō	= *ō	= *ō	
		~uC						
*ū	*ō~ū/a	*u	u	*o~u	u	*u	*o	a(?)
*ū	*ō~ū	*u	u	*i~i	u	*u	*o	a(?)
*ō	*ō	*i	e~i ⁴⁴	*[ā~ō] ⁴⁵	u	*a~u	*a	i(?)
	(/ā) ⁴³							
*(Cw)ō	*ū	*C ^w i~	u	*ō	u	*u	*C ^w a	
		Cu				(*C ^w aI-)		

PNC, PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs ¹	Lak	PD	PL	Khin
*ō(Cw)	*ō	*iC ^w ~	u	*ō	u	*iC ^w	*aC ^w	
		uC				(~aI ^w)		
*ō	*ā(-o)	*i ⁴⁶	e~i	*i[ī~ā] ⁴⁷	u	*a/i ⁴⁸	*o	a~ā
*(Cw)ō	*ō/a	*C ^w o	C ^w e	*Ce~C ^w ō	u	*C ^w i	*o	ā
				[ē~ā]				
*ō(Cw)	*ā	*oC ^w	i		u	*iC ^w ~	*oC ^w	
		~iC ^w				uC		
*ā	*ā	*a	a/e ⁵⁰	*a~e	a(-u)	*a	*a(*ji-)	ā~a
	(-e) ⁴⁹			[ā~ō]				(-u?) ⁵¹
*(Cw)ā	*ō/a	*C ^w a	C ^w a/	*C ^w a~C ^w e	Cwa~	*C ^w a ⁵³	*C ^w a	a~o
			C ^w e ⁵²	[ā~ō]	Cu			
*ā(Cw)	*ā	*aC ^w	aC ^w ~eC ^w	*a~e	aC ^w	*aC ^w	*aC ^w	
*ā	*ē/a	*a	a	*i~i	a(-u)	*a ⁵⁴	*a(*ji-)	
				[ī~ō]				
*(Cw)ā	*ē~ō/a	*C ^w a~	C ^w a~	*C ^w i~	C ^w a	*C ^w a	*C ^w a	a~o
		Cu	Cu	Cu	~Cu			
*ā(Cw)	*ā	*aC ^w	aC ^w ~	*i(i)~u	aC ^w	*aC ^w	*aC ^w	
			uC					

Comments.

1) In Proto-Tsezian-Khvarshi (PTsKh) we observe a phenomenon of splitting the reflexes of some PTs vowels (see below), which causes us to reconstruct two series of vowel phonemes (series A and series B) of the first syllable: *i^A~*i^B, *e^A~*e^B, *i^A~*i^B, *o^A~*o^B, *u^A~*u^B. In the table we have not taken into account this distinction, the origin of which seems to be caused by prosodic reasons. Indeed, in all the rows of correspondences listed above we observe an exact correspondence of Tsezian series of vowels to Avar accent paradigms:

PEC vowel	PTs series	Avar accent paradigm
*i	A	B~C
	B	A
*u	A	B~C
	B	A
*ō	A	B~C
	B	A
*a	A	B~C
	B	A
*e	A	B~C
	B	A
*ā	A	A~B~C
	B	B~C
*ī	A	(A)~B~C
	B	B~C
*o	A	A~B~C
	B	B~C

From this scheme we see that the PTs series B corresponds to Avar barytonal

accentuation if the root vowel goes back to PEC *i, *ü, *ə or *a, while the same PTs series B corresponds to Avar non-barytonal accentuation if the root vowel goes back to PEC *e, *ä, *i or *o. On the contrary, the PTs series A corresponds to Avar non-barytonal accentuation if the root vowel goes back to PEC *i, *ü, *ə, *a, but to different Avar accent patterns if the root vowel goes back to PEC *e, *ä, *i or *o. It is not to be excluded that the reconstructions of PEC vowels *ə and *i should be swapped; in that case we would have a general rule according to which the PTs series A corresponds to non-barytonal paradigms when the root contains an original narrow vowel (or the neutral *a), and to any paradigm when the root contains an original wide vowel; on the contrary, the series B corresponds to the barytonal paradigms if the root contains an original narrow vowel (or the neutral *a), and to non-barytonal paradigms if the root contains an original wide vowel. However, the phonetic articulation of the vowels *ə and *i could probably vary in time, and by now we would rather preserve the reconstruction presented in the table (see above). The reasons why non-barytonal accent paradigms correspond to both PTs series (A and B) are to be examined additionally. But the correspondences given above evidently confirm the suggestion of a connection between PTs vocalic series and prosodic factors (ultimately with fallen laryngeals, see below).

2) The vowel *i develops in a different way adjacent to laryngeals, where *Hwi- > *Hō- [Hō-] and *CwiH > -al(j).

3) In Lak the initial sequence *wi- > ba- (cf. *Cwi- > C(°)a-), and in final position *-iw > -uw.

4) In Dargwa e can appear in the place of *i in the sequence *CiCa > *CeCa as well as before the resonant in the sequence *CiRC- > *CeRC-. Other specific features of the development of *i in Dargwa: we usually observe *u after labials, as well as in the sequence *-iw > *-ub; before the final laryngeal widening occurs: *-iH > *-eH.

5) In PA after h(w), widening occurs: *h(w)i- > *h(°)a-.

6) Labialized high vowels *ü and *u are more rarely encountered than other vowels and their secondary character is not to be excluded. Besides that, the vowel *ü is characterized by an extreme instability of reflexes (as a result, the reconstruction of *ü and not, for example, *ö, is rather tentative). Up to now, however, we do not see any means to eliminate these vowels from the PEC system (i.e. any other way of interpreting the existing correspondences).

7) In PN *ē > *ō after and before labials (though after *m a non-labialized reflex *ā also occurs). Besides, the development *ē > *ā apparently does not occur before laryngeals and in final position after labialized consonants.

8) In PA and Avar the medial sequence *-ēm- > *-um-.

9) In PTs *mēCw- > muC-; *ōxū > -eū.

10) In Dargwa in this row we observe a complicated distribution between the reflexes e and a (e after labials, dental explosives, hissing sounds, before h; a after hushing, velar, uvular, laryngeal consonants); *ē with pharyngealization (caused by fallen laryngeals) > al.

11) PL also has a reflex i after r-, j- and some laryngeals.

12) In Khinalug i is the most frequent reflex; however, we also meet other vowels as descendants of *ē.

13) Avar has a after m-. The vowel *ē after front labialized consonants is here usually reflected as u, while after back labialized consonants it is either preserved or develops into o (*Kwē- > Ko-; the latter rule reflects an already quite late process).

14) Before and after hushing consonants PTs has i instead of ī.

15) In Dargwa, before pharyngealized uvulars, widening occurs: *eQI > -aQI. After labialized front consonants and lateral fricatives *ē > u, after labialized back consonants e is preserved.

16) In PL, before pharyngealized uvulars, widening occurs: *eQI > -aQI (cf. above about a similar process in PD).

17) After labial consonants in PN *ā > ō. In a few cases (after h, after labialized consonants in final position) *ā > ā.

18) Sometimes we also observe Avar e (it happens, in particular, regularly after Av. ʕ). Labialized front consonants before *ā lose their labialization (*Twā- > Ti-); after back labialized consonants *ā > u.

19) In a few cases PTs has *i as a reflex of *ā even without adjacent labialization. The distribution rules are not quite clear yet.

20) In the case of pharyngealization in Lak, *ā > il, but *āCw > alC°. After front labialized consonants we usually have i here (with the loss of labialization of the preceding consonant); the sequence *Kwā- usually gives Ku- or K°a-.

21) In PD before pharyngealized uvulars, the development *āQI > -aQI occurs (see above, comm. 15), and *ā > e before h. Adjacent to -w-, *ā behaves as follows: *Twā- > Tu-, *āTw > -uT(°); *Kwā- > K°a-, *āK° > -iK°.

22) In the case of pharyngealization in PL, *ā > al, but in the sequence *āCw, al is preserved. The sequence *Cwā- usually gives C°e- (but Cā- the in case of delabialization). The reflex e is also present before labialized laterals. After PL *j- *ā > a (the *a - *ā distinction is neutralized in this position).

23) Judging by Avar mal 'nail', the sequence *mā- is reflected as ma- in Avar (just like *mē-, see comm. 13).

24) The sequence *īw- gives ūō or āw here.

25) In PA C°i occurs after velar and lateral fricatives.

26) In Avar C(°)a occurs after labialized front consonants; after labialized back consonants we observe the reflexes Cu-C°e (with a later development C°e>Co).

27) In PTs *i develops into u after labial consonants.

28) In Dargwa u occurs after front consonants and fricatives; a in other cases.

29) The reflex C°i is observed after PL front fricatives; in other cases *C°i > Cu.

30) We see the reflex a in Avar in the case of early delabialization of the consonant.

31) In PL i is preserved only before combinations of the type RCw; in other cases *iCw > uC.

32) Judging by PN *l(h)ol 'waste of corn', the medial combination *īw- is reflected as ō in PN.

33) After labial consonants *i (just as *i, see comm. 27) develops into u in PTs.

34) In Avar i occurs in the case of an early delabialization *Cwi > *Ci.

35) The reflex C^wi is observed after PL front fricatives; in other cases we have C^wi as well as Cu (with a not quite clear distribution).

36) The reflexes of *ə in PA are modified before the following m: *ə-m- > -um-~im-, *ə-mV > -omV.

37) In PTs *ə gives the normal reflex o after labialized consonants, unlike *ā (see comm. 41); however, after m- we meet a labialized reflex u.

38) In PD *Cwə > Ca, if C is a front fricative (in rare cases the same development occurs after other dental consonants as well). In other cases *Cwə > Cu. We must also note the variation a~u in the reflexes of the medial combination *ə-m-.

39) In PL *Cwə > C(ʷ)a, if C is a front fricative (cf. the same development in PD, see comm. 37).

40) The variation i~a in Lak is also observed in reflexes of the medial combinations *əw-, -ə-m-.

41) The different development of the sequences *Cwə and *Cwā in PA is established on the basis of rather little material; this rule can probably be neglected (we may simply state a variation of the reflexes of *ā after labialized consonants); in this case we should admit that the reflexes of short and long *ə are distinguished only in PN and (somewhat less) in PTs.

42) In PTs *ā is reflected as u after labial consonants (except m); after *m-, however, we meet the non-labialized reflex a.

43) After m- and b-, PN also has a more narrow reflex ū.

44) After initial nasals Avar reflexes are somewhat modified; after *m we have a or o (though *mōCw- > miC(ʷ)-).

45) After initial *m- we have the variation ɔ~u in PTs.

46) The medial combination *əw- > PA o (cf. *əCw > -əC(ʷ)).

47) The medial combination *əw- (in *hōw[ā] 'pea') > PTs *e(?).

48) After back and laryngeal consonants (as well as in the case of pharyngealization) we see the reflex a in PD; after labial and front consonants, the reflex i (though sometimes we meet e instead of i).

49) The vowel *ā becomes a front ē in PN, if it is located in final position or before the laryngeal ʔ. It is interesting that, adjacent to labial consonants, the non-labialized reflex ā is preserved in PN (unlike some other cases, where we see the labializing influence of labial consonants, see comm. 2,8,17). Still, in the combination *āw the vowel is labialized and *āw- > ō~ū.

50) In Avar the fronting *ā > e usually occurs before the resonant *m- (afterwards lost).

51) In Khinalug the reflex i is encountered as well (in *lɣer* 'many', *kizā* 'hare': in both cases we deal with a pre-accent position in a bisyllabic word).

52) In Avar a is preserved if the previous labialized consonant is a back one; after front labialized consonants we observe both a and the fronted reflex e.

53) However, the sequence *Twā (where T is a dental consonant) is reflected as *Tu- in PD.

54) Before the laryngeal h in PD fronting occurs: a > e.

In conclusion, we must pay attention to the rather frequent PN reflex a(ā); this reflex is missing only in the reflection of the PEC vowels *ū, *ā. To explain this

phenomenon, we must point to the rather productive Nakh V/a ablaut, which involves a change of any vowel present in the direct nominal stem to a (ā) in the oblique one. In some cases the vocalism of the oblique base could probably have influenced the direct base, which led to the appearance of the "ablaut" a in many rows of correspondences. For more details on the PEC ablaut, see below.

1.1.2.2. Final vocalism.

In most of the subgroups of North-Caucasian languages, word-final vocalism is represented by reduced systems compared to medial vocalism. Except vocalic end, in most languages the consonant end is represented as well (it is virtually missing only in PA, where the consonant /resonant/ end is allowed only in stems of the type CVCVC, where -VC usually is a word-formative affix, as well as in some monosyllabic pronominal stems). There is reason to believe that the consonant end was not allowed in PEC and PNC; there is a very small number of stems that have a uniform consonant end in all subgroups (except, of course, PA, where, as we mentioned above, it is not allowed at all), and the reflexes of the last consonant in such stems in PWC are usually labialized or palatalized, which points to the fact that in the protolanguage they had some labialized or front final vowel.

The comparison of final vowels in Avar, Lak, PD and PL allows us to state the presence of seven main types of vowel correlations in final position and to reconstruct the following system:

*i	*i	*u
*e	*ə	*o
	*a	

The distinction of long/short vowels in the final syllable is missing in all modern languages, including Nakh (in some Lak dialects the opposition of final short/long vowels is noted, but this phenomenon has not been sufficiently described yet and therefore is not taken into account). However, there evidently are some reasons for reconstructing such a distinction in PEC and PNC. In fact, many rows of correspondences of final vowels (see below) contain somewhat different reflexes, depending on whether the corresponding word in Avar belongs to the accent paradigm B (the scheme of this paradigm: accent on the second syllable in Gen. Sg., and on the second syllable in Nom. Pl.) or to the accent paradigm C (the scheme of this paradigm: accent on the second syllable in Gen. Sg., but on the first syllable in Nom. Pl.). The accent paradigm A (its scheme: accent on the first syllable in Gen. Sg. and Nom. Pl.) is irrelevant here (this paradigm, as a result of the fall of emphatic laryngeals, or the influence of the preserved emphatic laryngeals, probably combined the words that originally belonged to paradigm B as well as to paradigm C; see below, section 1.1.3). The final vowel is often preserved if Avar has paradigm B, but is lost if Avar has paradigm C.

The described situation may be interpreted in two ways: we can either think that Avar preserves old accent characteristics and reconstruct for the Avar paradigm B a type of stems with the accent, e.g., on the second syllable, and for

the Avar paradigm C a type of stems with the accent on the first syllable; or we may think that in final position there also existed a contrast between long and short vowels. The long ones were subsequently shortened, but have caused an accent attraction to the long syllable in the Avar plural paradigm. As for short vowels (Av. paradigm C), they never caused the shift of accent to the second syllable and were more often subject to reduction. The second solution seems more likely to us, because it receives a convincing affirmation in PWC, where the behaviour of long vowels in final position is similar to that in the medial position, i.e. they cause the strengthening of the preceding obstruent.

The correspondences between Pl, PD, Lak and Avar may be shown in the following scheme:

PNC, PEC ¹	Av. acc. par.	Av	Lak ²	PD	PL ³
*-ī	C	-0	-i	*-i-0 ⁴	*-e
*-ī	B	-0	-i	*-i-0 ⁴	*-e
*-ē	C	-0	-0	*-i(-a)-0 ⁴	*-ā
*-ē	B	-i ⁵	-i	*-i(-a)-0 ⁴	*-ā
*-ī	C	-0	-0	*-0	*-i
*-ī	B	-0	-a~u	*-a	*-i
*-ē	C	-0	-a~u	*-a	*-a
*-ē	B	-a	-a	*-a	*-a
*-ā	C	-0	-a	*-a	*-ā
*-ā	B	-a	-a~u	*-a	*-ā
*-ū	C	-u ⁶	-0	*-0	*-i
*-ū	B	-u ⁶	-a~u	*-a	*-i
*-o	C	-0	-0	*-0	*-a
*-o	B	-0	-u	*-0	*-a

Comments.

1) The system of final vowels is by now reconstructed only on Av., Lak., PD and PL evidence. The rules of the development of these vowels in PN, PA and in PTs (as well as in Khinalug) are still to be specified, and therefore they are not examined here. As for PWC, here final vowels generally behave quite like non-final ones (see the rules on page 73); the only difference concerns the vowel *o, which in final position, unlike the medial one, causes the labialization of the preceding consonant (this vowel was probably more labialized in final position than otherwise). The phonetical characteristics of PEC and PNC vowels are basically reconstructed on PL evidence (though here some phenomena, not typical for the medial position, also occurred: the shift in height *i > *e, the delabialization *u > *i, the shift in row *a > *ā - though the last rule is rather "orthographic", because the precise phonetic nature of the PL final *ā is rather obscure, see below). However, this reconstruction is also confirmed by West-Caucasian data, where quantitative and qualitative vowel features leave their traces on preceding consonants.

2) Lak reflexes are generally not strict (though a certain correlation with the data from other languages is surely observed); let us note that in virtually every

type of correspondences Lak may have a zero reflex, i.e. a consonant auslaut (besides the reflexes presented in the table above). The reasons for such a frequent reduction of the final vowel in Lak are not clear yet.

3) In this table we give the PL vowel system that is reconstructed for the oblique nominal stem (see below, page 170). In the direct stem (i.e. in nominative) PL suffered a total reduction of final vowels, only one of which has been preserved (*-ā, probably pronounced in the direct stem as /-a/).

4) In the case of pharyngealization we have PD *-al in these types of correspondences. Instead of -i we also sometimes meet the PD vowel -u, but it apparently represents a later development of *-i after labialized consonants.

5) After labialized consonants Avar has -u, not -i.

6) Together with -u we also meet a wider reflex -o in Avar; however, -u and -o are apparently not really opposed to each other, but represent dialect variants of the same final vowel.

In general we may state that during all the history of North Caucasian languages the final vowels were dynamically weaker than the medial ones (they are more prone to reduction and have a tendency to disappear completely; in the latter case they are preserved only if some formants are joined to the stem, i.e. in the oblique stem).

1.1.2.3. Ablaut.

The vowel gradation in nominal and verbal stems is rather widespread in modern North-Caucasian languages. However, a big part of it appears to have had a quite recent origin: thus, vowel gradation in the Avar nominal paradigm is almost completely caused by the phenomena of vowel reduction and assimilation in preaccented syllables; most vowel alternations in Nakh paradigms are explained by rather late umlaut, etc.

However, a proper ablaut system (i.e. vowel gradation in different morphological categories) can still be reconstructed in PN, PL and (in a relic shape) in PTs. Apparently there is a connection between the ablaut in these languages and the PWC ablaut *a/a.

The verbal ablaut (judging by the situation in PL and PN, see below) was apparently very complicated and its reconstruction is a self-standing task (hard to be separated from the task of reconstructing the whole PEC and PNC verb paradigm).

As regards the ablaut in the nominal system, the situation is somewhat easier. In a number of cases it is possible to link the vowel gradations in PTs, PN and PL. In most cases we are dealing with the gradations of mid and high vowels: *e/*i, *a/*i (it is not yet clear whether a similar gradation *u/*o had existed). The vowels *e and *a characterize the direct nominal stem, and the vowels *i and *i - the oblique one. The PWC ablaut *a/a probably reflects the ancient vowel height gradation as well (both types of ablaut mentioned above are reduced to this type after the loss of vocalic quality characteristics).

Here we must emphasize that all cases of the PN ablaut *V/*a in nouns cannot be explained by just these two types of ancient gradation. Therefore it is

possible that vowel gradations in PEC were even more widespread (though a secondary joining of many nouns with originally non-alternating vowels to the PN ablaut system is probable as well).

Of course, all these introductory notes cannot play the part of a full model of the PEC (and PNC) ablaut system, which can be constructed only together with a careful reconstruction of the PNC morphological system.

1.1.3. Root structure and prosody.

1.1.3.1. Nominal root.

The nominal root structure in PEC and PNC can, in general, be characterized as CVCV, where C is a consonant or a combination of consonants, and V is a vowel. A typical feature of the PNC root (both nominal and verbal) is the fact that at least one obstruent must be present in it; roots containing only resonants were not allowed. A specific structure (CV without any consonant restrictions for C) could be possessed only by auxiliary (grammatical and pronominal) morphemes.

The system of vowels, simple consonants and medial combinations of consonants was characterized above. Only the problem of initial consonant clusters requires special examination in this section.

In most modern East-Caucasian languages, initial combinations of consonants are not allowed; the situation in such languages as Lezghian or Tabasaran, where in some cases, as a result of reduction of narrow vowels of the first syllable, new initial clusters have appeared, is certainly secondary. However, initial combinations of consonants are well represented in Nakh languages (see below); though some of them go back to ancient labialized consonants (i.e. clusters with -w-), which we examined above, there is still a very important group of combinations left - i.e., the combinations of the type CH- ("consonant"+"laryngeal").

The Nakh situation is apparently very archaic. We can suggest that PNC and PEC possessed a class of initial combinations of the type *CH-, that were preserved in PN, but disappeared in all other subgroups. The fallen laryngeals could have caused the appearance of the barytonal accent paradigm A in Avar (cf. above on the connection of this paradigm with initial emphatic laryngeals), and in some other North-Caucasian languages - the appearance of a prosodic feature of pharyngealization. We establish four main types of correspondences between PN initial combinations and prosodic features in other languages:

PNC, PEC PN	Av. acc. par.	Lak, PD, PL pharyngealization
*Ch-	C/B	*V
*Ch-	C/B	*V~VI
*Ch-	A	*V~VI
*Cʰ-	A	*V~VI

Let us go over some details of the reflexation of these types of combinations in separate subgroups.

First, it is necessary to note that in PN the clusters "uvular + laryngeal" are

not allowed (unlike all other types of combinations). These rather frequent clusters are therefore reflected as simple uvulars in PN. In some - very rare - cases PN loses its laryngeals in combinations of the type "resonant+laryngeal" as well. It is not to be excluded that in these cases PEC had clusters of resonants with ? or ? (missing after initial obstruents), but this question is still open because there are too few examples. In reflexes of the combination *Cʰ- PN has the laryngeal h after voiceless consonants, and ? - after voiced, glottalized and resonant consonants.

Pharyngealized vowels in Lak, PD and PL usually correspond to each other rather well and can be traced to PEC fallen laryngeals (not only in initial combinations, but in medial clusters as well, see above). Pharyngealization is preserved best of all close to uvular consonants; on the contrary, in the vicinity of front consonants, this prosodic feature often weakens and disappears. Labial and velar (sometimes hushing as well) consonants occupy an intermediate position in their "pharyngealization attraction". As a result, systems often appear, in which pharyngealization is only or mostly combined with the uvular series; such systems would be better regarded phonologically as systems without prosodic or vocalic pharyngealization, but rather with a special local series of uvular pharyngealized consonants.

All of the above means that in the rows of correspondences given above, in PL, PD and Lak pharyngealization is best preserved after uvular consonants, but it has a tendency to disappear after consonants of other local series; on the contrary, in PN laryngeals are not preserved after uvulars, but are well preserved after the consonants of other local series. Thus, PN and Lak-Dargwa-Lezghian data complement each other and help to reconstruct the PEC system as a whole (which is also confirmed by Avar accentological evidence).

A characteristic feature of PL is the specific development of the initial combination *rH-; in those (rather rare) cases, when Nakh data requires the reconstruction of this combination in PEC, PL has got the initial reflex r- (unlike the normal development *r- > j-, see above). The accuracy of this rule is confirmed by a similar development, *Hr- > r-, see below.

In addition to Lak, Dargwa and Lezghian languages pharyngealization is also present in PTs and PWC (where, on the basis of Ubykh, we reconstruct the series of labial and uvular pharyngealized consonants, see below). Its origin, in this case, is also probably connected with the process of the fall of laryngeals (in many cases it corresponds to pharyngealization in East-Daghestan languages), but many details require further examination.

Besides the examined types of roots there is another group of nominal roots (stems) with very specific correspondences in different languages. We mean roots whose reflexes have an initial resonant consonant in some languages and a laryngeal one in others. In the latter case the reflex of the resonant may be present too, but already in medial position. In some of these cases we may be dealing with a secondary metathesis of the resonant from the medial into the initial position; this process is going on regularly, e.g., in Avar in the initial sequence "?+narrow vowel+RC". However, in most cases such an explanation cannot be suggested. It is probable, that here we are dealing with the development of PEC initial combinations

of the type *HR-, that in some cases are simplified into R-, and in other cases are simplified to H- with a transfer of resonants into the medial position (*HRVCV > *HVRVCV). The examination of the material allows us to state that roots with initial combinations of the type *HR behave in two ways, depending on the Avar accent paradigm - i.e., on the brevity/length of final vowels (see above):

PNC, PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khln
1.*HRVCV								
a)(R-r, l)	*RVC(V)	*RVCV	RVC(V) ^C	*RVCV	t:VRC(V)	*dVRC(V)	*HVRVCVHVn(CV)	
					~dVC(V)			
b)(R-m, n)	*RVC(V)			*RVCV	RVC(V)		*HV(N)CV	
2.*HRVCV								
a)(R-r, l)	*HV(R)C(V)*HV(R)CV	HV(R)CV ^B	*HVCV(-V-):t:VRC(V)	*dVRC(V)	*RVCV	RVC(V)		
b)(R-m, n)	*HV(R)C(V)*HV(R)CV	HV(R)CV ^B	*HVCV(-V-)RVC(V)		(HV)RVC(V)*RVCV	RVC(V)		

It is worth noting that in type 2 roots (*HRVCV), the initial combination *Hr- gives r- and not j- in PL (though the normal reflex is *r- > j-); thus, we establish a general rule according to which initial combinations *rH-, *Hr- > PL *r- (see above, page 83, on *rH- > PL *r-). Therefore, the only source of PL initial r- are PEC combinations with laryngeals. The development *Hr- > r- is certainly connected with a very specific Lak-Dargwa reflection of PEC *Hr- (> Lak. t:Vr-, PD *dVr-). It must be noted, however, that in some numerals and adjective roots the initial dental explosive may be missing in Lak and Dargwa.

Very complicated reflexes in North-Caucasian languages are characteristic for a subtype of roots with *HR-, namely, for roots with a medial resonant of the type *HRVRCV (this type is rather frequent). Here, when the initial cluster is being eliminated, a "collision" of two resonants in medial position can happen. As a result, one of them is pushed out by the other; besides, in individual reflexes mutual assimilations of resonants sometimes occur (described above, see pp. 42, 45, 55, for simple roots of the type *RVRCV). These roots may appear as a "merry-go-round" of resonants and laryngeals around a single obstruent and are very hard to examine. The most frequent sequences here are represented by the types *HrVNCV and *HNVrCV (N=n, m):

PNC, PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khln
*HrVNCV	*nVwC(V)*NVCV	NVC(V) ^C	*NVCV	NVC(V)	(HV)NVCV	*RVCV		
*HNVrCV	*RV(N)C(V)*HV(N)C	HV(R)CV ^C	*HVCV(-V-)NVC(V)	*NVCV	*RVCV			
							~mVrCV	
*HrVNCV	*HV(N)C	HV(N)CV ^B	*HVCV	t:VrVCV	*dVrVC(V)	*RVCV	*RVCV	
*HNVrCV	*HV(R)C	HV(N)C	HV(N)CV ^B	*HVCV(-V-)		*HVNCV	*RVCV	

Other types of resonant combinations are not frequent. It must be noted that the type *HrVNCV - because of the preservation of the initial resonant in PL - could be interpreted as *rHVNCV (except those sporadic cases, when Dargwa preserves the initial laryngeal).

Another interesting type of roots are those which in some languages reveal

the structure CVRV, and in others - HV(R)CV. By analogy with the roots of the previous type it seems quite probable that in this case we are dealing with old structures of the type *HCVRV. In some languages this structure is simplified into CVRV (cf. *HRVCV > RVCV), while in others it develops into *HVCVRV (cf. *HRVCV > HVRVCV), and afterwards - because combinations of the type CR are generally not allowed - into HVRVCV (with a possible subsequent loss of the medial resonant). According to their behaviour in descendant languages these roots can also be divided in two subgroups correlated with Avar accent paradigms and therefore with the brevity/length of final vowels:

PNC, PEC	PN	PA	Av	PTs	Lak	PD	PL	Khln
*HCVRV	*RVCV	*HV(R)CV	HV(R)CV ^C	*HVCV(-V-)	CVRV	*CVRV	*CVRV	RVC~CVR
*HCVRV	a)*HV(R)CV	*CVRV	CVR(V) ^B	*CVRV	CVRV	*CVRV	*CVRV	CVR(V)
	b)*mHVCV							

We should note that the reflexes of the structure *HCVRV differ from the reflexes of simple roots of the type *CVRV only in PN, where we see the structure HV(R)CV with front resonants, and a special structure mHVCV with the labial m. It must, however, be stated that in the last table we have on purpose somewhat simplified the transcription of the root structures; in reality medial resonants in descendant languages rather often disappear, which suggests that the structure *HCVRV, while transforming itself, developed not just into *CVRV, but rather into *CVRHV or *CVHRV (on the development of the medial combinations *RH and *HR see above, pp. 69-71).

In PWC, owing to the general rule of dropping laryngeals and (in most cases) resonants, most root types listed above are reflected as the monosyllabic structure CV. However, in rather many cases PWC has a prothetic consonant before C (usually a labial b or p - depending on the voice/voicelessness of C, more rarely a dental t or d). The nature of this consonant is not quite clear yet. It is not to be excluded that West-Caucasian languages preserve an important archaism - i.e., the prefixed class markers, that were preserved by PEC only within verbal word-forms (most of the "class markers" that some researchers discover in a "petrified" shape within East-Caucasian nouns, are, as seen from what was said above, organic parts of the root and have nothing to do with class agreement) and within a small number of nouns, mostly kinship terms and names of "inalienable" body parts.

All the variants of the CVCV structure that have been examined above (we have not said anything only about two very hypothetical structures *HCVCV and *RCVCV, the reconstruction of which is yet dubious) are characteristic for PEC (PNC) non-derived nominal roots. In some cases we can probably regard the initial *H- as a prefixed element (e.g., the noun *hwmizā "honey", that is probably a derivate from the adjective *mizā "sweet"), but in most cases we cannot find any deriving roots (verbal or adjectival) with a simpler structure. The contrary is correct as well: an absolute majority of non-derived PEC (PNC) nouns has the phonetic root structure CVCV (where C, as has been noted above, is a consonant or a consonant combination of one of the examined types). The following cases must be specially noted:

1) There is a rather numerous class of nominal stems of the structure

CVCVCV, where the last consonant is usually a resonant. It is quite possible that all such stems are derived from obsolete simple roots of the structure CVCV, because virtually all of the resonants in PEC could act as derivative or inflectional suffixes. However, the final solution in each individual case depends on deeper inner reconstruction or external comparison.

2) There is a small number of nominal stems with the structure *-VCV and a variable initial class marker. As we said before, these are nouns denoting some kinship relations or inalienable body parts (e.g. face, belly, etc.) These words - both by their semantics and their shape - in a way occupy an intermediate position between nouns and verbs (on the verbal root structure, see below). There is no doubt that in PEC this class of nouns was not much more extensive than in modern Caucasian languages. It is not to be excluded, however, that in the original PNC system the class markers could be prefixed not only to verbal structures of the type *-VCV, but to noun structures of the type *CVCV as well. On one side, it is indicated by some facts of West-Caucasian languages (see above, page 85), on the other side, we meet occasional prefixation of the syllable rV- or ?Vr- with an obscure meaning to some nominal roots of the type CVCV in individual East-Caucasian languages. It is probable that a very archaic situation of this type is reflected in ancient Hatti texts (see [Ivanov 1985]). However, this problem still requires a fundamental elaboration.

Summing up, we may state that for an absolute majority of nouns we can reconstruct an original two-syllable root structure. The extreme point of view of some authors, who think that the PNC and PEC root had a monosyllabic structure and consisted of one obstruent+vowel must therefore be considered insubstantial. The semblance of "monoconsonantism" is created here, on one side, by the pseudo-"monoconsonantism" of the West-Caucasian root (whose secondariness was already noted by N. S. Trubetskoy, see [Trubetskoy 1930, 281]), on the other side, by the stability of the reflexes of PNC oral obstruents, opposed to the general instability and active assimilative/dissimilative processes within the subsystems of laryngeals and resonants. There is no doubt that many nominal stems contain old derivational morphemes, but the number of these stems is very much smaller than is often suggested.

1.1.3.2. Verbal root.

One of the main tasks of the comparative grammar of North-Caucasian languages must be the reconstruction of the PNC verbal paradigm. Up to now we have a very approximate notion about the system of PEC and PNC verb conjugation. However, such a reconstruction has been established for some intermediate protolanguages (e.g. PL), and we can already draw some preliminary conclusions.

The verbal word-form in PNC was apparently represented by a rather long chain of class and aspect/tense markers, with the verbal root in the middle. Unlike the nominal root, it was apparently never isolated, without auxiliary morphemes; such a situation is still preserved in most North-Caucasian languages. The interaction with prefixes and suffixes has probably conditioned the specific

structure of the PNC verbal root.

The structure of the PEC (PNC) verbal root was already outlined by N. S. Trubetskoy (see [Trubetskoy 1929]), who had noted that it looked like -VCV(R), where C is an obstruent, V - alternating vowels and R - some resonant. The position of the initial consonant in the PEC verbal root was usually occupied by interchanging class (agreement) markers. We can now make this conception somewhat more detailed, by noting the possible presence of initial laryngeals (usually lost in descendant languages after prefixed class markers - see above on the development of the combinations CH-, - but preserved if prefixed morphemes are missing) as well as medial clusters of the type -RC- (see below for more detail on their reconstruction in PL) in the PNC (PEC) verbal root. Therefore, the full structure of the PNC (PEC) verbal root looks like *(H)V(R)CV(R); in PWC, owing to the phonetic processes of dropping laryngeals and resonants (mentioned above), most verbal roots acquire the monosyllabic structure CV.

The nature of the initial syllable *HV- in the PNC verbal root is not quite clear yet. It is possible that more profound internal reconstruction and external comparison will in many cases allow us to regard this syllable as prefixed (having arisen in some cases between the class indicator and the initial root consonant in order to eliminate a forbidden initial cluster; in some cases reflecting some ancient deictic or locative markers). It is also quite probable that ancient root structures of the type *RVCV, finding themselves in a position after the prefixed markers, were transformed into *-VRCV, while the ancient structures *CVRV in such a situation developed a prothetic vowel > *-VCVR-. However, on today's level of knowledge we may talk only about the known structure *(H)V(R)CV(R).

We should pay attention to a virtually complete (with very rare exceptions) lack of verbal roots with two oral obstruents of the structure CVCV. We can only guess about their fate in PNC (they could, even before the division of PNC, have been transformed into roots with the structure -VCCV with a later simplification of the forbidden consonant combination; or they could completely lose verbal functions, becoming nominal roots).

We will now sum up our knowledge of the behaviour of individual elements of the PEC verbal root in descendant languages (in PWC it was in most cases reduced to the simple structure CV, see above; a similar simplification of the verbal root structure has apparently come to pass in Khinalug, but material on it is rather scarce and it is too early to make any exact conclusions).

1. The initial consonant. This position in verbal roots is occupied only by laryngeals (for their reflexes, see above) that, in most cases, disappear after prefixed (class or locative) morphemes. Therefore, for most verbal roots we can regard the position of the initial consonant as not filled (thus following N. S. Trubetskoy).

One of the as yet unclear questions of the reconstruction of the PEC verbal paradigm is the problem of the so-called "prefixless" conjugation, attested by some verbs in Avaro-Andian languages (it is not connected, of course, with the later process of dropping class markers in some Lezghian languages). It is not to be excluded that in PEC (and PNC?), class agreement could be absent in some aspect/tense forms, as a result of which the vocalic root beginning turned out to be "not covered". In such a situation initial vowels (especially narrow ones) could easily

be lost, and the structure -VCV(R)- could be reduced to a more simple structure CV(R)-. This phenomenon could explain the presence of a rather large number of doublet forms in Avar-Andian languages, which can be characterized as two states of root. Cf. in Avar: state 1 - =ux:- "to rake, shovel", =us:- "to crumble, cut", =ej- "to pull, to pluck fruits", =at- "to be"; state 2 - x:a- "to shovel up, to rake up", s:u - "to slit", fe - "to tear down", te - "to leave", etc.

It is not yet clear how the described phenomenon is related (and whether it is related at all) to the distinction of "strong" and "weak" series of class indicators in PL, where the "prefixless" conjugation is absent (on this opposition, see Алексеев 1985).

2.V. In many cases first syllable vowels are related to each other in different languages by the same rules as the first syllable vowels of nominal roots (see above). However, in verbal conjugation an undoubtedly significant role was played by ablaut, which was much more productive and diverse here than in the nominal system. The reconstruction of ablaut rows is by now made only for the Proto-Lezghian language (see below), and not transferred to more archaic stages. Because of that the exact reconstruction of the first syllable vowel for most verbal roots characterized by active vowel gradation is still unclear.

3.R. The clusters with medial resonants in the verbal root are reconstructed in PL (see below), PD, PA and PN. However, reconstructing the system of medial resonants in the verbal root is somewhat harder than in the nominal one, because here, due to several reasons (reduction of the initial vowel, a possibility of secondary infixation of some originally suffixed morphemes), root resonants are often reinterpreted as auxiliary morphemes and therefore can disappear (in some verbal forms or even in the whole paradigm). If one also considers the general phonetic instability of resonants in clusters of the type RC in North-Caucasian languages (on the development of these clusters in nominal roots, see above), it becomes clear why, in many cases, medial resonants are preserved only sporadically as archaisms.

Nevertheless, a careful comparison of the reconstructed intermediate protolanguages, as well as the consideration of phonetic rules (in clusters of the type -RC-, obstruents behave in the same way as in nouns, and the analysis of the correspondences between obstruents often allows us to make a conclusion about the presence of a resonant before them in PEC and PNC), allow us to reconstruct in verbal roots, on the whole, the same system of medial -RC-clusters as in nominal ones (see above).

It must be noted that in PL and PA verbal roots, the medial nasals -m- and -n- are completely missing. These medial resonants can be reconstructed only on the basis of PD data (-m- is preserved in PD) and indirect evidence of the Lezghian and Andian languages. As a matter of fact, both PL and PA have a so-called "n-conjugation", generally going back to PEC roots with a final *-n (see below on final resonants). But in some cases the n-conjugation in PL corresponds to the resonantless conjugation in PA, and vice versa. We may think that the dropped medial nasals may have left behind a nasalization that also spread over the second syllable of the verbal root, resulting in the mixture of roots with original final

nasals and roots with medial nasals. Judging by the correlation of known cases with Dargwa and PTs evidence (PTs reflects medial nasals as the nasalization of the vowel V), the medial -m- disappeared in PL without any trace, but was reflected as the "n-conjugation" in PA, and, vice versa, the medial -n- disappeared without any trace in PA, but was reflected as the "n-conjugation" in PL.

4. C. The root obstruent is the most stable element in the verbal root. For the verb we reconstruct the same system of obstruents as for the nominal root (on the correspondences, see above). We must pay attention only to the extreme rarity of labial consonants in verbal roots (in fact, within the whole bulk of North-Caucasian and East-Caucasian roots we know of only one root with a labial). In addition, we must note that the root obstruents can be laryngeals which easily disappear or are consumed by adjacent consonants, as a result of which in some languages "zero" verbal roots can appear.

5. V. Significant vowel distinctions in the second syllable of the verbal root are found² in Lezghian languages (for the PL reconstruction of V₂, see below), in Lak, in Avar-Andian and probably Nakh languages. In other languages the differences among second syllable vowels are generally neutralized. Judging by the data from Lezghian and Nakh languages, vowel gradation (though of a somewhat different kind and with different functions than in the first syllable) was also present in the second syllable. However, the system of PEC verbal vowels in the second syllable is not yet clear; we can draw some conclusions about the PNC system by comparing the PL system with the behaviour of root obstruents in PWC (because they are apparently subject to the same modifications in the verb as in the noun). However, this problem needs special investigation.

6. R. Final resonants in verbal roots are attested in PA, PD and PL. We can quite reliably reconstruct *r, *l (perhaps *t as well, judging by the PA data, though there are few examples on this resonant), and *n for PEC. The question of the reconstruction of the final labials *m, *w (> PA m, b) is still open, because their PL and PD correspondences are not clear; however, their presence in the original system seems quite possible. In other languages final resonants are lost. This process was apparently caused chiefly by morphological reasons: final resonants in the verbal root are easily reinterpreted as suffixal morphemes and therefore are separated from the root. This process is active, for example, in modern Lezghian languages and dialects (see below).

PEC final resonants *r, *n are well preserved in PL and PD. PA stems in "state 1" (see above) preserve only -n and lose -r; in "state 2" -r, -n are usually preserved. PEC final *l is preserved in PA in "state 2" and in PL; in PA "state 1" and in PD this consonant probably merges with -n. In addition, in PD roots with the original final *r, but containing a medial -l- are transferred into the n-conjugation (probably as a result of the process *-VICVr > *-V(l)CVL > *-V(l)CVn). However, these rules have many exceptions as a result of different analogical processes, taking place in individual cases.

On the whole we may say that, though we know the general structure of the verbal root, there are still very many gaps in our reconstructions, for the filling of which more careful research in the field of North-Caucasian verbal morphology will be needed.

1.1.3.3. Other types of roots.

Besides nominal and verbal, there are also some intermediate types of roots. We have already examined above (page 86) nominal roots with variable class markers that are formally rather similar to verbal roots. They are adjoined by adjective roots, the structure of which partially resembles the verbal one, partially the nominal one. It should be noted that there are some adjective roots with a typical nominal structure (e.g. CVRV), that can obtain class prefixation and change the root structure: *CVRV > *-VCRV and (owing to the inadmissibility of -QR-combinations) > *-VRCV. It is possible that such (or similar) was the original process of the formation of verbal roots in North-Caucasian languages (see above, page 87, on other possibilities).

1.1.3.4. Prosody.

The PEC and PNC prosody is still little known. We have all reason to think that the PNC word was characterized by tonal accentuation; this is confirmed by the data of the PWC accent system reconstructed by V. A. Dybo (see [Dybo 1977, 1989]), as well as by the discovery of tonal accent systems in modern East-Caucasian languages (see [Kibrik-Kodzasov-Starostin 1978]). However, the PNC accent reconstruction is still very far from completion; for some preliminary observations on tonal correspondences in Avar-Andian languages see [Starostin 1978]. A successful solution of this problem still requires much field research and the creation of intermediate accent reconstructions for PTs, PA and PL protolanguages. Therefore all such questions are not examined in this work.

Some prosodic phenomena in North-Caucasian languages (namely: pharyngealization, the split of vowel reflexes in Tsezian languages and Avar mobile accent) were already examined above - being by their very nature connected with segment factors (the system of laryngeal consonants and the brevity/length of vowels).

There is, however, one more question that is closely linked to the root structure, the consonant system and probably the original prosodic system in PEC and PNC. It is the problem of the so-called "gemimates" (on their reflexes in the subgroups, see above).

If we examine the bulk of the reconstructed PEC and PNC roots with the structure AV(R)AV (where A is an affricate or fricative, R - a resonant), we will discover the following regularity: 1) roots with the structure AVAV allow either the combination of two plain affricates (CVCV), or two "gemimates" (CCVCCV), but nothing else; 2) roots with the structure AVRVA allow either the sequence CVRCV (where both the affricates are plain), or CVRCCV (where the first affricate is plain, and the second one is geminated). (Possible exceptions are some reduplicated structures). Thus, roots with two affricate (or fricative) consonants are divided exactly in two subgroups: a) roots containing only "plain" consonants; b) roots, where both consonants are "geminated" if the first syllable is open, but where only the second consonant is geminated if the first syllable is closed (in short, roots, where only the consonant in the open syllable is geminated). If we suggest here the

activity of some prosodic factor (e.g. phonation or tone), whose presence caused the strengthening of affricates and fricatives in the open syllable, we can in fact eliminate all the "gemimates" from the reconstruction. However, this possibility is still hypothetical; to confirm this hypothesis we would have to link the described distinction with some actually witnessed prosodic features.

1.2. From PN to modern Nakh languages.

Below we will examine PN phoneme reflexes in Batsbi, Ingush and literary Chechen language (based on the Akka dialect). Unfortunately, for other Chechen dialects (some of which, e.g. Cheberloy, are very archaic), lexicographical sources are missing; therefore materials of Chechen dialects, taken mostly from the work [Imnayshvili 1977], are used only occasionally.

1.2.1. Consonantism.

The following consonant system is reconstructed for PN:

Labials	p	b	ɸ	f	w	m
Dentals	t	d	ɬ		r	n
Hissing	c	ɟ	ç	s		
Hushing	č	ǰ	č̥	š	j	
Laterals		ɭ		λ	l	
Velars	k, k̆	g, ğ	k̆, k̆̆			
Uvulars	q		q̆	χ	ʁ	
Laryngeals			ʔ	h	ɦ	
Emphatic laryngeals			ʔ̆		ʕ	

Characteristic features of the PN system (compared to other North-Caucasian languages) are a lack of labialized consonants (see above on their development); defectivity of the lateral series; the opposition of velar and palatalized velar (palatal) consonants. However, palatals are rather rare phonemes in PN and are not preserved in modern languages. The glottalized k̆ may develop from original laterals (see above), but in a few cases from the velar *k̆ as well. The origin of the extremely rare PN phonemes k̆ and ğ is not clear yet.

An opinion exists that non-initial glottalized consonants of Batsbi are secondary compared to Chechen-Ingush voiced consonants (see [Imnayshvili 1977]); however, the correspondences within Nakh as well as external data (that firmly prove the archaism of Batsbi in this aspect) lead us to agree with the point of view of A. Sommerfelt (see [Sommerfelt 1938]), who considers the glottalized consonants original. The reconstruction given here differs from the conclusions of D. S. Imnayshvili ([Imnayshvili 1977]) in this as well as in some other aspects (the question about the originality of PN *f, about the system of lateral consonants).

The correspondences of consonants within Nakh languages are as follows:

PN	Bats	Chech	Ing
*p	p	p	p
*b	b	b-,0~w	b-,0~w
*p̥	p̥	p̥-,b	p̥-,b
*f	w(~h,?)	h/w	f
*w	w	w-,0~w	w-,0~w
*m	m	m	m
*t	t	t	t
*d	d	d-,0~j	d-,0~j
*t̥	t̥	t̥-,d	t̥-,d
*r	r	r	r
*n	n, -(V)0	n, -(V)0	n, -(V)0
*c	c	c	c
*z	z, z̥	z	z
*ç	ç	ç-,z	ç-,z
*s	s	s	s
*ç̥	ç̥	ç̥	ç̥
*z̥	z̥, z̥̥	z̥	z̥
*ç̥̥	ç̥̥	ç̥̥-,z̥	ç̥̥-,z̥
*s̥	s̥	s̥	s̥
*j	j	j	j
*λ	λ, λ̥	l	l
*l	l	l	l
*k	k	k	k
*k̥	k̥	ç̥	k̥
*g	g	g-,0~j	g-,0~j
*g̥	g̥	z̥	z̥
*k̥̥	k̥̥	k̥̥-,g̥	k̥̥-,g̥
*q	q	ç̥̥-,z̥̥	k̥̥-,z̥̥
*q̥	q̥	q̥	q̥
*χ	χ	χ	χ
*b̥	b̥	b̥	b̥
*ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
*h	h~ʔ	h	h/v
*h̥	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ
*ʔ̥	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ
*h̥̥	h̥̥	h̥̥	h̥̥
*ʃ̥	ʃ̥	ʃ̥	ʃ̥

Comments.

1) Well known is the thesis of N. S. Trubetskoy (see [Trubetskoy 1931, 318]) about the opposition of two consonant systems in Nakh languages: initial and non-initial. The PN reconstruction (and primarily the Batsbi evidence) allows us to

discard this opposition. However, it must be said that, in spite of the complete distribution of most PN phonemes, some of them are still reconstructed only for a single position. PN *f, *h and *ʃ are specific "initial" phonemes; PN *λ, *λ̥ and *g̥ (there is, however, only one etymon containing the last phoneme, and it is basically reconstructed for symmetry) are never represented in the beginning. The cases of initial *r in PN are extremely rare; Ingush usually adds a prothetical vowel before r in these cases.

2) The phoneme f is preserved in Ingush; in Chechen and in Batsbi it develops into w in most cases (becomes voiced). The h reflex in Chechen appears only before old labialized vowels; the distribution of the sporadically met Batsbi reflexes h, ʔ is not quite clear yet. Historically PN *f developed either from labialized laterals (f < *xw < *λw) or from labialized laryngeals (f < *hw), see above.

3) Voiced explosives in Chechen-Ingush regularly disappear in non-initial position; depending on the vocalic context, they can disappear without any trace or leave behind the resonants w and j (as hiatus-filling). In the case of the disappearance of intervocalic voiced consonants a contraction of vowels occurs.

4) In Ingush Imnayshvili describes a process of devoicing voiced word-final consonants (i.e. original glottalized), that are articulated as voiceless tense p:, t:, k:, c:, ç: in this position (see [Имнайшвили 1977]). It is interesting that the original voiced *z, *ʃ which were not dropped (> Ing. z, ʃ) seem not to be subject to devoicing. Thus, the Ingush language preserves traces of the PN distinction between word-final *ç-z, *ç-ʃ that is completely neutralized in Chechen. Unfortunately, Ingush orthography does not distinguish such "devoiced" consonants from ordinary voiced ones.

5) The final n disappears in all Nakh languages, leaving behind the nasalization of the previous vowel (though it is regularly restored in the paradigm before added suffixes). Nasalized vowels that appear as a result of this process are usually not marked in Chechen-Ingush orthography (though Chechen orthography has the final -n in monosyllabic words with the final nasalized vowel).

6) In Chechen-Ingush orthography there is no z - z̥ or ʃ - ʃ̥ distinction; in most Chechen dialects this opposition is also absent (a single exception is the Khildikharoy dialect, where *ç-, ç̥- > -z̥-, ʃ̥- while *z̥-, ʃ̥- > -z-, -ʃ-; unfortunately, we do not possess systematic records of this dialect). On the distribution of phonetical variants z - z̥ and ʃ - ʃ̥ in Nakh languages and dialects see [Imnayshvili 1977].

7) All descriptions of Batsbi mention the presence of the voiceless lateral fricative λ, corresponding to l in Chechen and Ingush. However, we must pay attention to the fact that in some words, where the records of A.G.Matsiev ([Matsiyev 1932]) and Y.D.Desheriev ([Desheriev 1953]) have λ, the records of D., N. Kadagidze ([Kadagidze 1984]) have l. We may suppose that Batsbi (or at least some Batsbi idiolects) in fact possess two lateral phonemes (besides the plain l), that have merged with l in Chechen-Ingush. The lateral fricative (L?) that D., N. Kadagidze mark as l, was tentatively transcribed as λ̥ in the table. The probability of the presence of this phoneme in Batsbi is also confirmed by a specific development of the combination *rλ- (> Batsbi /Matsiev, Desheriev/ rλ, /Kadagidze/ rl, Ing. rd) in Ingush, unlike *rλ- (> Batsbi /Matsiev, Desheriev, Kadagidze/ rλ, Ing. r(h)), see below. But of course our suggestion requires a direct field verification.

8) All modern Nakh languages have four laryngeals (h, ʔ, h̥, ʃ̥). However, for

PN two more (*h and *ʔ) are rather securely reconstructed. It must be noted that the phonetic reconstruction of *h, *ʔ and *ʕ is rather tentative (in modern languages the articulation of ʕ varies between the plosive ʔ and the fricative ʕ); the reconstructions *h and *ʕ as well as *ʔ and *ʕ could be exchanged. Only the reconstructions of *h, *ʔ and *h are phonetically trustworthy (in Ingush the reflexes h and w are in complementary distribution: h before non-labialized vowels, w before labialized ones). The phonetic quality of the phonemes that we mark as *h, *ʔ, *ʕ is determined on the basis of general considerations about the possible organization of a system with six laryngeals as well as on the basis of external data (see above).

1.2.1.1. Consonant combinations.

Nakh languages are distinguished from other East-Caucasian languages by a multitude of consonant combinations as well as by an extremely specific feature: the possibility of consonant clusters in initial position. Let us examine the possible types of clusters in PN.

1.2.1.1.1. Initial consonant clusters.

In initial position in PN the following three types of clusters are possible: a) "P + consonant" (the number of consonants in these combinations is limited, see below); b) "consonant + laryngeal" (in these clusters any consonants except uvulars and laryngeals can play the part of the first component); c) the clusters *st, *stj. Here are their reflexes in languages:

PN	Bats	Che	Ing
*ps-	ps-	s-	s-
*pʂ-	pʂ-	ʂ-	ʂ-
*pχ-	pχ-	pχ-	pχ-
*Cʔ-	Zʂ-/C-	Zʂ-/Cqʔ	Zʂ-/Cqʔ
*Ch-	Ch-	Ch-	Ch-
*Cʕ-	Z-/Cq	Z-/C-/C-	Zʂ-/Cq/Ch-
*Cʕh-	Zʂ-/Cʕ-/Cʔ	Z-/C-/Ch-	Z-/Cʕ-/Cʔ
*st-	s-	st-	s-
*stj-	stj-	st-	s-
*pst-	psj-	st-	s-

In the records of Batsbi, Chechen and Ingush reflexes we mark any voiced consonant (resonant as well) as Z, any voiceless consonant as C, any glottalized one as ʕ. The table shows that the combinations of the types *Cʔ- and *Ch- were already in PN in complementary distribution (*ʔ only after voiced and glottalized, *h only after voiceless); therefore we could in fact reconstruct here only one type of clusters (*Cʔ or *Ch). For the full material on the reconstruction of *CH-combinations in PN see [Nikolayev 1984].

Comments.

1) Batsbi usually preserves *ʔ after voiced consonants (as ʕ); however, in combinations with affricates the laryngeal usually disappears: *ʔʂ, *ʔʂʔ > z-, ʂ-.

2) Chechen usually reflects *ʔ as a uvular q after glottalized consonants; however, the cluster *pʔ- > pʂ-. In fact, this cluster gives a reflex different from the ordinary *p- only in the Akka dialect of Chechen.

3) In Ingush, as in Chechen, after glottalized consonants the development *ʔ > q usually happens; however, the clusters *pʔ- > pʂ-, *ʔʂ > ʂ-, *ʔʂʔ > ʂ- are simplified (cf. below on the development of the clusters of the type *Cʕh-).

4) After voiceless consonants in this type of clusters the laryngeal usually disappears in Batsbi, though it appears to be preserved in the cluster *tʕh- > th-.

5) Clusters of the type *Cʕh- in Ingush develop into Cʕ-; but the laryngeal falls after the labial *pʕ- and hushing *ʕ- (see above, comment 3).

Besides the clusters examined above, there are also initial clusters tχ, cχ, tɕ, cɕ (preserved in all languages), whose genesis is not quite clear (they have no specific PEC sources; in some cases they probably represent the result of a reduction of the initial vowel of the first syllable). In modern languages we occasionally meet some other combinations of initial consonants, representing a secondary effect of vocalic reduction.

1.2.1.1.2. Medial consonant clusters.

In PN we distinguish the following types of medial consonant clusters:

a) Geminates. We reconstruct the geminates *pp, *tt, *ʈʈ, *rr, *ss, *ll, *gg, *qq, *χχ. On the origin of the geminates *tt, *ʈʈ, *ss see above; the others are apparently a result of expressive gemination and are rather rare. The reflexes of the geminates *tt, *ʈʈ, *ss are:

PN	Bats	Chech	Ing
*tt	tt	tt	tt
*ʈʈ	ʈʈ	ʈʈ	ʈʈ
*ss	s(s)	ss/s	ss

In Batsbi the geminate ss is regularly marked in the records of A. G. Matsiyev, but is totally missing in those of D., N. Kadagidze. In Chechen ss is usually preserved after short vowels but is regularly shortened after long ones. In Ingush ss is usually preserved, but in some cases (also usually after long vowels) can be shortened, too.

b) Clusters "resonant+obstruent". These combinations are usually well preserved in all Nakh languages. Only the clusters "resonant+lateral" deserve special examination.

PN	Bats	Chech	Ing
*rL	rλ ₁	r	rd
*rλ	rλ	r(h)	r(h)
*lL(?)		ll	ld
*nL(?)	n	n	nd

Two latter clusters are extremely rare and their PEC source is unclear. The conditions of the preservation or disappearance of *h* in the cluster *rh* in Chechen-Ingush are not clear as well (we observe frequent dialect variation here).

The PN combination **lx* (going back to PEC laterals, see above) also develops specifically: it is preserved in Chechen and Ingush, but yields *tx* in Batsbi.

c) Clusters of two obstruents. First of all we must mention the widespread cluster type "b+consonant" (where *b* goes back to PEC resonants **w*, **m*, see above), most frequent in verbal stems (where *-b-* acts as an aspect infix). In this type of combinations *b* is preserved in Batsbi (turning into *p* before voiceless consonants and into *p* before glottalized ones), but develops into *w*-0 in Chechen-Ingush (its contraction with the previous vowel may cause the appearance of secondary long vowels *ū*, *ī*). Other common clusters are:

PN	Bats	Chech	Ing
* <i>st</i>	<i>st</i>	<i>st</i>	<i>st</i>
* <i>sʃ</i>	<i>sʃ</i>	<i>st</i>	<i>st</i>
* <i>χk</i>	<i>χk</i>	<i>χk</i>	<i>χk</i>
* <i>ʈq</i>	<i>ʈq</i>	<i>ʈq</i>	<i>ʈq</i>
* <i>ʈH</i>	<i>ʈq</i>	<i>ʈq</i>	<i>d</i>
* <i>çH</i>	<i>çq</i>	<i>çq</i>	<i>z</i>

On the origin of the first three clusters see above (pp. 47, 51, 53). The genesis of three other combinations (that are more rarely met) is not quite clear yet (in the combination *ʈq*, in some cases, *-ʈ-* seems to be a parasitic insertion between the original (fallen) resonant and *q*).

There are also sporadic cases of other clusters of two obstruents, that are obviously secondary.

d) Clusters "obstruent+resonant". Such clusters in PN can appear only on the border of two morphemes (they are not present in roots), or as a result of early vowel reduction. Preserved in Batsbi, they are subject to metathesis in Chechen-Ingush.

1.2.2. Vocalism.

For PN we reconstruct a ten-vowel system:

<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ō</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>		

The distinction between long and short vowels is relevant only in the first syllable; in other syllables only short vowels were allowed. It must be noted that the long high vowels *ī* and *ū* were already rather rare in PN; in modern languages their origin is in most cases secondary.

The opposition of long and short vowels is well preserved in Chechen and Ingush, though it is not marked in the orthography. However, we possess enough information about vowel length, because long vowels in Chechen open syllables are

systematically marked in the work [Matsiyev 1961], and some Ingush long vowels are specially marked in orthography.

The shortening of vowels occurred in many Chechen dialects in closed syllables and in monosyllabic words with an open syllable (however, secondary length resulting from contraction is preserved in monosyllabic words). This is also the situation in literary Chechen, in which the etymological length in such cases is being reinstated before suffixes beginning with a vowel. Batsbi generally shortens long vowels, though in a few words we meet a long *a* in the records of D., N. Kadagidze (another long vowel, *ī*, existing in Batsbi is just a phonetical variant of the diphthong *ej*). The problem of vowel length in Batsbi still requires field verification.

The development of vocalism in modern Nakh languages depends greatly on umlaut, i.e. the modification of the vowels of the first syllable under the influence of the following one. In many dialects the second vowel had in this case afterwards weakened and become subject to neutralization (in most cases all the vowels of the second syllable either merge in *a* or are dropped). Therefore the Batsbi evidence is extremely important (Batsbi was virtually unaffected by this process), as well as the evidence of some archaic Chechen dialects (primarily Cheberloy) that have preserved the system of the vowels of the second syllable and have modified the system of first syllable vowels to a lesser extent than literary Chechen and Ingush. A detailed analysis of the interaction of the vowels of the first and second syllables is given in the work [Imnayshvili 1977]; however, it seems to us that D. S. Imnayshvili has somewhat overestimated the archaism of the Cheberloy dialect, having in fact identified its system with Proto-Nakh. In particular, it seems that the Cheberloy dialect has some variation while reflecting the vowels of the second syllable *i-e* and *u-o*; their more exact reconstruction may be completed only by comparing the behaviour of first vowels in Chechen and Ingush. It is also hard to rely upon Batsbi data while reconstructing the vowels of the second syllable, because there they were subject to a very strong reduction (in contrast to the very well preserved vowels of the first syllable). Therefore, the reconstruction, suggested by D. S. Imnayshvili, must be revised in many aspects.

In the transcription of the Chechen and Ingush vocalic systems we mark the closed *e* and *o* by the signs *e*, *o*, while the open *e* and *o* - by the signs *e̞* and *o̞* (the diphthongical interpretation of the closed *e* and *o* seems to us less apposite). Thus, unlike D. S. Imnayshvili who considered the diphthongs to be original (later simplified to plain *e* and *o* in Batsbi), see [Imnayshvili 1977], we consider the Batsbi system more archaic.

One more point that should be noted is the frequent reduction of final vowels in Ingush and Batsbi (Chechen usually preserves the final vowel). The reasons for this phenomenon are not clear yet; it is not to be excluded that this reduction could originally have been caused by accent factors that have not yet been specially studied.

The correspondences of vowels:

A. In monosyllabic words:

PN	Bats	Chech	Ing
*i	i	i	i
*i ¹	i	i	i
*e	e	e ²	e ₁ -i ²
*e ³	e	e	e ₁ -i
*u	u	u	u
*u ¹	u	u	u
*o	o	o	o ⁴
*o ³	o	o	o
*a	a	a	a
*a ³	a	a	a

We see that the basic correspondences of vowels are rather uniform in Nakh languages; they may be violated only sometimes, in the case of adequation of paradigms, characterized by ablaut. For instance, we have Batsbi tɣe (oblique stem tɣa-) "wool" as opposed to Chech., Ing. tɣa with an obviously secondary vowel adequation in the paradigm. On the whole such cases are few.

Other comments:

1. The vowels *i*, *u* were rather rare in PN, and within the nominal paradigm were regularly subject to the ablaut *i/a*, *u/a* (i.e. *CiC/CaCV-*, *CuC/CaCV-*). As a result *i* and *u* became possible in PN only in closed syllables, where they were shortened afterwards and merged with the reflexes of **i* and **u*. Thus, we can reconstruct *i* and *u* only in paradigms of the type Chech. *buc*, obl. *beca-* (< **bāci-*) "grass"; *jis*, obl. **esara-* (< **asiri-*) "voice", etc.

2. Ingush has a regular narrowing *e > i* at the end of monosyllabic words.

3. As we see from the table, the opposition of long and short vowels is neutralized in monosyllabic words and is reinstated only within the paradigm before affixes beginning with a vowel. However, the Level-land, Cheberloy and some other Chechen dialects still preserve the *a - ā* distinction in closed syllables (see [Imnayshvili 1977]; in literary Chechen, instead of the opposition *a - ā*, one notes the opposition of closed and open *a* (see *ibid.*), that, however, is disregarded both in orthography and in the dictionary of A.G.Matsiev ([Matsiyev 1961]).

4. In Ingush, *o* sometimes (but not always) narrows and develops into *u* after labial consonants.

5. Modern Chechen and Ingush have a considerable number of monosyllabic words of the structure *CV* with a long vowel; this length, however, is in all cases secondary (on the shortening of the old length in this position, see above) and is a result of vocalic contraction after the disappearance of voiced consonants (see above).

B. The correspondences of vowels in bisyllabic words:

PN	Bats	Chech	Ing
*CiCa ¹	CiC	CiCa	CeCa
*CiCe ²	CiC(i)	CiCa	CiCa

*CiCu ³	CiC(i)	CiCa/CuCa	CuC(a)
*CiCo ⁴		CiCa	CiCa
*CeCa	CeC	CeCa/CeCCa	CeCa ⁵ /CeCCa
*CeCi ⁶	CeCi-/CejCi, CiCi	CiCa/CiCCa	CiCa/CiCCa
*CeCe ⁷	CiC(i)	CiCa/CiCCa	CeCa(a) ⁵ /CeCC(a)
*CeCu ⁸		CeCa/CeCCa	CeCa(a) ⁵ /CeCC(a)
*CeCo ⁹	CeCo	CeCa/CeCCa	CeCa(a) ⁵ /CeCC(a)
*CuCa	CuC	CuCa	CuCa
*CuCi	CuCi-	CuCa	CiCa
*CuCe	CujC(i)	CuCa	CuC(a)
*CuCo ¹⁰	CujC(u)	CuCa	CoC(a)
*CoCa	CoCa-/CoC(ō)	CoCa/CoCCa	CoC(a) ⁵ /CoCC(a)
*CoCi	CoCi-/CujCi	CuCa	CeCa ⁵ /CeCCa
*CoCe	CoC(ŷ)	CeCa	CoC(a) ⁵
*CoCu		CuCa/CuCCa	CoC(a) ⁵ /CoCC(a)
*CaCa	CaCa-/CaC(ō)	CaCa	CaC(a)
*CaCa	CaCa-/CaC(ē)-CajC(i)	CaCa/CaCCa	CaC(a) ⁵ /CaCC(a)
*CaCi	CaCi-/CaC	CeCa/(CaCa ¹¹)	CeCa/(CaCa ¹¹)
*CaCi	CaCi~CaCe-/CaC(ē), CajC(i)	CeCa/CaCCa	CaC(a)/CaCC(a)
*CaCe	CaCe~CaCa-/CaC(ō)	CeCa/(CaCa ¹¹)	CaC(a)
*CaCe	CaC(ē)	CeCa/CaCCa	CaCa/CaCCa ⁵
*CaCu	CaCV-/CaC(ō) CawCu/CajCu ¹²	CeCa	CoC(a) ¹³
*CaCu	CaCV-/CaC(ō) CawCu/CajCu ¹²	CeCa/CeCCa	CeC(a)/CeCC(a)
*CaCo	CaC(ō)	CaCa	CoCa ¹³ /CaCa ¹⁴
*CaCo	CaC(ō)	CaCa	CeCa

Before we pass on to concrete comments (enumerated in the table), it is necessary to make a few general notes:

a) Chechen and Ingush orthography render the vocalic phonemes in a quite inadequate way. Ingush orthography does not distinguish between long and short vowels, as well as between the open and closed *e*; the open *o* (ō), however, has a special denotation (oa). Chechen orthography does not distinguish between the long and short vowels either, nor between the open and closed *e* and *o*. This defect is partially eliminated in the dictionary of A. G. Matsiyev ([Matsiyev 1961]), where the length of vowels is systematically noted; but the open and closed *e* and *o* are not marked here, either. The existing gaps have to be filled by the records of P. K. Uslar ([Uslar 1888]) and by the records of Chechen dialects ([Imnayshvili 1977]), unfortunately, not at all abundant.

b) It must be noted that in bisyllabic (and polysyllabic) structures of Nakh languages we can neither reconstruct the long narrow vowels **i*, *u* nor the short wide ones **e*, **o*. However, all these vowels are reliably reconstructed in monosyllabic structures (see above), therefore we cannot reduce the PN system of vowels. It is interesting that all the vowels listed above (**i*, **u*, **e*, **o*) are also

missing in verbal roots, which directly suggests their original bisyllabic character.

c) We can reconstruct the full system of second syllable vowels, which is rather well preserved in some Chechen dialects (Cheberloy, Khildikharoy and others) and also reflected in the Chechen grammar of P. K. Uslar ([Uslar 1888]), somewhat more poorly preserved in Batsbi (see the table) and totally destroyed in literary Chechen and Ingush (where the distinction of the vowels in the second syllable is partially preserved only within some nominal suffixes and verbal forms, but in most cases neutralized). Still, the correlations between the Chechen and Ingush umlautized vowels of the first syllable allow us in most cases to reconstruct the ancient second vowel quite reliably, even if direct evidence of Batsbi and Chechen dialects is missing.

d) In Batsbi the first vowel preserves the original quality only if the second syllable is closed (in the table such structures are marked as CVCV-), as well as before the reduced final wide vowels -ā, -ē, -ō (or in the case of a total reduction of the final vowel: CVC). If the second (open) syllable contains the narrow vowels -i, -ū, the vowel of the first syllable turns into a diphthong (see [Imnayshvili 1977]). This involves the following processes:

-aCi > -ajCi~ejCi	-aCū > a) -awCū~owCū
	b) -ajCū
-eCi > -ejCi~iCi	-eCū > -ejCū~iCū
-oCi > -ujCi	-oCū > -ujCū
-uCi > -ujCi	

The sequences aj ~ ej, aw ~ ow, ej ~ i are in free variation with each other. As for the sequence -aCū, Batsbi has -aw- if C is a labial or back consonant, but -aj- if C is a front consonant.

e) For PN (at least in nominal stems) we cannot reconstruct the sequences *CiCi, *CuCu or *CōCo with two identical high or mid vowels; this casts doubt on the reconstruction of the sequence *CēCe (see below).

f) In a comparatively small number of cases, the correspondences given above are violated. Most of these violations occur as a result of an adequation of the direct stem to the oblique one (see below on ablaut).

Now, particular comments to the table:

1) The structure *CiCa is very rarely encountered, and the Ingush reflex here is not quite reliable.

2) The structure *CiCe is almost completely represented by adjective stems.

3) In this structure (also rather rare) Chechen has a variation of reflexes with the labialized ū (these forms are usually met in verbal paradigms) and non-labialized i (in nouns); dialects also reveal variations, see [Imnayshvili 1977].

4) The final -o is indicated here by the forms of Cheberloy dialect, cf. Cheb. *litto* and Chech., Ing. *litta* "haycock". If Cheberloy data is missing, it is impossible to distinguish the structure *CiCo from *CiCe.

5) No long and short vowels are distinguished in Ingush orthography (see above).

6) The structure *CēCi (as well as *CiCe, see above) is almost completely

represented by adjectival stems and verbal forms (as well as some nouns with the suffix *-ik).

7) There are few examples of the reflexation of this structure in Batsbi; it is rare in general, and it is not to be excluded that we are merely dealing with an Ingush variative development of the structure *CēCi.

8) Despite the lack of Batsbi data, this structure is confirmed by a sufficient number of examples. The Cheberloy dialect reveals here, as in many other cases, a variation between final -u and -o.

9) This (rather rare) structure is reconstructed on the basis of Batsbi (-ō) and Cheberloy (-o) evidence; if it is absent, the structure is indistinguishable from the structure *CēCa.

10) A very rare structure.

11) The short vowel ā in Chechen and Ingush is a phonetical variant of e adjacent to emphatic laryngeals and h.

12) On the Batsbi distribution between the reflexes -awCu and -ajCu see above, page 100.

13) After initial labials in Ingush we sporadically meet a narrow reflex u.

14) In Ingush the normal reflex of the structure *CaCo is CōCa; before hissing consonants, however, the labialization -a- > -ɔ- is regularly missing. In these cases the reflexes of the structure *CaCo can be distinguished from those of *CaCa only with the help of Cheberloy data, where *CaCa > CaCa, but *CaCo > CōCo.

1.2.2.1. Ablaut.

The main type of nominal ablaut in PN is the replacement of any vowel in the direct stem (Nom. Sg.) by a (ā) in the oblique stem (the stem of oblique cases, often also plural). In words with the structure CV other (possibly archaic) types of vowel gradation are present as well.

Verbal ablaut in PN is rather complicated. It is based on the opposition of durative (imperfective aspect) and terminative (perfective aspect) stems with the following main vocalic features:

Perfective aspect	Imperfective aspect
*ē	*ā
*a	*e
*ā	*ē
*ō	*e

The short vowels *u and *i are not usually alternating with anything; in some very rare cases we observe the ablaut i/e, i/o, u/a (thus there appear very rare verbal root structures with short *e, *o), the functions of which are not clear yet. Finally, in some exceptional cases (in verbs "to give", "to die", "to see") the ablaut a/o takes place.

There are also a few cases of the ablaut a/o, sometimes differentiating voice stems (cf. *-āll- "to be contained"; *-ōll- "to put in smth."; *-ātt- "to be poured"; *-ētt- "to pour").

If we also consider the infix *-b- (probably the original marker of plural forms or the "plural aspect") that can be present in the verbal stem and modifies the preceding vowel in Chechen-Ingush (PN *-ēb- > Che. -ī-, PN *-ob- > Che. -ū-, PN *-āb- > Che. -ōw- and so on), the reason for extremely complicated vowel alternations in modern Chechen and Ingush (where alternating vowels are additionally subject to umlaut before vowels of the second syllable according to rules, described above, on pp. 98-101) becomes clear to us.

The origin of the PN ablaut (and its relation to the Proto-Lezghian one in particular) is yet to be studied.

1.2.2. Root structure and prosody.

The main structures of the PN nominal root are *C(C)V, *C(C)V(C)V. The final vowel in PN (unlike PEC, see above) can be missing, but it is usually restored when case markers and other suffixes are added (influencing the vowel of the first syllable and causing its umlautization in Chechen-Ingush).

The main structure of the PN verbal root is *(H)V(C)V. The distinction of final vowels is visible in the Nakh verbal paradigm (this causes the presence of several types of conjugation here), but the exact reconstruction of final vowels is not completed yet.

The verbal stem may also begin with some obstruents (most often *ʔ, *ʔ, *h, *l, *q, *t, *χ). They apparently represent old preverbs; however, in PN the system of locative verbal prefixation was evidently already not productive, and in most cases the meaning of these preverbs is hard to define (though there are many instances of a single root with different prefixes).

The recording and studying of the Nakh prosodic system is a matter of future research (up to now nothing definite is known in this field).

1.3. The Avar language.

Avar is presently divided into rather many dialects split into two main groups: Northern and Southern. Most of our information comes from the Northern dialects, in particular from Khunzakh, on which the literary Avar is based. The information available on Southern Avar dialects (see, e.g., [Mikhailov 1959]) shows that they are generally close to Northern dialects and do not allow a serious deepening of the Proto-Avar reconstruction (the most significant Southern Avar archaism is the preservation of the lax lateral glottalised ʔ or its development into lʔ, l, ʔ, contrary to the Northern Avar development ʔ > t).

The orthographic system used in the biggest lexicographic source for Avar - the dictionary of M. Saidov ([Saidov 1967]) - generally rather adequately renders the Avar phonetic system. The only omitted distinction is ʔ: vs. ʔ: (both are noted as ʔ); this defect is, however, easily compensated for with the help of the records of L. I. Zhirkov ([Zhirkov 1936]) and P. K. Uslar ([Uslar 1889]); the latter work is also a valuable source for Avar accentuation, in many aspects complementing the dictionary of M. Saidov.

The development of Avar phonemes from PEC in general is described above.

In this work we do not specially examine vowel gradation in Avar; all the variants of this gradation are satisfactorily described by the rule of assimilation of pre-accent vowels (except u) to the accented ones (though there are some other processes as well) and in general are not very significant for the reconstruction of the original Avaro-Andian and EC protolanguages.

The consonant correspondences between Avar and Andian languages are examined in the work of T. E. Gudava ([Gudava 1964]); they are in general accepted here (with some minimal additions and corrections).

1.4. From PA to modern Andian languages.

By now there are enough sources on Andian languages (see [Tsertsvadze 1965], [Gudava 1962, 1971], [Saidova 1973], [Magomedbekova 1967, 1971], [Bokarev 1949]), that, together with the materials of the MSU expedition on Tindi, Chamali, Andi and Akhvakh, allow us to establish a rather complete reconstruction of the original PA system.

1.4.1. Consonantism.

The PA system of consonants was reconstructed in the important book of T. E. Gudava ([Gudava 1964]). We accept it with the following minor modifications:

1) In the book of T. Gudava the opposition of PA fricatives *ʂ and *x is apparently not quite reliably reconstructed (see a detailed criticism in [Starostin 1987]).

2) The PA system of laryngeal consonants needs some corrections (it is examined least of all in the book of T. Gudava); we have also added the reconstruction of the clusters "resonant+laryngeal", absent in his book.

We reconstruct the following consonant system for PA:

Labials	p		b				w	m
Dentals	t		d	tʰ			r	n
Labialized dentals	tʷ		dʷ	tʰʷ				
Hissing	c	c:		ç	ç:	s	s:	z
Labialized hissing				çʷ	çʷ:	sʷ	sʷ:	zʷ
Hushing	ç	ç:		çʰ	çʰ:	ʃ	ʃ:	j
Labialized hushing	çʷ			çʰʷ	çʰʷ:	ʃʷ	ʃʷ:	zʷ
Lateral	ʎ	ʎ:		ʎʰ	ʎʰ:	ʎ	ʎ:	l
Velars	k	k:	g	kʰ	kʰ:	(x)		
Labialized velars	kʷ	kʷ:	gʷ	kʰʷ	kʰʷ:	xʷ		
Uvulars	q	q:		qʰ	qʰ:	χ	χ:	ʙ
Labialized uvulars	qʷ	qʷ:		qʰʷ	qʰʷ:	χʷ	χʷ:	ʙʷ
Laryngeals						ʔ	h	
						(ʔ)	h	

In parentheses we list consonants, whose reconstruction is not quite reliable: the velar x is generally represented by its labialized variant x^w (except in the position before the vowel u, where the opposition of labialized and non-labialized is simply neutralized); the emphatic laryngeal ʔ (ʕ) is, in most languages, observed only in loanwords (basically from Avar). As an independent phoneme it is attested only in Akhvakh and Karata in a comparatively small number of words, and its PA antiquity is dubious.

The local series of labialized consonants are usually defective in PA (except labialized back consonants that are rather well represented). There are no reliable examples of PA labialized *c^w, *c^w, *c^w; apparently there is no reason to reconstruct PA labialized laterals (though there are a few roots, where one could attempt to reconstruct *λ^w, *λ^w and *λ^w). Labialized front consonants (except the comparatively stable hushing series) in Andian languages are in general very unstable and easily subject to delabialization (in many words with original labialization this process has already come to pass on the PA level). Resonants in PA (just as in PEC) never had labialized correlates (though labialized resonants appeared in Chamalal after the reduction of final vowels). In a few cases we should possibly reconstruct (considering the behaviour of adjacent vowels) the PA labialized laryngeals *ʔ^w and *h^w, but in reality such phonemes are absent in modern languages (if we do not count the secondary ʔ^w developed from *q^w, e.g. in Tindi).

In the table of correspondences given below we do not specially note the reflexes of labialized phonemes; in most cases they are the same as the reflexes of the respective nonlabialized + labialization (or the transfer of labialization onto the adjacent vowel). We should specially note only the behaviour of velars: in those languages where plain velars are subject to palatalization and affrication (Tindi, Chamalal, Godoberi, Bagwali, Andi and Karata dialects), labiovelars are not palatalized. Moreover, in Chamalal, after the affrication of velars, the delabialization of labiovelars (as well as of other labialized consonants) occurred, that have thus normal velar reflexes (it is interesting, that already after the described processes Chamalal obtained a new class of labialized consonants as a result of reduction of the final -u and the penetration of new Avar loanwords).

The consonant correspondences between Andian languages are as follows (cf. [Gudava 1964]):

PA	And	Botl	God	Kar	Akhv	Bagv	Tind	Cham
*p	p	p	p	p	h ^(w) /p	p	p	p
*b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
*w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w
*m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
*t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
*d	d	d	d	d	d	d(/-r-)	d(/-j---0-)	d
*l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l

PA	And	Botl	God	Kar	Akhv	Bagv	Tind	Cham
*r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	j/w(/-r-)
*n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
*c	s	s	s	s	č	s	s	s
*c:	c:	c:	c:	c:	c:	c:	c:	c:
*č	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	č(/-z(z)-, -d
*č:	č:	č:	č:	č:/š:	č:	č:	č:	č:/š:
*s	s	s	s	s	š	s	s	s
*s:	s:	s:	s:	s:	s:	s:	s:	s:
*z	z	z	z	z	ž	z	z	z
*ž	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž/š
*č:	č:	č:	č:	č:	č:	š:	č:	c:
*č	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	č
*č:	č:	č:	č:	č:/š:	č:	č:	č:	č:/š:
*š	š	š	š	š/x	š	š	š/h	š/h
*š:	š:	š:	š:	š:	š:	š:	š:	s:
*ž	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž	z
*j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j
*λ	λ	h	λ	λ	λ/λ	λ/h/lh	λ	λ
*λ:	λ:	λ:	λ:	λ:	λ:	λ:	λ:	λ:
*λ	λ/l	?	l	λ/lʔ/	λ/l	ʔ-/kʔ-	ʔ-, l	ʔ-, l
*λ	λ/l	?	l	ʔ/lʔ/	ʔ/l	-l-	ʔ:	λ:
*λ:	λ:	λ:	λ:	λ:	λ:	λ/h/lh	λ	λ
*λ	λ:	λ:	λ:	λ:	λ:	λ:	λ:	λ:
*l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
*k	k/č	k	k/k	k/k	k	k/k/č	k/k	k/č
*k:	k:/č:	k:	k:/k:	k:/x	x	k/k/č	x:/k:/k:	k/č/c
*g	g/ʒ/ž	g	g/g	g/g	g	g/g/ž	g/g	g/ʒ-, ž
*k	k/č	k	k/k	k/k	k	k/k/č	k/k	k/č
*k:	k:/č:	k:	k:/k:	k:/k:	k:	k/k/č	k:/k:	k:/č:/š:
*x	š	x	š	x	š	h/x	š/h	h
*q	χ	χ	χ	χ/h	q	h/χ	h/χ	χ
*q:	q:	q:	q:	q:	q:	q:	q:	q:
*q	q(G)/ʔ	ʔ/?	ʔ	ʔ-ʃ	q/?	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
	/ʃ							
*q:	q:	q:	q:	q:	q:	q:	q:	q:
*χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	h/χ	h/χ	χ
*χ:	χ:	χ:	χ:	χ:	χ:	χ:	χ:	χ:
*ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ
*ʔ	ʔ-, 0	ʔ-, 0	ʔ-, 0	ʔ-, 0	ʔ-, 0	ʔ-, 0	ʔ-, 0	ʔ-, 0
*h	h	h	h	h	ʔ-, h	h	h	h
*h-	h-	h-	h-	h-	h-	h-	h-	h-

Comments.

1) Andi. The lateral λ is preserved in the Muni-kwankhidatl dialect; in Andi proper we observe the reflex l , and in other dialects $?$ in initial position and $l?$ (Gagatl, Rikvani) or $?$ (Zilo, Chankho) in the medial position. Velar consonants in Andi are palatalized before all vowels except u and o ; in this case $g > \text{ʃ}$, but in the Rikvani dialect $g > \text{ʒ}$. Andi (just as Akhvakh) preserves the lax q , which is optionally articulated as G ; however, in the Muni dialect we observe the development $q > ?$, and in the Gagatl dialect $-q > b$ (see [Tsertsvadze 1965, Gudava 1964]).

2) Botlikh. Here usually $q > b$, but in the Miarsu dialect $q > ?$ (see [Gudava 1964]).

3) In Godoberi all velars are systematically palatalized in all positions except before u .

4) Karata. The fricativization $\text{ç} > \text{ʃ}$, $\text{č} > \text{ʒ}$ is here observed in the Tokita dialect. The lateral λ has the following reflexes: in Karata proper λ , in the Upper-Inkheloy dialect $-l$, in other dialects $?$ in initial position, $l?$ in medial position. Palatalized reflexes of velars (before the vowels i , e , a) are observed in the Tokita dialect (here also $k > \text{ç}$). The Tokita dialect also has a laryngealization $*q$, $*\chi > h$ (other dialects have χ) and a sporadic development $q > \text{ç}$ (in non-initial position; in other dialects $q > ?$). See [Maromedbekova 1971, Гудавя 1964].

5) Akhvakh. The Northern dialect has $p > h(?)$; others preserve p . The Northern Akhvakh dialect is the only Andian language that has preserved the lax lateral λ ; in Southern Akhvakh the fricativization $\lambda > \text{ʃ}$ has already occurred, as in all other Andian languages. The geographical distribution of the reflexes of $*\lambda$ and $*q$ is similar: North-Akhv. λ , q , South-Akhv. l , $?$ respectively. See [Magomedbekova 1967, Gudava 1964].

6) Bagwalal. The development of the intervocalic $d > r$ is observed here in the Kwanada, Gemersoy and Tlondoda dialects. The laterals develop as follows: $*\lambda$, $*\lambda$ give λ in the Tlissi dialect, h in Kwanada, and h , $-lh$ - (depending on the position) in Tlondoda and Khushtada; $*\lambda > \text{ʃ}$ in initial position in Kwanada, $?$ in other dialects; in the medial position all dialects have $-l$ in the place of $*\lambda$. Velars before non-labialized vowels are palatalized in all dialects and affricated in Tlissi. In Bagwalal a regular laryngealization $*q$, $*\chi > h$ occurs; but the labialized χ^w is preserved in initial position in Tlissi. The velar $*x$ in Bagwalal turns into h (unlike $*\text{ʃ} > \text{ʃ}$, and gives χ in the Kwanada dialect. See [Gudava 1964].

7) Tindi. The development of the intervocalic $-d- > -j-$ (or $-0-$, $-w-$, depending on the vocalic environment) is typical for Tindi proper; in other dialects $-d-$ is preserved. In the same Tindi dialect we observe the merger of $*\text{ʃ}$ and $*x$ into h ; in other dialects both these phonemes merge into ʃ . The palatalization of velars (before non-labialized vowels) is typical for all dialects; in this case in Tindi proper $*k > \text{ç}$, while other dialects preserve the non-fricative reflex k : (ç) (see [Gudava 1964], although the Tindi development $*k > \text{ʃ}$: mentioned there is incorrect). Uvular $*q$, $*\chi$ are laryngealized ($> h$) in the Aknada dialect, and develop into χ elsewhere.

8) Chamalal. The development $*r- > j-/w-$ (depending on the following vowel) is typical for the Gakvari dialect but is absent in Gigatl. In the Gigatl and Gadyri dialects a specific development of the medial $*\text{ç}$ occurs: Gig. $-z(z)$, Gad. $-dd-$. The fricativization $*\text{ç} > \text{ʃ}$ occurs in the Gakvari dialect, which is also characterized by the fricativization of tense glottalized ç , č . The velars before non-labialized

vowels have been affricated; one should also pay attention to the hissing reflexes ç , č of the tense $*k$, $*\text{ç}$: in the Gakvari dialect (the Gigatl dialect has č , but ç).

9) The opposition of laryngeals $*h$ and $*\text{h}$ is tentatively reconstructed on the evidence of Akhvakh (where there are two types of initial reflexes: $?$ - and h -; other languages usually have h -). However, the PEC source of this opposition is not quite clear yet (see above).

10) As for other phonetic processes, occurring in the consonantism system of Andian languages, we must point out the distant nasal assimilation that often leads to the appearance of m -, n - in the place of b -, r - (this process is most clearly represented in many Andian languages in the verbal system); the open syllable tendency in Akhvakh that had resulted in Northern Akhvakh in the complete disappearance of syllable-final resonants.

1.4.2. Consonant clusters.

In Andian languages, just as in other languages of Daghestan, consonant clusters in initial position are not allowed. In medial position only "resonant+obstruent" clusters are permissible. Resonants in such clusters are rather unstable: in particular, as a result of the weakening of $-n$ - in clusters like $-nC-$ (and sometimes in final position of polysyllabic words) nasalized vowels can appear in all Andian languages (except Andi, see [Gudava 1964]). Exact rules on the behaviour of consonants in medial clusters vary from dialect to dialect, and we will not discuss them in detail.

Besides the $-RC$ -clusters, Andian languages also possess very rare and apparently secondary clusters of two obstruents. Finally, there is one more type of clusters, reconstructed for PA and playing a very important part in the PEC reconstruction: clusters of the type $-RH-$ ("resonant+laryngeal"). They deserve special examination (T. Gudava does not dwell upon these clusters in his work).

In a rather large number of nominal roots we observe very specific auslaut correspondences, namely: some languages have a sequence $-VHV$ (or $-\text{V}HV$, with a nasalized vowel) at the word's end, other languages have $-VjV \sim -VwV$ (or $-\text{V}jV \sim -\text{V}wV$, with a nasalized vowel), i.e. the result of a dropped laryngeal (besides the structures with $-j-$ $\sim$ $-w-$, there are also cases of contraction, when only a long vowel, $-\text{V}$ or $-\text{V}$, is left in auslaut); finally, some languages reveal a reflex $-VR(V)$ (with the laryngeal dropped but the resonant preserved). In such cases it seems natural to reconstruct PA structures of the type $*-VRHV$.

The reflexes of these structures behave rather "whimsically" in modern languages (which is natural, considering the instability of laryngeals, as well as resonants, in combination with following obstruents), significantly varying in dialects and depending on vocalic environment. The available data allow us to reconstruct the following types of the structure $*-VRHV$:

PA	And	Botl	God	Kar	Akhv	Bagv	Tind	Cham
*Vr ² i	-Vr	-Vri		-Vre	-Vr(i)	-Vri	-Vja	-Vja
*Vr ² a	-V ² a			-Vri (Tok.)				
*Vrhi	-V	-Vj	-Vji	-Vj	-Vr(i)	-Vra	-VrV	-Vr (Gakv. -V)
*Vrha(?)					-Vr~Vj		-V/-Vr	
*Vlhi			-Vji	-Vl(i)	-Vl(i)			
*Vlha(?)	-Vl					-Vl	-V	-Vra (Gakv. -V)
*Vn ² i	-Vn	-Vni	-Vni	-Vji/	-Vn(i)	-V(j)	-V	-V/
		~V ² i	~Vji	-Vn(e) (Tok.)		~V ² i		-Vj
(*C ² in ² i	-un/	-ū ² i	-ūji	-ūji		-ū ² i	C ² i	-ūj/
	-ūj							Cwī)
*Vn ² u	-Vmu	-iū	-Vwu	-iw/-ū	-Vn/-V(w)-V	-V	-Vw	
*Vn ² a	-V/			-Vna	-Vni	-Vna	-Vn	
	-Vna							
*Vnhi	-Vj~	-V	-Vhi~	-V/-Vhi~	-Vn/-V	-V(j)	-V	-Vhī/-Vhi
	-Vj		-V ² i	-Vji (Tok.)				
*Vnhi	-Vw(u)	-V ² u	-Vwū	-VjV~VnV	-VwV	-V	-Vhu	-V(w)
*Vnha	-Vja	-Vna	-Vne	-Vni	-Vna	-Vne	-Vna	-VnV
*Vm ² i	-Vm(i)	-V ² i		-Vj			-V	-Vm
*Vm ² a	-V/		-Vma				-V	-VmV
	-Vma							
*Vmha	-Vw							
				-Vma		-Vma	-Vma	

Many cases of variation are caused here by the vacillation of rather unstable final vowels; in some cases we apparently possess not quite exact records. However, the general plausibility of the reconstruction of -RH- combinations seems beyond doubt.

1.4.3. Vocalism.

We reconstruct a four-vowel system for PA:

*i	*u
*a	*o

The problem of reconstructing the PA vowel *e is rather complicated. All modern languages have it; but in correspondences the i-e variation is so frequent that it does not yet seem possible to reconstruct two PA phonemes here.

The vowel *o was preserved only in Andi, and merged with *a in all other languages. Some authors (T. E. Gudava in particular, see [Gudava 1964]) consider the Andi o to be secondary; but external correspondences clearly show that in this case Andi preserves an important archaism and prove the necessity of reconstructing the *o (phonetically probably = /ɔ/) - *a opposition in PA.

Vocalic reflexes can be modified in different contexts, in particular, adjacent to labialized consonants. Most often we encounter the development *i > u or *i > o in this position (the distribution between u and o is as unclear here as the distribution between i and e).

In the final position of the PA nominal root we reconstruct the same four-vowel system as in the medial position. However, here we often observe variations of reflexes (including variations within a single language or even a dialect), caused by the weakening of articulation in final position and by morphological analogy. In Bagwalal and Chamalal narrow vowels are usually reduced to zero (they are sporadically preserved only in some Chamalal dialects, and in Bagwalal - after obstruents). We must note that the reduction of -u usually leaves a trace in the labialization of the previous consonant.

Except the variations and positional modifications of vowels, stated above, as well as the development *o > a in all languages except Andi, all PA vowels preserve their quality in descendant languages. Nasalized vowels, present in nearly all modern languages, have a secondary origin (see above) and do not go back to the PA level.

A productive ablaut system, if any, was apparently already lost in PA and is missing in modern Andi languages (though traces of the old ablaut can perhaps be discovered in individual nominal paradigms and in the V/O-alternation in some verbal stems).

1.4.4. Root structure and prosody.

PA nominal roots have the structure *CV(R)CV, usually preserved in modern languages (though it may be modified due to reduction of final vowels and loss of -RH-clusters; in the last case monosyllabic roots may appear). There are additionally some nominal stems with the structure *CV(R)CVR (where final resonants are apparently historically suffixed morphemes) and some individual cases of other structures.

The verbal root usually has either the structure *-V(R)C- (it is not yet clear whether we must reconstruct significant vocalic differences at the end of the PA verbal root) ("state 1"), or *CVR- ("state 2") (on the opposition of two "states" of the verbal root in Avar-Andi languages see above, pp. 87-88), though in rare cases we may find roots of other types (*CV(R)C-, or roots with a combination of two obstruents in non-initial position - these all are probably historically derived forms).

Judging by the results of the MSU expeditions of 1973 - 1978, all modern Andian languages possess systems of tonal (melodic, sometimes mixed dynamic-melodic) accentuation with significant pitch distinctions. However, a careful description and a corpus of accented lexical material are unfortunately still lacking. Therefore, despite some observations already made (see [Starostin 1978]), it is yet early to talk about the PA accent reconstruction.

1.5. From PTs to modern Tsezian languages.

While reconstructing PTs, it is convenient to use two intermediate reconstructions - PTsKh (the protolanguage of the modern West-Tsezian languages: Tsezi, Ginukh, Khvarshi and Inkhokwari) and PGB (the protolanguage of the modern East-Tsezian languages: Gunzib and Bezhta). Intermediate PTsKh and PGB reflexes will be listed in our tables together with reflexes in modern languages.

Some correspondences between Tsezian languages were established in the work of Y. A. Bokarev [Bokapeв 1959], but there was no reconstruction of the original system. Extremely short and absolutely insufficient notes on the putative PTs system are contained in the work [Gigineyshvili 1977]. Finally, an attempt to reconstruct the common Tsezian phonological system was made by T. Gudava ([Gudava 1979]); but, unlike the Andian reconstruction of the same author, this work can hardly be considered plausible (there is no analysis of specific correlations in voice/voicelessness between different Tsezian languages, problems of the reconstruction of laterals, hissing, hushing and uvular fricatives are not solved, no adequate reconstruction of vocalism is given).

1.5.1. Consonantism.

We reconstruct the following consonant system for PTs:

Labials	p	b	ɸ					
Dentals	t	d, (d _l)	ɬ				m	
Labialized dentals	t ^w	d ^w	ɬ ^w				n	r
Hissing	c		ç	s	s:	z	z:	
Labialized hissing	c ^w		ç ^w	s ^w	s: ^w	z ^w	z: ^w	
Hushing	ç		ç̥	ʃ	ʃ:	ʒ	ʒ:	j
Labialized hushing	ç ^w		ç̥ ^w	ʃ ^w	ʃ: ^w	ʒ ^w	ʒ: ^w	
Laterals	ʎ		ʎ̥	λ	λ:	L	L:	l
Velars	k, (k _l)	g, g _l	k̥					
Labialized velars	k ^w	g ^w , g _l ^w	k̥ ^w					
Uvulars	q		q̥	χ	χ:	ʁ	ʁ:	
Labialized uvulars	q ^w		q̥ ^w	χ ^w	χ: ^w	ʁ ^w	ʁ: ^w	
Laryngeals		ʔ		h				
Emphatic laryngeals				h̥				

A very specific feature of the PTs system is the four-way opposition of fricatives. It is tentatively interpreted as a distinction in tenseness, but other suggestions are possible as well (e.g., the reconstruction of an opposition in aspiration,

etc.). We must however note that in the subsystem of hissing and hushing fricatives we observe in fact only three types of correspondences (in initial position: PTsKh s - PGB s, PTsKh z - PGB z, PTsKh s - PGB s; in non-initial position: PTsKh s - PGB s, PTsKh z - PGB z, PTsKh s - PGB z); therefore, we could assume the existence of only three PTs hissing and three PTs hushing fricatives. However, external data obviously shows that in PTsKh as well as in PGB a secondary merger of the reflexes of initial *s, *s: and, respectively, non-initial *z, *z: occurred. Taking into account the fact that the four-way opposition is reliably reconstructed for the subsystems of lateral and uvular fricatives, we can suppose that it existed in the subsystems of hissing and hushing fricatives as well, but was afterwards lost with a parallel development in PTsKh and PGB. Thus, the correspondence "PTsKh s-: PGB s-" can simultaneously point to two PTs phonemes (*s- or *s:-); similarly the correspondence "PTsKh -z-: PGB -z-" (PTs *-z- or -z:-), see below.

There is some reason to think that explosive local series in PTs were also characterized by a more than three-way opposition of laryngeal features. The respective "specific" phonemes were marked in the table as *d_l, *k_l, *g_l (their reflexes reveal specific variations in voice/voicelessness in descendant languages, and in some cases it is possible to trace them to other PEC sources than the usual PTs voiced and voiceless explosives, see above). But there are very few examples for all these phonemes, and their reconstruction (to say nothing of their phonetic interpretation) is not at all secure.

It is apparently necessary to reconstruct a full set of labialized consonants (except resonants, labials, laryngeals and probably laterals) for PTs. However, labialized consonants (especially the front ones) are rather unstable and easily lose their labialization (especially in East-Tsezian languages). Therefore, reflexes of labialized consonants - with very few exceptions, that will be mentioned below - are the same as the reflexes of respective nonlabialized ones, and in many cases the presence of labialization in PTs can be determined only by the reflexes of adjacent vowels (see below). Therefore in the table we do not adduce correspondences for labialized consonants.

The consonant correspondences in Tsezian languages are as follows:

PTs	PTsKh	Tsez	Gin	Khv	Inkh	PGB	Bezht	Gunz
*p	*p	p	p	p	p	*p	p	p, b
*b	*b	b	b	b	b	*b	b	b
*ɸ	*ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	*ɸ	ɸ	ɸ
*m	*m	m	m	m	m	*m	m	m
*t	*t	t	t	t	t	*t	t	t, d
*d	*d	d	d	d	d	*d	d	d
*d _l	*t	t	t	t	t	*d	d	d
*ɬ	*ɬ	ɬ	ɬ	ɬ	ɬ	*ɬ	ɬ	ɬ
*n	*n	n	n	n	n	*n	n	n
*r	*r~l	r~l	r~l	r~l	r~l	*r	r/j/w	r
*l	*r~l	r~l	r~l	r~l	r~l	*l	l	l
*c	*c	c	c/ç	c	c	*c	c	c

PTs	PTsKh	Tsez	Gin	Khv	Inkh	PGB	Bezht	Gunz
*u ^A	*u	u	u	u	u	} *u	u, -o	u
*u ^B	*ü	e	o	i	u, i			
*o ^A	*u	u	u	u	u	} *o	o	o
*o ^B	*ø	o~i	ü	e	e			
*ɔ ^A	*o	o	o	o	o	} *ɔ	a	ɔ
*ɔ ^B	*ø	o~i	ü	e	e			

Comments.

1) The vowel ɔ in Gunzib is characterized by E. A. Bokarev (Bokarev 1967, 472) as a non-labialized back mid vowel; but a more exact characterization (judging by the field observations of the MSU expedition) would be "back low mid-open vowel". We transcribe it (as well as the vowel reconstructed in its place in PGB and PTs) as ɔ.

2) After the slash in PGB (and therefore in Bezhta and Gunzib) we give the reflexes of PTs vowels adjacent to labialized consonants (that have lost labialization in PGB).

3) The distinction of series A and B in PTsKh is relevant only in the first syllable; the second syllable usually has reflexes of "unshifted" vowels (series A). It must be noted that for the second (final) syllable in PTs we reconstruct not the full set of vowels, but only *e, *ɔ, *a, *u, *ɔ (their reflexes in this position are generally the same as in the first syllable).

4) Besides simple vowels, we reconstruct a complete set of nasalized vowels in PTs. They preserve their nasalization in Khvarshi, Inkhokvari, Bezhta and Gunzib (though they may sporadically lose it). The quality of the reflexes of nasalized vowels is usually the same as of the plain ones. A significant exception is the development of nasalized *ē and *ō in Khvarshi, where they give narrow reflexes (*ē > ī, *ō > ū); it should be mentioned that plain *e and *o develop in the same way in the vicinity of nasal m or n (the rule of Y. Testelefs). The opposition of nasalized/nonnasalized vowels in PTs (and in modern Tsezian languages) is relevant only in the first syllable (following syllables can be subject to "assimilative", "prosodic" nasalization; but structures with a nasalized second vowel and a non-nasalized first do not exist).

5) All vowels - plain as well as nasalized - can also have the additional feature of pharyngealization in PTs. Pharyngealized vowels (generally yielding the same quality of reflexes as the plain ones) are now preserved in Tsezi and Inkhokvari, but lose pharyngealization without any trace in other Tsezian languages. The origin of the Tsezian pharyngealization is not quite clear yet (see above, page 83).

1.5.3. Ablaut.

The PTs nominal stems possessed ablaut of two main types: a) direct stem *o - oblique stem *i; b) direct stem *ɔ - oblique stem *i (some paradigms secondarily mix both types of ablaut). In words with the structure CV some other types of vowel gradation (possibly archaic) are possible as well. It must be noted that the nominal ablaut was already not very productive in PTs, and the number of nouns with

alternating vowels is very small in modern languages. On the origin of the Tsezian ablaut see above, pp. 81-82.

Tsezian languages apparently preserve some remnants of verbal ablaut as well (though PTs evidently had already lost the productive verbal ablaut system), but this question still needs special research.

1.5.4. Root structure and prosody.

Most nominal roots in PTs have the structure CV or CVC(V); longer structures are rare (and are usually derived). A characteristic PTs feature (already mentioned above) is the inadmissibility (or at least extreme rarity) of consonant clusters within a single morpheme, despite the fact that closed-syllable structures (of the type CVC) are allowed. The CVC structures probably appeared in PTs as a result of the early process of dropping narrow final vowels (in the reconstructed PTs system -i and -i are missing; -u is present, but this vowel is rather a result of a still later secondary narrowing from *o, missing in final position). However, the correspondences between PTs and PEC final vowels are yet to be established.

Most verbal roots in PTs have the structure -VC(V) (or, more rarely, -VCVR). The most unstable element of the verbal root is its final vowel, which can disappear or be modified before suffixed morphemes. The problem of the verbal auslaut in PTs (and its PEC sources) is not yet well studied. Besides, there is a number of verbal roots with a different structure, e.g., CVC(V); however, historically they are mostly derived and contain old preverbs (no longer productive in PTs and in modern languages).

The prosody of PTs can be described as consisting of nasalization and pharyngealization, which have been examined above (though these phenomena can be also regarded as vocalic features). Besides, judging by the results of the MSU expeditions of 1973-1978, all Tsezian languages possess relevant tonal oppositions, and PTs certainly had a tonal accent system. However, all that was said above about Andian tonal systems (see page 109), could be applied to this case as well: we need more careful and full descriptions, on the basis of which one could accomplish the PTs tonal reconstruction.

1.6. Lak.

Despite a rather large number of speakers and villages where the Lak language is used, it is at the present time rather monolithic. There are many local dialects, but they do not seriously differ from each other, see [Khaidakov 1966] (although there is some reason to believe that the degree of dialectal divergence was higher in the past). Therefore, the inclusion of Lak dialectal data generally does not add much to the information that one can obtain from the description of Lak literary language and its lexicon.

The development of Lak phonemes from PEC was described in general above. We should pay attention only to some comparatively recent phonetical processes that are not reflected in the tables:

a) in Lak a general affrication of velars (including the velars that developed from PEC laterals) occurred before the vowels a, i. Original velars are easily reconstructed with the help of Lak morphological data (there is a regular alternation k/č, k/č, etc., in nominal and verbal paradigms). However, the affrication may sporadically be missing in some dialects and in the literary language. Therefore, while using the main lexicographical source on Lak - the dictionary of S. M. Khaidakov (Khaidakov 1962), one may have orthographic problems, because in most cases the labialization of velar consonants is not marked there, and, e.g. the sequence -ka- may be read either as -ka- or as -k^wa-. In such cases we have to use dialectal records (the fullest available are the MSU records of the Khosrekhi dialect).

b) Another recent phonetical process easily seen in morphonology is the weakening of all tense consonant phonemes in the closed syllable (-p: > -p, -t: > -t, -c: > -c, -s: > -s, etc.) They are restored before suffixes beginning with a vowel.

c) We should also note some other sporadic phonetic processes: the development of intervocal d and b into r and w respectively (a quite recent change, having affected some recent Arabic loanwords as well); the variation of l and velar reflexes of PEC laterals (see above, page); the variation of χ: and h in the place of PEC uvular fricatives (see above, page). Such phenomena certainly suggest intensive dialectal mixture within the history of Lak. It is, however, possible that some of these variations will one day be given a prosodic explanation (the system of Lak prosody - except the feature of pharyngealization - is not yet described at all).

As a specific feature of Lak we must mention that it has the most reduced vowel system of all EC languages (only three phonemes: i, u, a). In some dialects, however, long vowels are also present, but their systematic description does not exist.

1.7. From PD to modern Dargwa dialects.

Unlike Lak, the Dargwa language has many dialects that are rather far from each other, see [Gasanova 1971]. Unfortunately, sufficient lexicographical sources are available only for the following dialects: a) Akushi, on which literary Dargwa is based (see [Abdullayev 1950]); b) Urakhi, described already by P. K. Uslar (see [Uslar 1892]) and c) Chirag, on which we possess the voluminous records of the MSU expeditions of 1973-75. Rather many dialectal records are contained in the work of M.-S. M. Musayev ([Musayev 1975]); see also [Gasanova 1971]. Therefore, we have a generally more or less reliable system of phonetic correspondences and reconstructions, based on the material of 13 Dargwa dialects. However, in this work we will limit ourselves to the reflexes of PD phonemes in the four dialects which are described best of all and the evidence of which is quite sufficient to reconstruct the complete PD phonological system: Chirag, Akushi, Urakhi and Kubachi.

1.7.1. Consonantism.

We reconstruct the following system of consonants for PD:

Labials	p	p:	b	ɸ		w	m
Dentals	t	t:	d	ɬ		l, r	n
Labialized dentals			d ^w	ɬ ^w			
Hissing	c	c:	ʒ	ç	s	s:	z
Hushing	č	č:		č	š	š:	ž
Velars	k	k:	g	k	x	x:	ɣ
Labialized velars	k ^w	k: ^w	g ^w	k ^w	x ^w	x: ^w	ɣ ^w
Uvulars	q	q:		q	χ	χ:	ʁ
Labialized uvulars	q ^w	q: ^w		q ^w	χ ^w	χ: ^w	ʁ ^w
Pharyngealized uvulars	ql	q:l	(Gl)	ql	χl	χ:l	ʁl
Pharyngealized labialized uvulars	ql ^w	q:l ^w		ql ^w	χl ^w	χ:l ^w	ʁl ^w
Laryngeals				?	h	hl(?)	
Labialized laryngeals					h ^w		ɣ ^w
Emphatic laryngeals				h			ɣ

In this system the phoneme *Gl (without a non-pharyngealized counterpart) is not quite certain; it is not to be excluded, that in the examples available we deal with an irregular development of the PD *ʁl. In addition, the status of the phoneme that we mark as *hl is not quite clear (other pharyngealized laryngeals seem to be missing in PL); the reconstruction of *h^w can also be considered dubious (this phoneme is represented by a few examples in medial position, and the established correspondences should possibly be interpreted otherwise). In general, the reconstruction of the PD system of laryngeals probably needs some further elaboration.

We establish the following correspondences among Dargwa dialects:

PD	Chir	Akush	Urakh	Kub
*p	p	p	p	p
*p:	p:	b	b	p:, -p
*b	b	b	b	b
*ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ
*w	w	w	w	w(-p:-)
*m	m	m	m	m
*t	t	t	t	t
*t:	t:	d	d	t:, -t
*d	d	d	d	d
*ɬ	ɬ	ɬ	ɬ	ɬ

PD	Chir	Akush	Urakh	Kub
*l	l	l	l	l
*r	r	r	r	j/w/0
*n	n	n	n	n
*d ^w		d	d ^w	
*t ^w		t	t ^w	t(°)
*c	c	c	c	s
*c:	c:	z,-z~c	z~3	c,-c
*3	z	z	z	s(/-z)
*ç	ç	ç	ç	ç
*s	s	h,-rh-	h,-rh-	t
*s:	s:	s	s	s,-s
*z	z	ʔ,-rʔ,-r	ʔ,-rʔ	d
*ç	ç	ç	ç	ç
*ç:	ç:	ç	ç	ç,-ç
*ç	ç	ç	ç	ç
*š	š	š	š	š
*š:	š:	š	š	š,-š
*ž	ž	ž	ž	ž
*j	j	j	j	j
*k	k	k	k	k
*k:	k:	ʔ	ʔ	k,-k
*g	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
*k	k	k	k	k
*x	x/š	š	š	š,-x
*x:	x:	x	x	x,-x
*ɣ	ɣ(-j-)	ʔ~j,-jʔ	ç,-jʔ	ɣ
*k ^w	k(°)	k	k ^w	k(°)
*g ^w		g ^w	g ^w	g ^w
*k ^w		w,-h-	g ^w ,-h ^w -	g ^w
*x ^w		k ^w	k ^w	k ^w
*x: ^w		h,-x	h(°),-wh,-w	x ^w
*ɣ ^w		h,-x	h,-h~x ^w ,-x	x:(°),-x ^w
*q	q	ɣ,-w	ʔ ^w ,-w	
*q:	q:	q	q	q
*q	q:	G	G	q,-q
*χ	χ	q	q	q
*χ:	χ:	h	h	χ
*b	b	χ	χ	χ,-χ
*q ^w	q ^w	b	b	b
*q: ^w	q: ^w	q	q(°)	q ^w
*q ^w	q ^w	G	G(°)	q:°,-q(°)
*q ^w	q ^w	q	q ^w	q ^w
*χ ^w	χ(°)	χ	χ ^w	χ ^w
*χ: ^w	χ: ^w	χ	χ(°)	-χ:°-
*b ^w	b ^w	b	b(°)	b(°)
*ql	ql	ql	ql	ql

*q:l	q:l	G(l)	Gl	q:l,-ql
*Gl	bl-	bl-		bl-
*ql	ql	ql	ql	ql
*χl	χl	h	h	h
*χ:l	χ:l	h		
*bl	bl	ç-	ç-	bl-
*ql ^w	ql ^w	ql	ql ^w	ql ^w
*q:l ^w	q:l ^w	Gl	Gl ^w	q:l ^w -
*ql ^w	ql ^w	ql	ql(°)	ql(°)
*χl ^w	χl ^w	h	h ^w	χl~h-
*χ:l ^w	χ:l ^w	χl~h-	χl ^w ~h ^w	χ:l ^w -
*bl ^w	bl ^w	ç	ç ^w	bl ^w
*ʔ-	ʔ-	ʔ-	ʔ-	ʔ-
*h	h,-j-	ç~h,-h-	ç,-ʔ-	h
*hl	hl	ç,-ç~ʔ-	ç,-ç~ʔ-	h
*h ^w		-h-	-w-	-0-
*ç ^w	ç ^w	ç	ç(°)	h,-ç
*h	ç,-ç~0l	h	h	ʔ~ç,-0,-Vlj
*ç	ç,-h	ç	ç	ç~ʔ,-h

Comments.

1) It seems reasonable to reconstruct a separate series of PD uvular pharyngealized (and uvular pharyngealized labialized) consonants, because we meet the whole set of PD vowels beside them; as for non-uvular consonants, the only pharyngealized vowel that can be adjacent to them is al (see below on the vowel system). Additionally, pharyngealized uvulars in Dargwa dialects often give reflexes other than the respective non-pharyngealized ones (see the table). We must remember, however, that historically the pharyngealized uvulars are secondary (see above, page 59) and we did not place them in the table of PEC reflexes.

2) We can easily reconstruct labialized back consonants for PD, but labialized front ones (except the very rare d^w and t^w) virtually cannot be reconstructed. Labialization has totally disappeared in literary Dargwa (Akushi), but is rather well preserved in many other Dargwa dialects (except the cases of a secondary transfer of consonant labialization to the adjacent vowel).

3) The PD liquid *r in Kubachi most often develops into j (more rarely into w or 0, depending on its position and the vocalic environment). There is also a very characteristic process of the disappearance of *r in Kubachi in medial clusters of the type -rC-, when the precedent vowel is lengthened after the fall of -r-. In this way Kubachi has developed a secondary opposition of vowels in brevity/length, absent in other Dargwa dialects.

4) Akushi usually reflects the final *c: as -z; but in some words we have the reflex -c that has apparently penetrated from a dialect of the Kubachi type. The fact that in this case we are doubtlessly dealing with interdialectal loanwords is confirmed by transparent doublets like *baz* "month" - *bac* "moon" (PD *bac:). The Urakhi variation z~3 in the place of PD *c: possibly has a similar origin.

5) The voiced g in most Dargwa dialects is absent or in free variation with

the fricative γ (we must note that in the literary orthography this consonant is marked as r). However, an explosive $*g$ is reliably reconstructed for PD in the place of modern γ , because for the fricative γ a special row of correspondences exists.

6) In Akushi and Urakhi we mark as G the phoneme, that is orthographically represented as $\kappa\bar{\epsilon}$; phonetically this consonant is not voiced, but rather voiceless unaspirated (tense). However, in the system it occupies the place of a voiced one, because the opposition in laxness/tenseness has been lost in these dialects, being replaced by the opposition of voice/voicelessness.

7) The Kubachi dialect has a regular affrication of non-labialized velars before front vowels $i\bar{\epsilon}$: $k > \check{\zeta}$, $\kappa > \check{\zeta}$, $k\bar{\epsilon} > \check{\zeta}$: etc.

8) Labialized $*b^w$ turns into a laryngeal $ʔ$ after $-r-$ in Urakhi: $-r\bar{b}^w- > -rʔ-$; in Akushi it is further weakened and disappears ($-r\bar{b}^w- > -r-$).

10) The given table shows us the archaic character of the Chirag dialect (and, judging by the sparse available data, the other dialects of the Amukh type). In fact, with very few exceptions it has fully preserved the PD consonantism system and can act as a "protolanguage" for other Dargwa dialects (of which the Akushi dialect, the basis of modern literary Dargwa, is the most advanced and shattered one).

1.7.1.1. Consonant clusters.

The most frequent type of consonant clusters in Dargwa (as in most other EC languages) is the type "resonant+obstruent" (it is worth noting that the consonant b could also be related to resonants by this feature, because it is rather often found within the clusters $-bC-$, see above). These combinations are generally well preserved in dialects (though there are cases of losing resonants, especially in the Chirag dialect); on the development of combinations of the type $-rC-$ in Kubachi see above, page 119.

In single cases we meet also consonant combinations of other types (in particular, of two obstruents), whose origin is not quite clear.

1.7.2. Vocalism.

We reconstruct the following vowel system for PD:

$*i$	$*u$
$*e$	$*a$

Besides that, we also reconstruct a single independent pharyngealized vowel $*a^l$ (all other pharyngealized vowels in PD and in modern dialects have the status of phonetical variants of simple vowels, adjacent to pharyngealized uvulars).

Of the dialects examined above, Chirag, Akushi and Kubachi preserve the original system (in Kubachi additional long vowels appeared as a result of the disappearance of $-r-$ and some other phonetical processes, e.g. contraction; see above). We should also note that in Chirag vowels are less stable and more easily subject to positional variations, than in other dialects.

In Urakhi a narrowing $*e > i$ occurred (e now occurs only in a few loanwords and as a phonetical variant of i after h). There are also long vowels

here, but they are rather rare and in most cases develop from contractions.

In the end of the Dargwa nominal root only two vowels were possible: $-i$ and $-a$ (as well as its pharyngealized counterpart $-a^l$). The vowel $-u$, present in a few roots in modern dialects, apparently goes back to PD $*i$ after labialized consonants. In the end of the PD verbal root final $-i$, $-u$ and $-a$ are possible; but a full reconstruction of the PD verbal paradigm is still lacking, and the original system is not quite clear yet.

1.7.2.1. Ablaut.

The old nominal ablaut seems to be lost in Dargwa (the vowel gradation in the formation of plural, involving the development $a, i > u$ or $a > i$ in some dialects, is obviously a secondary result of the reduction of the root vowel before the added plural marker). However, we must note the strange process of "truncating" the final syllable in some oblique nominal stems in Dargwa (*qali* "house", Gen. *qa* and so on), the reasons of which are not yet clear.

The ablaut, however, is widely spread in the Dargwa verbal system as a means of differentiation of aspect stems. The comparison of Chirag, Akushi and Kubachi data allows us to reconstruct the following types of verbal vowel alternations in PD:

Perfective aspect	Imperfective aspect
$*a$	$*i$
$*a$	$*u$
$*e$	$*i$
$*e$	$*u$
$*u$	$*i$

The vowel $*i$ is usually preserved in the imperfective aspect stem. The ablaut system in the Dargwa verb is combined with complicated processes of the disappearance and insertion of resonants $-r-$, $-l-$ in medial position (these processes are, as it seems, related to the opposition of "strong" and "weak" series of class markers in PL, though many details are still unclear).

1.7.3. Root structure and prosody.

The bulk of nominal roots in PD have the structure CV or CV(R)C(V) (with the final vowel or without it), that are preserved in all modern dialects. As in other EC languages, there is a comparatively small number of nominal stems with a longer root structure, that are in most cases derived.

The verbal root in PD has the structure $-V(R)CV(R)$; the final consonant may be represented by $-r$ (r -conjugation) or $-n$ (n -conjugation). We will not dwell in more detail on the analysis and the reconstruction of the PD verbal root (this topic should be specially studied together with an examination of the East-Caucasian verbal system as a whole).

The Dargwa prosodic system is not yet sufficiently described. Judging by the descriptions, most modern Dargwa dialects have a system of morphologically fixed dynamic accent; data collected by the MSU expedition allows us to suggest the presence of other prosodic features (phonations) as well.

1.8. From PL to modern Lezghian languages.

The PL reconstruction is presently the most developed of all intermediate reconstructions. Besides, since the PL phonological system is characterized by special archaic features as a result of the early split of the Lezghian family, its reconstruction plays a specific part in the reconstruction of PEC and PNC phonological systems. Therefore we consider it necessary to go over the characteristics of the PL system in some detail.

The existing PL reconstruction had already been completed in its entirety in 1975 (see [Starostin 1975a, 19756]) and is rather substantially different from the later presented reconstruction of B. B. Talibov ([Talibov 1980]), as well as from the systems, reconstructed sketchily by E. A. Bokarev ([Bokarev 1981]) and B. K. Giginshvili ([Giginshvili 1977]). The main differences in our reconstruction are postulation of the originality of tense unaspirated explosives and affricates and the recognition of the secondariness of their voiced reflexes in some modern languages (see below); reconstruction of the full lateral series for PL; reconstruction of the PL system of laryngeal consonants; reconstruction of PL vocalism (significantly different from the system suggested by E. A. Bokarev); reconstruction of the PL root structure and ablaut system; reconstruction of a series of tense resonants in PL, etc. For a short sketch of our reconstruction and a table of correspondences (unfortunately, with some misprints), see the book [Aleksyev 1985, pp. 11-15].

1.8.1. Consonantism.

We reconstruct the following consonant system for PL:

Labials	p	p:	b	ɸ	ɰ	w	m	m:
Dentals	t	t:	d	ɬ	j	r	n	n:
Labialized dentals	tʷ	t:ʷ		ɬʷ				
Hissing	c	c:		ç	ç:	s	s:	z
Labialized hissing	cʷ	c:ʷ		çʷ	ç:ʷ	sʷ	s:ʷ	
Hushing	ç	ç:	(ʒ)	ç	ç:	ʒ	ʒ:	ʒ
Labialized hushing	çʷ	ç:ʷ	(ʒʷ)	çʷ	ç:ʷ	ʒʷ	ʒ:ʷ	ʒʷ
Laterals	ʎ	ʎ:	(ʟ)	ʎ	ʎ:	ʎ	ʎ:	
Labialized laterals	ʎʷ	ʎ:ʷ		ʎʷ	ʎ:ʷ	ʎʷ	ʎ:ʷ	
Velars	k	k:	g	k				
Labialized velars	kʷ	k:ʷ		kʷ				
Uvulars	q	q:		q	q:	χ	χ:	ʁ
Labialized uvulars	qʷ	q:ʷ		qʷ	q:ʷ	χʷ	χ:ʷ	

Pharyngealized uvulars	ql	ql:	ql	ql:	χl	χl:
Pharyngealized labialized uvulars	qlʷ	ql:ʷ	qlʷ	ql:ʷ	χlʷ	χl:ʷ
Laryngeals			ʔ		h	
Labialized laryngeals			ʔʷ			
Pharyngealized laryngeals			ʔl		hl	
Emphatic laryngeals			ʔ		h	
Emphatic labialized laryngeals			ʔʷ			

We must at once note that pharyngealized consonants in PL should not be necessarily regarded as independent phonemes, because in PL there was a full system of independent pharyngealized vowels (see below), and pharyngealized consonants can be regarded as allophones of simple uvulars (and laryngeals), adjacent to pharyngealized vowels. However, since in many modern Lezghian languages pharyngealized consonants represent a special series, often yield reflexes different from the respective non-pharyngealized phonemes and statistically occur much more frequently adjacent to pharyngealized vowels than other consonants, it is convenient to regard them as separate phonological units.

Let us now separately examine the reflexation of PL explosives, resonants, affricates and fricatives.

1.8.1.1. Explosives.

For PL it is necessary to reconstruct three local series of explosive consonants: labial, dental and velar. Each of these series is characterized by the presence of a four-way distinction "voiceless (aspirated)" - "tense (unaspirated)" - "glottalized" - "voiced". We must note at once that voiced explosives (as other voiced obstruents, see below) are more rarely encountered than explosives of other types, and can be regarded as "peripheral" phonemes (it is worth noting that in verbal roots voiced phonemes are lacking). However, the opposition "tense" - "voiced", found in Archi and in Lezghian, and a good correlation between the evidence of these two languages lead us to project this opposition onto the PL level; some features of other languages (e.g., a specific Tabasaran reflexation of PL *g opposed to *k; see below) confirm this reconstruction - although, in the long run, it seems to be a PL innovation (compared to the PEC stage).

In the system of explosive consonants (as well as in the system of affricates and fricatives, see below) there was an opposition of labialized and non-labialized phonemes that was neutralized only in the labial series.

Let us now give the system of correspondences of explosive consonants in descendant languages.

PL	Arch	Ag	Tab	Lezg	Rut	Tsakh	Kryz	Bud	Ud
*p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
*p:	b	b/w	b/w	p,-b	b	b	b	b	b/p:?
*p	p	p, -b/-w-	p/p:/p	p,-b	p,-b	p,-b	p,-p/b	?-p	?-p:
*b	b			b	b	b	b	b	b
*t	t	t	t/č	t/c	t	t	t/č	t/č	t/c
*t ^w	t ^w /t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	
*t:	d-,t:-, -t	d/r	d-/ž- (/-j,-w-)	t/c:, -d	d	d	d/ž	d/ž	d/(t): /c-?
*t: ^w	-t:(^w)-	d/r	d/j	t:(^w),-d	d	d	d	d	
*t	t	t	t/č	t/c	t	t	t/č	t/č	t:
*t ^w	t	t	t	t(^w)	t(^w)	t	t	t	
*d	d-	d	d	d				d	
*k	k,-k:-	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k
*k ^w	k(^w), -k:-	k(^w)	k(^w)	k(^w)	k(^w)	k(^w)	k(^w)	k	k
*k:	g,-k:-, -k	g	g,-g-/ -γ-	k:-g	g	g,-g-/ -γ-	g	g	g/k:
*k ^w :	g(^w), -k:(^w), -k ^w	g(^w)	g(^w)	k:(^w), -g(^w)	g(^w)	g(^w), -g(^w)/ -g(^w)-	g	g	-k:
*k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k:
*k ^w	k ^w	k(^w)	k(^w)	k(^w)	k(^w)	k(^w)	k(^w)	k	k:
*g	g	g/k:	g/ž/k:	g	g	g	g	g	k:
*g ^w	g/(-k:-)	k:(^w)/ g(^w)	k:(^w)/ g(^w)	g	g				

Comments.

The table shows that voiced, voiceless and glottalized consonants are preserved in all descendant languages (except Udi, in which glottalized consonants are regularly reflected as tense ones). The voiced *g is reflected (though just sporadically) as k: in Agul and Tabasaran, as well as in Udi; there is some reason to think that already in PL the articulations *g and *g: were admitted as free variants.

Tense (unaspirated) consonants are at the present time preserved in Archi, Lezghi and Udi, though in Udi PL tense consonants generally give voiced reflexes; the preservation of tense ones is observed only sporadically, usually not in the initial position. (It is necessary to note at once that reflexes of PL phonemes in Udi are generally less exact than in other Lezghian languages; in many cases there probably exists a complementary distribution of reflexes, that is, however, hard to discover because of insufficient data). In Archi tense explosives are voiced in the initial position, preserved in the intervocalic position and weakened in final position (though PL *p: gives b in all positions here). In Lezghi tense consonants are preserved in the initial and intervocalic positions, but are voiced in final position.

In all other languages the PL tense explosives have been voiced. In Tabasaran

and Agul (to be precise: in the Northern dialect of Tabasaran and in the Koshan and Burkikhan dialects of Agul) we observe a further process of sonorization (probably through an intermediate stage of fricativization) of the reflexes of PL tense explosives in non-initial position, which led to the development PL *p: > w in all the afore-mentioned dialects. PL *t: is reflected as r in non-initial position in the Koshan and Burkikhan dialects of Agul and in some subdialects of the Northern dialect of Tabasaran; in the Dübek subdialect of Tabasaran PL *t: is reflected as j in final position and as -j- or -w- (depending on the character of the following vowel) in intervocalic position.

The voiced reflex g < PL *k: in non-initial position can be fricativized and develop into γ; this development is observed in non-initial position in Tabasaran, where -g- and -γ- are in free variation; in the Mikik dialect of Tsakhur the fricativization *k:- > -g- > -γ- is obligatory. The development *k:- > -j- (apparently, through the step -γ-) is observed in the Nidzh dialect of Udi.

Labialized consonants are completely lost in the Budukh and Udi languages, as well as in the Northern dialect of Tabasaran (here only specific "dentolabialized" consonants are preserved; on those, see below). Other Lezghian languages preserve labialized consonants. However, it must be noted that labialization is easily transferred from the consonant to the adjacent vowel; as a result of this, the labialization of the consonant itself is often lost. (Phonetically the consonant is certainly still labialized, but, since in all Lezghian languages the "labialized" - "non-labialized" opposition is neutralized in the position close to a labialized vowel, the labialization of the consonant becomes nondistinctive in this context). Especially unstable is the labialization of front consonants, which are preserved (in a few roots only) in Archi, Lezghian and Rutul, but which in other languages have been completely delabialized.

The palatalization of dental consonants before front vowels is more or less typical for all Lezghian languages. A strong palatalization of dental explosives is observed in Tsakhur. Here, however, the palatalized dentals have not been affected by the further affrication that is observed in Tabasaran, Kryz, Budukh, Lezghi and Udi (with hushing reflexes in Tabasaran, Kryz and Budukh, and hissing reflexes in Lezghi and Udi).

We should also dwell upon the following minor points:

a) The PL phoneme *p is rather rare and does not have stable reflexes. Archi usually reflects it as p (but -p- in *kupar* "manure" < PL *kup). Agul has p- in initial position, but in other positions the deglottalization p > p: occurred, after which this consonant behaved as PL *p: (see above). In Tabasaran the Southern dialect (and the literary language) have the reflex p; a single known Northern dialect example (*kup* "dried dung") reveals the final -p. Rutul and Tsakhur have the reflexes p- in initial position, -b- in the non-initial one.

Lezghi always has p- in initial position. In other positions literary Lezghi also has p, but the Akhty dialect (Khliut) shows a variation between p and p: (-b in final position). The glottalization of the final -p is lost if a preceding glottalized consonant is present (-p > -b), but is restored in medial position (cf. Nom. *tab* - Erg. *tapuni*).

b) As has been mentioned above, PL tense explosives are preserved in

Lezghi in initial position. However, the Northern dialects of Lezghi sometimes have a secondary voicing of PL *p:-, *t:- and *k:- in this position. It usually occurs in polysyllabic words with medial glottalized or tense consonants (thus being a dissimilative process). The central (Samur) and Southern dialects usually preserve tense consonants in this position.

c) Unlike PL voiceless *p and *t, PL *k gives an unusual intervocalic reflex in Archi: a tense -k:-. This led to the merger of the non-initial reflexes of PL *k and *k: in Archi.

d) Velar explosives are not usually affected by affrication (unlike dental explosives, see above) before front vowels. An exception is the phoneme *g, which, in this position, developed into ʒ in Tabasaran (which, by the way, reliably distinguishes the reflexes of PL *g and *k: the latter also yields Tabasaran g, but is not subject to palatalization and affricativization before front vowels).

1.8.1.2. Resonant consonants.

We reconstruct ten resonants for PL: *m, *m:, *w, *u, *n, *n:, *r, *j, *l, *l:. Modern languages lack the opposition w-u, as well as the tense resonants m:, n:, l:. In PL the distribution of these phonemes was limited as well: PL *u is reconstructed only in initial position, and PL *m:, *n:, *l: - only in the non-initial one. Phonetically PL *w probably represented a somewhat fricativized bilabial b or a dentolabial v, and PL *u - a bilabial glide.

Let us now give the table of correspondences of resonants in descendant languages:

PL	Arch	Ag	Tab	Lezg	Rut	Tsakh	Kryz	Bud	Ud
*m	m/b	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
*m:	m	b/w	b/w	-p:-, -b	b	m	b	b	m
*w	b	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	b-, -w
*u	w/0	w/0/j	w/j	w/0	w/j/0	w/j/0	w/j	w/j	w/0
*n	n/d	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
*n:	-nn-, -n	d/r	d/j/ʒ	-t:-, -d	d	n	d/ʒ	d/ʒ	n
*r	d-, r	r	r	r	r	r/j/w/0r	r	0/j/-r	
*j	0	j/0, -j-	j-, j-/0	j/0	j-, j-/0	j-, 0	j-, 0	j-, 0	0-, j-?
*l	l	l	l	l	l	l/l/w	l	l	l(-0)
*l:	-t:-, -t	l	l	l	l	l/l/w	l	l	l

Comments.

l) Archi: PL *m and *n in the initial position are sporadically denasalized here (cf. the development in PL *miq̄ > Arch. biq̄ "place"; *muq̄ > Arch. buq̄ "barley"; *miā > Arch. boḵ "malt"; *ni? > Arch. di "smell"); however, in most cases it does not happen. The causes of of this development are not quite clear. We do not exclude the possibility that one should reconstruct here PL *m:-, *n:- in

initial position (with "inverse" reflexes as opposed to those in the non-initial position), but there are too little data for final conclusions.

PL *u gives w here, but 0 (= ?) before labialized vowels. Cf. PL *uirλ:- > Arch. wiλ, but PL *uo-n "thou" > Arch. un, etc.

2) Agul: Here we must comment the development of PL *w, *u, *j. The initial *j- is usually preserved in Agul; only before the vowel *i do the Keren and Burkikhan dialects lose j- (replacing it with ?-), cf. PL *jirkw > Ag. Rich., Burk. irkw (but Bursh., Fit. jirkw) "heart". The Koshan (Burshag) and Fite dialects reveal an interesting reflexion in this position: they usually preserve *j before *i, but lose it (*j > 0- = ?-) if the following consonant is a fricative (s, f, x). Cf. PL *jirkw "heart" > Ag. Bursh., Fit. jirkw, but PL *jis: "year" > Ag. Bursh. is:, Fit. is. In final position the Keren and Burkikhan dialects lose -j after back vowels (a, u), but preserve it after front ones (e, i; the sequence -ij is in fact already pronounced here as -i, but in case of secondary labialization -wij > -uj and j is preserved - unlike the old sequence *uj > -u). Cf. PL *caj > Rich., Burk. ca "fire"; PL *χuj > Rich. χu "field"; but PL *λ:aj > Rich., Burk. xej "wool", etc.

PL *u in Agul develops into w- before back vowels (cf. wu-n "thou"), but into j- before front ones (both Keren and Burkikhan dialects have 0 = ? before the vowel i, cf. above on the reflexes of *j), cf. PL *uirλ:- "seven" > Ag. jeri-d; PL *uiçi - "ten" > Ag. Rich., Burk. içu-d, Bursh. jiçu-r, Fit. jiçu-d.

PL *w is usually preserved. However, the initial sequence *wi- is reflected as u- in Agul, and the final sequence *-iw - as -u/-uj. Cf. PL *wilc "calf" > Ag. urc; PL *qI:-iw "tuber" > Ag. Fit. ɬluj "radish", etc.

On the development of PL tense resonants in Agul and other Lezghian languages, see below.

3) Tabasaran: PL *j is well preserved here (though the final -j is regularly lost in the Southern dialect, cf. PL *λ:aj > Kand., lit. xa, Düb. xaj "wool").

PL *w is also preserved; however, the sequences *wi- and *iw develop in the same way as in Agul (see above), cf. PL *wit:ar "grain" > Tab. udar, PL *s:iw "oat flour" > Tab. su, etc. The sequence *we- also gives u- in some Tabasaran dialects (Dübek, Kandik), but is preserved as we- in the literary language. Cf. PL *werλ > Kand., Düb. urš, lit. werš "maple".

PL *u in Tabasaran is, in general, reflected in the same way as in Agul, i.e. it gives w, but j before the vowel i: cf. PL *uo-n "thou" > Tab. uwu, but *uiçi- "ten" > Tab. jiçu-b. However, the sequence *ui- can develop into u- as well (see above about *wi-). The principles of distribution of the reflexes ji- and u- are unclear due to insufficient evidence (PL *u is in general a rather rare phoneme). Cf. PL *uiχ- "quickly" > Tab. uχ-ti; PL *uirλ:- "seven" > Tab. urgu-b.

4) Lezghi: Extremely characteristic of Lezghi is the disappearance of the initial sequences *mu-, *mo-, *wi-, *wo-, *ui-, *ji-, if the root consists of two or more syllables. Cf. PL *moλ:or > Lezg. gur "tomb", PL *murk:ul > Lezg. k:ul "besom", PL *wit:ar > Lezg. tʷ:ar "grain", PL *woher > Lezg. her "ram", PL *uiçi > Lezg. çu-d "ten", PL *jiç:in > Lezg. ç:in "face", etc. The last four sequences are preserved as ji- in the Akhty dialect (cf. Khl. juʷ:ar < *jiʷ:ar "grain", Khl. jic:ur "stable" vs. lit. Lezg. c:ur < PL *woncʷ:ir, Khl. jiç:in "face", etc.). The same development is sporadically observed in other languages (except Archi), but it

is regular only in Lezghi.

5) Rutul. PL * μ gives w before non-front vowels (cf. *wi*, Erg. *wa* "thou"), and j- before front ones (cf. *jiwi-d* "seven", *jiči-d* "ten"). On the zero reflex of PL * μ as marker of the first verb class in Rutul (as well as in Tsakhur, Kryz and Budukh) see below.

PL *j is usually preserved in Rutul. It disappears only after -i in final position (in the Ikhek and Khnov dialects, after -a as well). In all dialects the reflexes of *j vary after u (-uj or -u). Cf. PL **caj* "fire" > Luch., Shin. *caj*, Ikhr. *čā*, Khn. *ca*; PL **tuj* "saliva, spit" > Rut. *tu* (Erg. *tuji-r*), but PL **xuj* "field" > Rut. *xuj* (Erg. *xuji-r*).

6) Tsakhur: PL * μ develops as in Rutul, i.e. gives either w or j, depending on the following vowel (cf. *wu* "thou", *jiči-lle* "ten"). PL *j is preserved in the initial and medial positions, but regularly disappears in final position (cf. *jik* "heart" *xa*, gen. *xaji-n* "wool", etc.).

We must specially dwell upon the Tsakhur reflexes of PL *r and *l.

PL *r develops into r, j or 0 in Tsakhur, depending on position. In initial position before an original *a we observe the reflexes r- (in the structure CVC, cf. PL **rap*-, Tsakh. *rab* "awl") or 0- in the structure CVCV, cf. PL **raq:l:a* > Tsakh. *abla* "comb", PL **ra:l:a* > Tsakh. *ak:a* "door", etc.). This variation is possibly connected with the prosodic opposition of these two types of roots. r- is also preserved before PL *o, cf. PL **roš*- > Tsakh. *riš:i-n* "dense". Before PL front vowels *r > j, cf. PL **riql*:- > Tsakh. *jiql* "ashes", PL **rāql*: > Tsakh. *jaql* "road" etc. (The same reflex is present before i and *u before a hushing consonant, cf. PL **rus*:- > Tsakh. *jiš* "daughter"). Finally, before PL *u, *r > Tsakh. w, cf. PL **ruqVna* > Tsakh. *wuqna* "cave".

In medial position the reflex of *r is split (-r or -j-); -j- occurs only before -e (-ā), -r- occurs in other cases. Cf. PL **č:u-χlera* > Tsakh. Gelm. *ziχlajā* (in proper Tsakhur with a contraction: *ziχlā*) "pear"; PL **s:wira* > Tsakh. *sura* "part".

In final position there is also a split reflex: -r or -0 < -j-; (the lost -j- is regularly restored in oblique stems of nouns.) The zero reflex is observed in nouns whose oblique stem ends with -i- (Gelm. -i-, Mik. -i-), going back to the PL oblique stem in *i- (see below on oblique stems); the reflex -r is represented in nouns whose oblique stems in PL end with *-a- or *-e- (> Proto-Tsakh. *-a- > Gelm. -a/-o-, Mik. -a/-i-). Cf. PL **č:wer* (*i-stem) > Tsakh. *do* (Gen. Tsakh., Gelm. *doji-n*, Mik. *doji-n*) "name"; PL **č:ār* (*a-stem) > Tsakh. *zer* (gen. *zera-n*) Gelm. *zār* (gen. *zāra-n*) "cow".

PL *l and *l: are reflected in Tsakhur either as l (l) or as w. (It must be noted that on the synchronous level, the variants l and l are in complementary distribution: the palatalized l is obligatory in final position, otherwise - only before front vowels; before the back ones we meet the hard l.) The distribution of the reflexes l and w was suggested by Giginayshvili [Giginayshvili 1977], pp. 68-69, who proposed a dissimilative development: l, if a labial consonant is present in the root, but w, if there is none. This distribution rule, however, is certainly wrong, because there are very many cases in which we observe the reflex l without any labial consonant at all, cf. the Tsakh. words *zil*, *čil*, *gal*, *lat*, *laħa*, *bel*, *bul*, *sal*

etc.

Actually the distribution of the reflexes of *l (and *l:) is similar to that of the reflexes of *r, that is:

a) in initial position the lateral articulation of l is preserved before original front vowels (where *r > j) and before *a (where *r > r or 0); before *o (where *r > r) and *u (where *r > w) we observe the reflex w. Cf. PL **laħa* > Tsakh. *laħa* "bracelet"; PL **laħ:a* > Tsakh. *laħ:a* "stove" (cf. Rut. *laħ* "fireplace"); PL **loλ(w)* > Tsakh. *wix* "louse"; PL **luča* > Tsakh. *wuče* "heifer".

b) in medial position we observe the reflex l either before front vowels or preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel (in the structure -VCIV-); in other cases the reflex is -w-. Cf. PL **wo(r)λ:il-* > Gelm. *wigili-n* "male", PL **(mu)s:wāl* > Tsakh. *sole* "wild turkey"; PL **m[a]zulaj* > Tsakh. *mizla* "leprosy"; PL **qula* "board" > Tsakh. *quwa*, PL **čol:a* "strap" > Tsakh. *čuwa*, etc. The medial complex -VwV- < *-VIV- before a closing consonant can be subject to contraction, cf. PL **mulVql* > Tsakh. *miql* "worm". Within the paradigm such a contraction happens in the Mikik dialect in the sequence -awaC > -āC, the result of adding a suffix to the nominal root, cf. PL **χal* 'house' > Tsakh. *χaw*, gen. *χawi-n*, Mik. *χā-n*.

c) in final position we always observe the reflex -l (-l) after narrow vowels i, i, u, cf. PL **q'il* > Tsakh. *qul* "rock", PL **čul* > Tsakh. *čil* "perch", etc. After wide vowels the same reflex is present in nouns with an oblique stem in -i/-e- < PL *i-, cf. PL **č:āl* (*i-stem) > Tsakh. *žol*, gen. *žole-n*, Gelm. *ž'el*, gen. *ž'eli-n* "sheaf". The reflex -w appears only after wide vowels in nouns with an oblique stem in -a/-i- < PL *a-, *e-, cf. PL **χal* > Tsakh. *χaw*, gen. *χawi-n*, Gelm. *χaw*, gen. *χawa-n*, Mik. *χaw*, gen. *χā-n* "house".

7) Kryz and Budukh: PL resonants are well preserved here. PL * μ and *j give the same reflexes in Budukh and Kryz as in Tsakhur (see above), i.e. * μ gives either w or j, depending on the following vowel (cf. Kryz *wi-n*, Bud. *wā-n* "thou", Kryz *jiči-d*, Bud. *ji-čā-b* "ten"); *j is preserved in initial and medial positions, but disappears in the final position (cf. PL **jaħ*: > Kryz *jāk*, Bud. *jāk* "meal"; PL **caj* "fire" > Kryz *čā*, Bud. *ča*, etc.).

8) Udi: Here we must dwell on the reflexation of PL * μ , *n, *n:, *r, *j and *l.

PL * μ in Udi usually gives w (cf. *wuβl* "seven", *wiç* "ten"); the sequence * μ o- gives u- (cf. *u-n* "thou", oblique stem *wa-* < PL **uo-n*, **ua-*). Cf. similar reflexes in Archi.

PL *n and *n: in usually develop into n in Udi, but in final position can disappear as well, the conditions of this loss being unclear. Cf. PL **nāl* "nit" > Ud. (with a metathesis) *t:e* (< *t:en*); PL **λ:ān*: "water" > Ud. *χe* (with the restoration of -n in the derived *χene* "aquatic"). Without the loss cf. PL **s:ān* "year" > Ud. *u-sen*; PL **čun*: "flea" > Ud. *in*, etc.

The initial *r is dropped in Udi (less frequently *r- > j-; the distribution of the reflexes 0- and j- is probably connected with vocalism). Cf. PL **raç:a* "threshing-floor" > Ud. *eç*, PL **riql*:- "ashes" > Ud. *iq*:-; PL **rāql*: "road" > Ud. *jaq*:-. In intervocalic position *r disappears as well, cf. PL **wiraq*:- > Ud. *beβl* "sun". In final position there is a split reflex: -r or -0 (cf. with the reflexes of *n above), with a yet unclear distribution. Cf. PL **χlera* "pear" > Ud. *ar*, but PL **ql:ora* "hare" > Ud. *βu*.

PL *j disappears in all positions in Udi, cf. PL *jaλ: "meet" > Ud. eq; PL *jirk "heart" > Ud. uk; PL *λ:aj "wool" > Ud. xa, etc. It can only be preserved between vowels (cf. xaje "woollen", derived from xa "wool"). In roots that consist of more than one syllable the initial sequence "j+vowel" is lost, cf. PL *jatur > Ud. tur "foot"; PL *jič:in > Ud. č:lo "face".

PL *l is usually preserved in Udi, but apparently disappears in intervocalic position, cf. PL *mulVqI "worm" > Ud. meq "worm".

9) The PL tense resonants *m:, *n: give nasal reflexes in Archi, Tsakhur and Udi. In all other Lezghian languages the reflexes of *m: and *n: have completely merged with the reflexes of PL *p: and *t:. Cf. PL *s:ām: "gall, anger" > Arch. s:am, Tab. seb (Düb. siw), Ag. seb (Bursh., Burk. sew), Lezg. seb (pl. sep:erax), Rut. Shin. seb; PL *λ:ām: "nail" > Tab. sib (Düb. saw), Rut. xāb, Ud. muχ (a metathesis < *χum); PL *q:I'en: "partridge" > Arch. qlon (Erg. qIanna), Tab. blud, Ag. Rud (Bursh. Rud), Lezg. q'ed (Erg. q'et:re), Rut. blud, Tsakh. q:lon. PL *λ:an: "water" > Arch. λ:an (Erg. λ:enne), Ag. xed (Bursh. s:er), Tab. sid (Düb. šaj), Lezg. jad (Erg. c:i < *jū:i, pl. jat:ar; cf. Khl. jad, jic:i, jat:ar), Rut. xād, Tsakh. xan, Kryz xād, Bud. xad, Ud. xe (cf. xene "aquatic"). We must note that in intervocalic position PL *m: can give a zero reflex in Udi, cf. Ud. ul "wolf" with Tsakh. umul, Rut. ubul, Kryz eb, Bud. eb, Arch. jam (PL *?Iam:).

10) The reflexes of PL *μ were already examined above. We should note that *μ as a marker of the 1st grammatical class regularly develops into w- in Archi, but gives a zero reflex in Rutul, Tsakhur, Kryz and Budukh (Rutul also has j- regularly developed from *μ in the same function). The reasons for such a development are not quite clear yet.

1.8.1.3. Affricates.

We reconstruct five local affricate series for PL: hissing, hushing, lateral uvular and pharyngealized uvular. Each of these series is characterized by the presence of a four-way opposition "voiceless (aspirated)" - "tense (unaspirated)" - "lax glottalized" - "tense glottalized". The problem of voiced affricates in PL is much more complicated. It is not to be excluded that in the hissing, lateral and uvular series one has to reconstruct special voiced phonemes, that were, however, present only in some pronominal and expressive morphemes. This question will be specially discussed below.

Below we list the correspondences of affricates between Lezghian languages.

PL	Arch	Ag	Tab	Lezg	Rut	Tsakh	Kryz	Bud	Ud
*c	s	c	c	c	c-,s-/c	c-/s-,c	?-,s	-s-	?-,s
*c'	s	c	č'/c	c(°)/k'	c		c	-s-	?-,s
*c:	c	z	z/z	c:,-z	z/z	z	z-/z-,z	z	c-,z/ʒl
*c:	c	z'/z	z'/z'	c:(°)/k:(°),-z	z(°)	z	z	z	z
*c	ç	ç	ç	ç	ç	ç	ç	ç	0,-ç

PL	Arch	Ag	Tab	Lezg	Rut	Tsakh	Kryz	Bud	Ud
*č	ç	ç(°)	č'	č(°)/k(°)	ç	ç	ç		
*č:	ç,-ç:-	t:	c:-/z-, c:	t-/ç-/ t:/c:-, -t-/ç-/ -t:/-c:-, -t	d-,dd-/ -d-/t-, -t	d-, -t:-, -t	t	t	c: (~č:-čl) -č/-čl/ -š/-šl
*č'	ç,-ç:-	t:	č':-/ z'-/z-, č':/z'	t(°)/ t:(°), -t	d-, -dd-	d-, -t:-, -t	t	t	c:
*č	š	č	č (/-š?)	č- č-/š-,č	č- č-/š-,č	č	č- č-/š-,č	š-,č	č-, -č/-čl/ -š/-šl
*č'	š	č(°)/k	č'(°)/č	č	š-	č-	š-	š-	č
*č:	č	z/z	z/z	č:-,z	z	z-,z-/ -z-	z	z	č:(?)
*č:	č(°)	z(°)/ z(°)	z'/z'	c:(°)/ k:(°)/ č:(°), -z(°)	z(°)	z(°)-, -z-/z-	z-	z-	-zI-
*č	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	0/č:/č:I
*č'	č(°)	č(°)/ k	č'/č	č(°)/ k(°)/ č(°)	č(°)	č	č	č	0/č:
*č:	-č-	č:	č:-/z-, č:	č-/č:-, -č-/t:-	č	č?	č-	?	č:-,č-
*χ	λ	k/x/š	k/x/š	g	x	k-,x	x	x	-q:/-q
*χ'		k'	k(°)	f					
*χ:	λ	j/g/0	g/γ/z/ w/š	g/z/w	γ/w/j	γ-, -γ-/l-	γ/w	j	q-,b
*χ:	λ	-w-, -b'	g/γ	g	γ		γ		
*χ	k	k	k/č	q/k	q	k/q	q/k	q/k	0/(k:-)
*χ'	-k'	-k'		-q					-q
*χ:	λ	k:	k:/g/č:/ z	k/k:, -k	g,-k	g-,k:-, -k	k	k	q:
*χ:	λ	k:(°)	k:(°)	k(°)/ k:(°), -k'	?-, -g(°)- -k(°)	g-, -k:-, -k(°)	k	k	-q:
*q	χ	q	q	q-	q-,χ	q	q	-q-	q-,q:?
*q'	χ'	q(°)	q(°)	q'-,-b'	q'-,-χ'	q'	-χ	-χ	-q
*q:	q	q/ç	q:/b	q:-,b	q:/b	q:/b	q:-,b	q:-,b	b
*q:	q	b(°)/ ç(°)	q:/b'	q:(°), -b(°)	b'	-b-			b
*q	q	q	q	q	q	q	q	q	0

PL	Arch	Ag	Tab	Lezg	Rut	Tsakh	Kryz	Bud	Ud
*q ^w	q ^w , -q ^(w) -	q ^(w)	q ^(w)	q ^(w)	q ^(w)	q ^(w)	-q	q	-p:
*q:	q:	q:	q:	q-/q:-, -q-/q:-	q:	q:	?,-q-	q	q:
*q: ^w	q ^(w) -	q: ^(w)	q: ^(w)	q ^(w) /, q: ^(w) -, -q ^w	q:-,	q:-	-q ^w -	q:-?	q:-
*qI	χI	qI	qI	q:-,-qI-	qI,-qI-	qI	q-	q-	βI-
*qI ^w	χI ^(w)	qI ^(w)	qI ^(w)	q ^w -, -β ^(w)	qI ^w , -χI ^(w)	qI	-β?	-?	-qI/ -χI
*q:I	qI	Ř/βI/ɣ	q:I/βI	q:-,β	βI	q:I/βI	q:-,β	q:-	β(I)
*q:I ^w	qI ^(w)	Ř/βI/ɣ	qI:-/βI-	q: ^(w) -	βI-	qI:-/βI			
*qI	qI	qI/ɣ	qI	q	qI	qI	q	q	
*qI ^w	qI ^(w)	qI ^(w) /ɣ	qI ^(w)	q ^w	qI ^(w)	qI	q ^(w)	q	p:/0,βI
*q:I	-q:I-,	q:I/q:	q:I	q/q:	q:I,	-q:I-,	q	q	q:I/
	-qI			-q	-qI	-qI			βI
*q:I ^w	-qI:-,	q:I ^(w) /	q:I	-q ^w /	q:I ^w -,	-q:I-,	-q	-q	q:I/βI
	-qI	q: ^(w)		-q: ^w -,	-qI	-qI			

Comments.

1. Archi.

As seen from the table of correspondences, the following cardinal changes occurred in Archi: a) PL lax (aspirated) affricates were fricativized (PL *c, *c^w > Arch. s; PL *č, *č^w > Arch. š; PL *x, *x^w > Arch. χ, χ^w; PL *qI, *qI^w > Arch. χI, χI^w); b) PL tense (unaspirated) affricates were weakened (*c:, *c:^w > Arch. c; *č:, *č:^w > Arch. č, č^w; *x:, *x:^w > Arch. x; *q:, *q:^w > Arch. q, q^w; *qI:, *qI:^w > Arch. qI, qI^w). It must be noted that the reflexes of PL tense affricates in Archi on the phonetic level are still tense in the intervocalic position, being affected by weakening only in initial and final positions; but the tense articulation of Archi affricates is no longer phonologically relevant, because of the absence of the "tense-lax" opposition in the system of non-glottalized affricates.

Lax glottalized affricates were not changed in Archi, as far as the reflection of laryngeal features is concerned (cf. *c > Arch. c, *č > Arch. č, etc.). As for tense glottalized affricates, they have preserved their tense articulation in the medial position (where *c: > Arch. c:, *q: > Arch. q:, *qI: > Arch. qI:), but have been weakened in initial and final positions (cf. the similar behaviour of tense non-glottalized affricates). Somewhat different are the reflexes of PL *č:, that yields č in medial position (the phoneme č: is therefore completely missing in Archi), and the reflexes of *x:, that yields x in all positions. The latter phoneme is phonetically rather tense, though there is no x-x: opposition in Archi. Such behaviour of *x: is apparently connected with an early development of PL lax *x > Arch. k, as a result of which x: became the only Archi lateral glottalized phoneme.

Archi has well preserved the labialization of PL uvular affricates; the labialization of PL hushing and lateral affricates is preserved somewhat more poorly; finally, the labialization of PL hissing affricates is altogether lost.

2. Agul.

The Agul language has well preserved PL lax (aspirated) and lax glottalized affricates (cf. *c > Ag. c, *č > Ag. č, *x > Ag. k, *q > Ag. q, *qI > Ag. qI; *c > Ag. c, *č > Ag. č, *x > Ag. k, *q > Ag. q, *qI > Ag. qI). The fricativization *č > š occurs sporadically (in one case: Bursh. muš "hope" < PL *muč "wind"). The fricative reflex x (š in the Koshan dialect) is attested for PL *x in combination with the preceding resonant -r- (cf. Ag. *jerxi-d*, Bursh. *jerši-r* "six" < PL **xrI*-; Ag. *murx*, Bursh. *murs* "deer" < PL **meIrx*). We must also note the specific development *qI > ɣ in Agul proper and in the Burkikhan dialect (while the Keren, Koshan and Fite dialects preserve qI).

Tense (unaspirated) affricates in Agul, as in most Lezghian languages, have been voiced; the resulting voiced affricates have been for the most part fricativized afterwards. Thus, PL *c: > Ag. z; PL *č: > Ag. ž (in the Keren dialect; the Fite dialect has a free variation ž-/ž- in initial position and preserves the affricate ž in non-initial position; the Koshan and Burkikhan dialects have preserved the affricate character of ž < PL *č: in all positions); PL *x: > Ag. j/g/0 (in the Keren dialect - always j; in the Koshan dialect g- in initial position before the vowel a, the variation j-/0- in initial position before the vowel i, j in other cases; such reflexion obviously points to the presence of the fricative *ɣ in the preceding stage of development); PL *q: > Ag. β (with a further laryngealization β > ɣ in the Koshan dialect); PL *qI: > Ag. βI (only in the Fite dialect; the Keren, Koshan and Burkikhan dialects have had a shift towards the pharyngeal series, i.e. βI > Ř, and Agul proper - a further laryngealization: Ř > ɣ). Deviations from these rules concern only a special reflexion of PL *x: in combinations with preceding resonants (for examples, see the dictionary), as well as a sporadic reflection of PL *q: as q: (without fricativization). The latter phenomenon is apparently observed in loanwords from Tabasaran.

Tense glottalized affricates have lost their glottalization in Agul and have developed into tense ones (this could evidently happen only after the voicing of PL tense non-glottalized affricates). Therefore, PL *c: > Ag. t: (with the loss of the fricative component); PL *č: > Ag. č:; PL *x: > Ag. k:; PL *q: > Ag. q:; PL *qI: > Ag. qI: (it is interesting to note that the Burkikhan dialect, usually preserving the pharyngealization quite well, loses it in this case and has the reflex q:).

Typical for Agul, as well as for most other Lezghian languages, is the velar character of the reflexes of PL laterals. The original reflexes of the PL laterals were apparently palatal; in particular, this is confirmed by the fact that PL *x in Agul always yields a palatal k, and *x - a palatal x (in the case of fricativization). Reflexes of other lateral phonemes (including labialized ones) in Agul do not preserve palatalization anymore: PL *x > Ag. k (without fricativization); PL *x^w > Ag. k^w; PL *x: > Proto-Ag. *ɣ (see above); PL *x:^w > Proto-Ag. *ɣ^w (in modern Agul *ɣ^w changed to -w- in medial position and apparently to -β^w in final position); PL *x^w > Ag. k^w; PL *x: > Ag. k:; PL *x:^w > Ag. k:^w.

Labialized affricates are well preserved in Agul. Thus, no changes occurred in the articulation of labialized hissing (z^w, c^w), labialized laterals (velarized in Agul: k^w, ɣ^w > w, k^w, k:^w), labialized uvulars (q^w, β^w, q^w, q:^w, qI^w, qI:^w). We should

specially dwell upon the Agul reflexes of PL labialized hushing affricates. The Keren and Burkikhan dialects preserve proper labialized hushing sounds (i.e. phonetically bilabialized); the Koshan dialect has turned bilabialized hushing consonants into dentolabialized; finally, in the Fite dialect labialized hushing consonants develop into palatalized (labialized) velars. Cf. *čʷ > Fit. kʷ; *čʷ > Fit. kʷ; a similar reflex could be expected for PL *čʷ, but reflexes of this phoneme in the Fite dialect are not known. (Labialization is put in parentheses, because in all cases it is transferred onto the adjacent vowel and, therefore, becomes nonphonological.)

Some PL labialized phonemes lose their labialization in Agul. Delabialization is obligatory in the reflexes of PL *cʷ (> Ag. t); *qʷ (> Ag. R, ʃ; the consonants R, ʃ do not have labialized correlates in Agul; in one case, however, we may suppose a development of PL *qʷ: > Ag. w (b in the Keren dialect), cf. PL *ʔqʷlʷ:ə "to go" > Ker. *baɪ-s*, Bursh. *wā-s*, Tp. *wā-s*). Quite often, however, labialization is transferred onto the adjacent vowel even from those consonants, that are theoretically able to preserve it. This explains, e.g., the fact that PL *cʷ (being in general a very rare phoneme) is reflected in Agul only as c (though theoretically cʷ is possible, cf. the presence of phonemes zʷ < *cʷ, ɕʷ < *cʷ).

3. Tabasaran.

The development of PL affricates in Tabasaran is very similar to their development in Agul, described above. Thus, lax (aspirated) and lax glottalized consonants are preserved, as in Agul: *c > Tab. c; *č > Tab. č; *ʃ > Tab. k; *q > Tab. q; *ql > Tab. ql; *ɕ > Tab. ɕ; *ɕʷ > Tab. ɕʷ; *ʔ > Tab. ʔ; *qʷ > Tab. qʷ; *qlʷ > Tab. qlʷ. (An exception: the fricativization of PL *ʃ > Tab. x/ʃ in combination with a preceding -r-, cf. Tab. *jirxu-b* "six" < PL *ʃrʷlʷi-; Tab. *mers* "deer" < PL *mɛlʷrʷ).

Tense (unaspirated) affricates in Tabasaran, as in Agul, have voiced reflexes. Cf. PL *c: > Tab. ʒ (in the Northern dialect; the Southern dialect (Kandik subdialect) preserves ʒ after resonants - in the combinations rʒ, lʒ, etc. - but has z in other cases; literary Tabasaran always has z); PL *cʷ: > Tab. ʒʷ (apparently in all dialects, though in literary orthography, the affricate ʒʷ and the fricative ʒʷ are not distinguished); *č: > Tab. ʒ (in all dialects; in literary orthography we meet ʒ as well, because ʒ and ʒ are not distinguished); PL *čʷ: > Tab. ʒʷ (in the Northern dialect; in the Southern dialect the affricate ʒʷ is preserved in non-initial position, but develops into the fricative ʒʷ- in the initial position); PL *ʃ: > Tab. ɣ/ʒ/w (with the following distribution: in initial position in all dialects ɣ- before back vowels, ʒ- before front ones; in medial position in all dialects -w- before back vowels, -ʒ- before front ones; in final position - if the word (noun) has an oblique stem with a back vowel, it reflects *ʃ: as -ɣ in the Northern dialect and some Southern subdialects (Kandik), -w in other Southern subdialects (Khiv) and in literary language; if the oblique stem contains a front vowel, the Southern dialect (Kandik) has -ʒ, while the Northern dialect and literary language have -j. The reflexes of *ʃ: may be somewhat modified in clusters with preceding resonants: in this position we can observe secondary occlusivization between vowels (like -rɣ- > -rg-, etc.), as well as a devoicing at the end of the word (like -rɣ > -rʒ > -rʃ etc.). The wide variety of

reflexes of *ʃ: can be easily explained here by the fricative articulation *ɣ in all positions in Proto-Tabasaran. A somewhat specific situation is characteristic for the reflexes of tense PL *q: and *qʷl. Here the Northern dialect preserves the voiceless articulation q:, qʷl, while the Southern dialect has normal voiced reflexes (already fricativized): ʒ, ʒl. According to the private information of S. V. Kodzasov, the summer 1980 MSU expedition has discovered the opposition G (voiced) - q: (voiceless), not described before, in the Dübek subdialect of the Northern dialect of Tabasaran. G here has developed from PL *q:, and q: - from PL *qʷ (see below). Thus, the main principle of the voiced reflexation of PL tense (unaspirated) phonemes seems to be observed in the system of uvulars as well.

PL tense glottalized consonants in Tabasaran, as in Agul, have lost their glottalization and give tense reflexes. Cf. PL *c: > Tab. c:; PL *cʷ: > Tab. ɕ:; PL *č: > Tab. č:; PL *ʃ: > Tab. k:; PL *ʃʷ: > Tab. kʷ:; PL *q: > Tab. q:; PL *qʷ: > Tab. qʷ:; PL *ql: > Tab. ql:; PL *qlʷ: > Tab. qlʷ:; PL *ɕ: > z in the initial position in the reflexes of PL tense glottalized sounds. Thus, PL *c: > z in the initial position in the Northern dialect (Dübek) and in the literary language (in the Dübek subdialect we additionally observe the development *rɕ: > -rʒ-). PL *cʷ: is reflected as ʒʷ (in all positions) in literary Tabasaran and yields a voiced delabialized ʒ- in initial position in the Dübek subdialect; PL *č: is voiced in initial position in Dübek (*č: > *čʷ: > ʒ-), but preserves its voicelessness in the literary language. The tense glottalized *ʃ: also has the initial voiced reflexes g-/ʒ- in the Dübek subdialect, but is never voiced in the Southern dialect and in the literary language. In general, most subdialects of the Southern dialect (e.g. the Kandik subdialect) are rather conservative in this respect and always reveal voiceless tense reflexes of PL tense glottalized consonants.

PL lateral affricates in Tabasaran, as in Agul, originally had palatal reflexes. These palatals afterwards developed into velars before back vowels, but were affricated and changed into hushing affricates before front vowels (as opposed to the ancient velar consonants, that were not affricated in any position). Thus, in the position before front vowels PL *ʃ: > Tab. ʒ, PL *ʃʷ: > Tab. ʒʷ, PL *ʃ: > Tab. ɕ (in the Northern dialect ʒ- in initial position); the Tabasaran reflex of *ʃʷ before front vowels is not attested.

The Southern dialect of Tabasaran has well preserved the PL labialized affricates (only the hissing and hushing labialized consonants have merged in one dentolabialized series). Cf. PL *cʷ, *cʷ > Tab. ɕʷ; PL *cʷ: > Tab. ɕʷ/ʒʷ; PL *čʷ, *čʷ > Tab. ɕʷ; PL *čʷ: > Tab. ɕʷ/ʒʷ; PL *ʃʷ > Tab. kʷ; PL *ʃʷ: > Tab. kʷ; PL *qʷ > Tab. qʷ; PL *qʷ: > Tab. qʷ; PL *qlʷ > Tab. qlʷ. Depending on the vocalic environment, the PL labialized affricates could, however, be subject to early delabialization (with a transfer of labialization onto the adjacent vowel); in this case Tabasaran preserves the original hissing or hushing character of the affricate (which indicates that the merger of hissing and hushing labialized consonants within one series occurred comparatively late). For some PL labialized consonants, because of the process of delabialization, only non-labialized Tabasaran reflexes are attested (this is true for the PL affricates *ʃ:ʷ, *qʷlʷ and *qʷlʷ).

The Northern dialect of Tabasaran has completely lost the labialization of back consonants, but has preserved the dentolabialized series. Here, therefore, the correlation in labialization is already lost, and the dentolabialized consonants form just one more local series of front affricates, in addition to the hissing and hushing series.

4. Lezghi.

The Lezghi language has well preserved the laryngeal features of PL affricates. Lax (aspirated), tense (unaspirated) and lax glottalized affricates are generally preserved here. Cf. PL *c > Lezg. c; PL *č > Lezg. č; PL *q > Lezg. q; PL *ql > Lezg. q; PL *c: > Lezg. c:; PL *č: > Lezg. č:; PL *q:, *ql: > Lezg. q:, q:; PL *č > Lezg. č; PL *č > Lezg. č; PL *λ > Lezg. q/k; PL *q, *ql > Lezg. q. Here, however, we must dwell on the following details:

a) PL *č is apparently fricativized in Lezghi before PL narrow vowels (on a similar process in Rutul, Kryz and Budukh see below), though there is only one example of this rule: Lezg. *šarag* "cub" < PL *čirag.

b) The uvular labialized *q" and *ql" in Lezghi are reflected as voiced consonants in final position, i.e. PL *q", *ql" > Lezg. -b". The same voiced reflexes could be expected for PL *q, *ql, but final reflexes of these phonemes are not attested in Lezghi (cf., however, *reβu* "shameful", presupposing *reβ "shame" < PL *riwqI). The PL lax lateral *λ has been voiced in Lezghian and is reflected as g (in some dialects also as γ) in all positions.

c) PL tense (unaspirated) affricates have been preserved in Lezghi in initial and medial positions, but have been voiced in the final position (cf. above on a similar process in the system of explosives). The resulting voiced final affricates were later fricativized. Thus, PL *c: > Lezg. -z; PL *č: > Lezg. -ž; PL *q:, *ql > Lezg. -β.

The PL lateral affricate *λ: yields voiced reflexes in all positions; in initial position Lezghi has either g- or ž- (their distribution is not quite clear); in final position either -g/-ž (the latter - if the oblique stem has a front vowel) or -w (after PL labialized vowels). This reflexation is evidently connected with the early fricativization *λ: > *gy > γ (on a similar process in Agul and Tabasaran see above). The fricative γ is still preserved in the Yarki dialect, but all other dialects of the Lezghi language already have the explosive g.

The PL tense glottalized affricates yield glottalized reflexes in initial and medial positions in Northern dialects (Güne, Yarki) and in the literary language, but tense (unaspirated) ones in the Kurakh and Akhty dialects. Cf. PL *c: > lit. t/č, Akht. t/č; PL *č: > lit. č, Akht. č: -, -t: -; PL *λ: > lit. k, Akht. k:; PL *q:, *ql: > lit. q, Akht. q: . This reflexation (contrasting with the reflexation of lax glottalized consonants, uniformly yielding glottalized reflexes in all dialects) apparently points to the presence of tense glottalized consonants as late as in Proto-Lezghi. However, in final position PL tense glottalized consonants were early deglottalized and yield voiceless (aspirated) reflexes in all dialects (*c: > -t, *λ: > -k; *ql: > -q). It is necessary to pay attention to the desaffricatization of the reflexes of PL *c: (cf. a similar process in Agul, see above, as well as in Rutul, Kryz and Budukh, see

below). The presence of parallel hissing reflexes (ç or c:, depending on the dialect) is apparently the result of a late secondary affricatization before front vowels (these reflexes are observed only in this position; on the same affricatization of PL explosives *t, *t:, *t' in Lezghi see above).

The transformation of PL laterals into back consonants in Lezghi apparently proceeded in a somewhat different way than in Agul and Tabasaran. Here the lateral affricates must have originally changed into velar affricates. In particular, PL *λ developed into the velar *kx; afterwards the affricate articulation of this consonant was lost if it was adjacent to back vowels (where *λ > *kx > *k), but it was preserved somewhat longer in the case of palatalization (before front vowels or in the vicinity of hushing consonants, which are phonetically palatalized in all Lezghian languages). The affricate *kx, preserved in this position, later developed into the uvular affricate qχ = q (NB: the sounds which we denote as q and q are phonetically affricates /qχ/ and /qχ/ in all North Caucasian languages). Cf. PL *λan "bottom" > Lezg. *kan*, but PL *λin "oath" > Lezg. *qin*, PL *λača > Lezg. *qač* "stem", etc. Other lateral affricates in modern Lezghi only have explosive velar reflexes (on the reflection of PL *λ and *λ: in Lezghi, see above).

Labialized affricates are preserved in Lezghi (though, like other languages, Lezghi often has a secondary delabialization in certain vocalic contexts; therefore, for such rare PL phonemes as *č" > Lezg. č and *λ: " > Lezg. g, only delabialized reflexes are attested). Cf. PL *λ" > *x" (with a fricativization!) > Lezg. f; *λ: " > Lezg. k"/k"/k"; *q", *ql" > Lezg. q"/b"; *q:, *ql: > Lezg. q"/b"; *q", *ql" > Lezg. q"/b"; *q:, *ql: > Lezg. q"/q".

PL labialized hissing and hushing consonants yield specific reflexes in Lezghi. Hissing labialized consonants are preserved in Kurakh, Güne and some subdialects of the Akhty dialect (the subdialect of the village Khliut), develop into hushing labialized in most subdialects of the Akhty dialect, and change into labialized velars in the Yarki dialect. Thus, PL *c" > Güne, Kur., Khl. c", Akht. č", Yark. k"; PL *č" > Güne, Kur., Khl. č", Akht. č", Yark. k"; PL *c: " > Güne, Kur., Khl. c", Akht. č", Yark. k". The literary Lezghi, based on Güne and Yarki dialects, reveals a variation between hissing and velar reflexes (but never has hushing ones). A specific reflection is attested for the early desaffricatized PL *c: ", which has dental labialized reflexes (t" or t: ") in the initial and medial positions (on the dialectal distribution of the reflexes of tense glottalized consonants see above) and -t (with an obligatory delabialization) in the final position.

Hushing labialized consonants are preserved in the Kurakh and Akhty dialects (including the subdialect of the village Khliut), develop into hissing labialized in the Güne dialect, and yield labialized velars in the Yarki dialect. Thus, PL *č: " > Kur., Akht., Khl. č: ", Güne. c: ", Yark. k: "; PL *č: " > Kur., Akht., Khl. č: ", Güne. c: ", Yark. k: ". Therefore, the distinction between PL hissing and hushing labialized consonants is preserved only in the Kurakh dialect, as well as in some subdialects of Akhty (Khlyut); in other dialects they either merge in hissing labialized consonants (Güne dialect), or in hushing labialized consonants (Akhty dialect), or else in labiovelar consonants (Yarki dialect).

Literary Lezghi, in the place of PL labialized hushing consonants, has a variation among all three types of reflexes, which suggests that the Kurakh dialect has also taken part in its formation (and not just Güne and Yarki).

A specific feature of Lezghi is the loss of pharyngealized consonants, whose reflexes have merged with the reflexes of nonpharyngealized ones. However, we must note that vowels adjacent to originally pharyngealized consonants in Lezghi are regularly fronted. Therefore, in most cases the presence or lack of original pharyngealization can be determined by the character of the adjacent vowel. In some Lezghian dialects (e.g., in Akhty) pharyngealization is still preserved by the vowel *äI* (< *a adjacent to uvular pharyngealized) and in this case, of course, the pharyngealization of respective consonants is still there, though it may already be considered phonologically irrelevant. In most dialects, however, pharyngealization is lost completely.

5. Rutul.

The PL lax (aspirated) affricates are generally well preserved in Rutul (cf. PL *c, *c' > Rut. c; PL *č > Rut. č; PL *q > Rut. q; PL *q' > Rut. q'; PL *ql > Rut. ql'). However, in some positions we observe the fricativization of PL lax affricates. Thus, in final position uvular affricates are regularly fricativized: *q > Rut. -x, *q' > Rut. -x', *ql > Rut. -xl'. The affricate articulation of the final *c is preserved only in the Khnov dialect and in some subdialects of the Mukhad dialect (Kiche); in most Rutul dialects, *c was also fricativized: *c > -s. PL *č was fricativized before the original narrow vowel *i (cf. PL *ri-čij "sister" > Rut. *riši*, PL *čirag > Rut. *sarak* "chick"), but was left intact in other positions. Finally, for the PL affricates *č' and *č', only fricative reflexes (resp. š and x) are attested in Rutul.

The quality of PL lax glottalized affricates has been preserved in Rutul (cf. PL *c, *c' > Rut. c; PL *č, *č' > Rut. č, č'; PL *q, *q' > Rut. q; PL *ql, *ql' > Rut. ql, ql').

PL tense (unaspirated) affricates have been voiced in Rutul. Cf. PL *c: > Rut. 3/z (3 before the narrow i; in other cases the fricativization 3 > z usually happens); PL *c': > Rut. z'; PL *č: > Rut. ž; PL *č': > Rut. ž'; PL *q: > Rut. q; PL *q': > Rut. q'; PL *ql: > Rut. ql; PL *ql': > Rut. ql'. It is evident that at first PL tense consonants changed into voiced affricates, most of which were later fricativized (the hushing ž has been preserved best of all; in some positions the hissing 3 and the uvular q: have been preserved as well).

[We must note that in Rutul the notation q: is to be treated phonologically as a voiced uvular phoneme, because (at least in most Rutul dialects) the opposition q: - G is missing. On the phoneme q: (G:), present in some Rutul dialects, see below.]

PL tense glottalized consonants have lost their glottalization in Rutul and yield the following reflexes. In initial position in all dialects we observe voiced reflexes (PL *c: > Rut. d; PL *c': > Rut. d'; PL *q: > Rut. g; PL *q': > Rut. g'; PL *ql: > Rut. q; PL *ql': > Rut. q'). In final position all the dialects have voiceless reflexes (PL *c: > Rut. -t; PL *q: > Rut. -k, -k'; PL *ql: > Rut. -q; PL *ql': > Rut. -q').

*q:l' > Rut. -ql). In intervocalic position Rutul has peculiar reflexes: in the Myukhrek dialect - tense voiced consonants (*c: > Myukhr. -d:-, *q: > Myukhr. -g:-, *q': > Myukhr. -G:-, *q:l' > Myukhr. -G:-); in the Ikhrek dialect - tense voiceless (resp. -t:-, -k:-, -q:-, -q:l-); in the Shinaz dialect - lax voiceless (-t-, -k-; the reflexes of tense glottalized uvulars are not known to us). Finally, the Mukhad dialect usually has lax voiced reflexes (resp. -d-, -g-, -q:-, -ql:-), but the Luchek subdialect of the Mukhad dialect has a variation of tense and lax voiced reflexes.

[We do not mark the difference between -q:- and -G:- in the orthography; the symbol q: in Myukhrek and Luchek means a tense voiced uvular, and in Ikhrek - a tense voiceless one. Within one dialect system a distinction between tense voiced and tense voiceless consonants never exists].

Labialized tense glottalized consonants give similar reflexes.

A specific reflex is yielded by the rare PL phoneme *č': in the Mukhad and Khnov dialects it is reflected as č' (its reflexes in other Rutul dialects are unknown to us); cf. PL *č':älm "butter" > Rut. Khn. *čam*; PL *č':ar "right" > Rut. *harčä-d*. (Such reflexes are typical for Kryz and Budukh, see below).

The Rutul language preserves labialized uvulars rather well; labialized laterals (developing into labiovelars) and labialized hushing phonemes - somewhat worse; and it has virtually lost labialized hissing consonants (in modern Rutul they are extremely rare; we know only č' in the word č'ar "stone" and z' in the verb *luz'as* "to stand", where labialization can be considered positional after the vowel -u-). In most cases labialization is lost on a consonant, but preserved on the adjacent vowel (which becomes labialized).

6. Tsakhur.

Lax PL affricates are usually preserved in Tsakhur. Cf. PL *c > Tsakh. c; PL *č > Tsakh. č; PL *c' > Tsakh. č'; PL *q > Tsakh. q; PL *q' > Tsakh. q'; PL *ql > Tsakh. ql; PL *ql' > Tsakh. ql'. Only in two cases do we observe the fricativization of PL lax (aspirated) affricates: a) PL *c in initial position gives s- in Tsakhur proper, but is preserved in the Mikik and Gelmet dialects (cf. Mik., Gelm. *ciwil*, Tsakh. *suwul* "autumn"); b) PL *q gives the explosive reflex k- in initial position (cf. *kuma* "smoke" < PL *quma), but is fricativized and gives -x- in medial position (cf. *jixi-lle* "six" < PL *rixi-).

PL tense (unaspirated) affricates in Tsakhur, as in most other Lezghian languages, are affected by voicing and are often fricativized afterwards. Thus, PL *c:, *c' > Tsakh. z; PL *č:, *č' > Tsakh. ž/ž' (in Tsakhur proper the affricate articulation ž is always preserved; the Mikik and Gelmet dialects have ž- in initial position, but the fricative ž in other cases); PL *q: > Tsakh. q/b (the articulation q: is preserved only in initial position in Tsakhur proper; in other positions in Tsakhur and in all positions in the Mikik and Gelmet dialects we observe the reflex b); PL *ql: > Tsakh. ql/b' (with the same distribution of reflexes). PL *q: usually yields γ, but there is also a very specific development of PL *q: > Tsakh. l, observed in medial position before front vowels (cf. Tsakh. *h-ele-s* "to give" < PL *qili-; Tsakh. *moli-lle* "eight" < PL *menli-ä-). This is surely a valuable argument for the legitimacy of the reconstruction of lateral (and not

velar or palatal) affricates in PL.

PL tense glottalized affricates in Tsakhur are reflected in the same way as in the Ikhrek dialect of the Rutul language (see above), i.e. in initial position they have voiced reflexes, in medial position - tense (voiceless) ones, in final position - lax voiceless ones. For PL hushing *č: we know only the reflex in initial position, where, as in Rutul (see above), we observe the development *č:- > Tsakh. č.

Lateral affricates in Tsakhur developed similarly to Lezghi and Rutul (see above), i.e. they first developed into velar affricates, and afterwards into velar explosives or velar fricatives (on a specific development of PL *ʎ: in Tsakhur see above). In fact, the affricate *kʎ, in particular, should still have been present in Proto-Tsakhur: in Mikik and Tsakhur proper it has merged with the original velar explosive k, while the Gelmet dialect reflects it as the uvular affricate q. Thus, PL *ʎ > Mik., Tsakh. k, Gelm. q.

Labialized consonants in modern Tsakhur are in the process of disappearing. In our materials we only find the labialized ʃw (< PL *č:ʷ), -kʷ (< PL *ʎ:ʷ), qʷ (< PL *qʷ). In most cases labialization was transferred from the consonant onto the adjacent vowels.

7. Kryz.

PL lax (aspirated) affricates in Kryz are generally preserved, but have a rather strong tendency to become fricativized. Thus, for PL *c, only a fricativized reflex s is attested (though the labialized *cʷ is not fricativized and yields Kryz c); PL *č develops into the fricative š before the PL narrow *i (on a similar development in Lezghi and Rutul see above), but is otherwise preserved. The labialized *čʷ yields only the fricative reflex š; PL *ʎ > Kryz x reveals the same fricativization. Labialized PL *qʷ (> Kryz -χ) and PL *qlʷ are reflected as fricatives as well; the latter phoneme has an unexpected voiced reflex b (cf. Kryz *meb* "oak" < PL *maqlʷa). However, reflexes of uvular lax labialized affricates in Kryz are observed only in final position; in other positions fricativization probably would not be observed. The non-labialized uvular lax affricate *q is reflected as q in all known Kryz examples; for *ql in final position the reflex -h is attested (cf. *χl > h, see below), but in other positions *ql is not fricativized and yields Kryz q.

Lax glottalized affricates are preserved in Kryz, cf. PL *c, *cʷ > Kryz č; PL *č, *čʷ > Kryz č; PL *ʎ > Kryz q/k; PL *q, *qʷ, *ql, *qlʷ > Kryz q.

PL tense (unaspirated) affricates in Kryz give voiced reflexes; PL *c: > Kryz ʒ/z (the affricate ʒ is preserved only at the beginning of some words in Kryz proper; the distribution of the reflexes ʒ- and z- in this position is probably dependent on prosodic factors; in other positions in Kryz proper and in all positions in the Alik dialect we already see the fricative reflex z); PL *c:ʷ > Kryz z; PL *č:, *č:ʷ > Kryz ʒ; PL *ʎ:, *ʎ:ʷ > Kryz ɣ (but > w before the vowel u); PL *q:, *q:l > Kryz q:/b (in initial position q: is preserved, in other positions q: was fricativized and changed to b - cf. the same development in the Tsakhur dialect of the Tsakhur language, see above).

PL tense glottalized affricates give uniform reflexes in Kryz: lax voiceless in

all positions. Cf. PL *c:, *c:ʷ > Kryz t; PL *č: > Kryz č; PL *ʎ:, *ʎ:ʷ > Kryz k; PL *q:, *q:l > Kryz q; PL *q:ʷ, *q:lʷ > Kryz qʷ. On a similar development in Budukh, see below. It is evident that this is a result of the weakening of voiceless tense consonants, which appeared through the deglottalization of PL tense glottalized consonants (the previous stage - the preservation of tense voiceless consonants is attested, e.g., in Tabasaran and Agul, see above).

Laterals in Kryz have probably developed in the same way as in Lezghi, Rutul and Tsakhur (see above), i.e. first were turned into velar affricates, and afterwards - into velar explosives or fricatives (cf. *ʎ > x, PL *ʎ: > ɣ, PL *ʎ: > k). The lax glottalized *ʎ first developed into the velar affricate *kʎ, and then - into the uvular affricate q. In a few cases the velar articulation of k is preserved; this apparently happens in initial position of bisyllabic roots as a result of the weakening of the articulation of *kʎ > k (cf. *kārāp* "bone" < PL *ʎorap:, but *qān* "bottom" < PL *ʎan, etc.).

Kryz has completely lost the labialization of front and lateral affricates. In the system of uvulars, labialization is still preserved (thus, the development *q:ʷ > Kryz qʷ, *qlʷ > Kryz qʷ is attested), but in most cases labialization is transferred onto the adjacent vowel and becomes irrelevant.

8. Budukh.

PL affricates behave very similarly in Kryz and Budukh. Therefore, we shall examine here only the features distinguishing the Budukh reflexation.

Lax (aspirated) affricates. Here the differences from Kryz concern the reflexation of PL *cʷ (> Bud. s, while Kryz preserves the articulation c) and PL *qlʷ (in final position > Bud. -ʒ, while Kryz has -b, cf. Bud. *mulaʷ* "meat-worm" < PL *mulVqlʷ). For PL *č in initial position only the reflex š- is attested (before the vowel *i, cf. PL *čij "sister" > Bud. *si-der*); in other positions one would expect the preservation of č, but there is no evidence available.

Tense (unaspirated) affricates. Budukh always reveals the fricativization *c: > *ʒ > *z (in Kryz ʒ is preserved in some cases, see above). PL *ʎ: is reflected in Budukh as j (in Kryz the intermediate stage - the fricative ɣ - is preserved). Other reflexes are the same.

Glottalized affricates (both tense and lax) in Budukh are reflected in the same way as in Kryz.

As we have already noted above, Kryz still preserves some labialized consonants. Budukh has already completely lost the labialization of consonants.

9. Udi.

Lax (aspirated) affricates in Udi are only partially preserved; rather often they develop into voiceless fricatives. Thus, for PL *c, *cʷ only the final reflex s is observed in Udi (in initial position one could perhaps expect c-, but there are no examples). The hushing č is preserved in initial position, while in final position there is a variation between -č/-š. The affricate reflex q is attested for PL *ʎ, *q, *qʷ, *qlʷ (it must be noted that reflexes of the latter phoneme are attested only in

final position, and that a parallel reflex, -x, also exists). In some cases Udi reveals an unexpected tense reflex q: in the place of PL lax lateral and uvular affricates (cf. PL **meɪrɬ* "deer" > Ud. *muq:l*; PL **iqi-* "to hold, to find" > Ud. *b-iq:-sun*); the reasons for this development are yet unclear. Finally, Ud. *ɬlaina* "crow" < PL **qlan*: reveals a specific reflex of PL *qɪ - the voiced fricative ɸ.

Lax glottalized affricates develop in a rather peculiar way in Udi: they give zero reflexes, i.e. they are dropped. Udi apparently had at first eliminated the oral stop if there was a simultaneous glottal one, and afterwards eliminated the glottal stop, too (except, of course, in the initial position, where the glottal stop is automatically pronounced before any vowel). In some specific cases lax glottalized consonants in Udi yield non-zero tense reflexes (the "tense" - "glottalized" opposition is absent in Udi, therefore Udi tense consonants can be treated as glottalized as well). Namely:

a) PL *ç > Ud. c: in final position (cf. PL **uici-* "ten" > Ud. *wic:*);
b) PL *ç, *çʷ are also apparently preserved in final position (cf. Ud. *k:äc:* "grain, speck" < PL **ħaça*). Besides, the reflex č: can be preserved in expressive roots (cf. Ud. *č:em* "mud" < PL **čʷVm*), or as a result of an earlier assimilation (cf. Ud. *k:uč:an* "puppy" < PL **kurčʷ/kurč*);

c) PL *ħ is reflected as k:- in a single word *k:äc:* "grain, speck" - probably as a result of an early assimilation to the final consonant; in other attested cases *ħ is reflected as zero in all positions;

d) PL clusters *mħ, *wħ, as well as the labialized uvulars *qʷ, *qɪʷ are reflected in Udi as the labial explosive p: (cf. PL **nəwħ* "dream" > Ud. *nep:*; PL **ħlamħ* "sweat" > Ud. *ap:*; PL **iqʷä* > Ud. *ap:e-sun* "to be cooked, to ripen"; PL **qɪʷä* "two" > Ud. *p:al*).

e) Being delabialized, PL *qɪʷ yields a zero reflex in the Vartashen dialect, but the variation hl/ɸl in the Nidzh dialect. PL *qɪ would probably have given the same reflex, but examples of its reflexation in Udi are missing.

PL tense (unaspirated) affricates usually yield voiced fricatives in Udi (apparently through an intermediate stage of voiced affricates). Cf. PL *c: > Ud. *z/ʒl*; PL *c:ʷ > Ud. *z*; PL *č:ʷ > Ud. *ʒl*; PL *ħ: > Ud. -ɸ; PL *q: > Ud. *ɸ*; PL *q:ʷ > Ud. *ɸ*. There are, however, some not quite clear exceptions from this rule. Thus, PL *c: in initial position gives Ud. c:; PL *č: is reflected as č: in all available examples; PL *ħ: gives Ud. q: in initial position.

Tense glottalized affricates in Udi regularly lose their glottalization and become tense voiceless. Cf. PL *ç:, *ç:ʷ > Ud. c:; PL *č: > Ud. č:- (though -č- in medial position, cf. Ud. *ača* "right" < PL **ħarč:-*); PL *ħ:, *ħ:ʷ > Ud. q:; PL *q:, *q:ʷ > Ud. q:. Pharyngealized *qɪ:, *qɪ:ʷ, on a par with the normal reflex qɪ (sometimes with the loss of pharyngealization, see below), can also be reflected as the fricative ɸl. Both reflexes can vary within the same root.

All lateral affricates regularly yield uvular reflexes in Udi (apparently, through the stage of velar affricates), cf. PL *ħ > Ud. q:/q; PL *ħ: > Ud. q-, -ɸ; PL *ħ:, *ħ:ʷ > Ud. q:. Only the PL *ħ behaves differently: like other PL lax glottalized affricates, it yields Ud. 0 (see above).

The Udi language has completely lost labialized affricates. However, their presence in some previous stage is confirmed by a special development of certain

labialized consonants in Udi (cf. above on the development of *qʷ).

Unlike Kryz and Budukh, Udi preserves pharyngealization. If, however, the pharyngealizations in Archi, Agul, Tabasaran, Lezghi (in dialects), Rutul and Tsakhur correspond well to each other and allow us to reconstruct a reliable series of PL uvular pharyngealized affricates, the old pharyngealization in Udi can sometimes disappear. On the other hand, in some cases a new pharyngealization, missing in other languages, appears. The reason for this, as well as the reason for some other phenomena of Udi historical phonetics, are not yet clear. But it is probable that it was this new Udi pharyngealization that caused the hushing (and partially hissing) series of affricates to split in two: palatalized (non-pharyngealized) and non-palatalized (pharyngealized) affricates. As it is, the Udi distinctions č-čɪ, č:-čɪ:, ʒ-ʒɪ, ʒ:-ʒɪ, do not correspond to anything in other Lezghian languages, and must be considered an Udi innovation.

10. Voiced affricates in PL

Three personal plural pronouns in Lezghian languages reveal specific correspondences, for which we tentatively reconstruct the PL voiced affricates *ʒ, *ʒʷ and *ɬ (*ʒɪ- "we (excl.)", *ʒʷ/e/- "you", *ɬä- "we (incl.)"). The reflexes of these sounds are: voiced fricatives (ʒʷ, *ɬ > l) in Archi; voiceless affricates (or the fricative x) in Tabasaran, Agul and Lezghi; voiceless fricatives in Tsakhur; and either voiced fricatives or resonants in Rutul, Kryz, Budukh and Udi. The reconstruction of voiced affricates is probably optimal for these correspondences. The correspondences themselves appear as follows:

PL	Arch	Ag	Tab	Lezg	Rut	Tsakh	Kryz	Bud	Ud
*ʒ		č	č	č	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	
*ʒʷ	ʒʷ	čʷ/k	čʷ	čʷ/kʷ	w	ʒ	w	w	w
*ɬ	l	x	x		j		j	j	j

1.8.1.4. Fricatives.

In the PL consonant system the local series of fricatives coincide with the local series of affricates, i.e. we reconstruct hissing, hushing, lateral, uvular and pharyngealized uvular fricatives. Each of these series is characterized by a three-way contrast "lax" - "tense" - "voiced". We must say at once, that voiced fricatives (as well as voiced explosives and affricates, see above) are rather rare phonemes; most of them are met in expressive words. In the lateral series the voiced fricative is not reconstructed at all.

The correspondences of fricatives in descendant languages appear as follows:

PL	Arch	Ag	Tab	Lezg	Rut	Tsakh	Kryz	Bud	Ud
*s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	0
*s ^w		s ^(w)	s ^v	s	s	s	s	s	-sI-
*s:	s:-s	s/s:	s/s:/z	s/z	s	s:-s:-	s	s:-z	s:-s- -s/-c
*s: ^w	s:-s	s/s:	s ^v /z ^v	s ^(w) / z ^(w) /z ^(w)	s ^(w) :-s	s-	s	s-	s/-sI-
*z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z
*š	š	š	š	š	š	š	š	š	0
*š ^w	š ^(w) :-š	-š-	š ^v	š-	š ^(w)	š	š	š	-sI-
*š:	š:-š	š/š:	š/š:/z	š/z	š	š:-š:-	š	š:-z	š:-čI
*š: ^w	š ^(w) :-, -š	š ^w /š ^v /x	š ^v /š:/z ^v	v/f/š ^w	š ^(w)	š:-š:-	f	f:-v	š
*ž	ž		ž	ž	ž	ž	ž		z
*ž ^w	ž ^w		ž ^w	ž ^w	ž ^w	ž ^w	ž ^w		žI
*λ	λ	x	x/š	x	x	x	x/š	x/š	λ
*λ ^w	λ ^(w)	f	f/x	f/x ^w -	x ^w /f	x ^(w)	f(x)	f/x	-f-
*λ:	λ:-λ	x:/x/	x:/x/	g/j/ž	x	x:-x:-	x	x	λ
*λ: ^w	λ: ^(w) , -λ ^w	f/f:	f/f:	f/v/ž	x ^w /f	x:-, -x: ^(w) -	f/x ^(w)	f/x	q-
*χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	0-χ
*χ ^w	χ ^(w)	χ ^(w)	χ ^(w)	χ ^(w)	χ	χ ^(w)	χ	χ	χ-
*χ:	χ:-χ	χ/χ:/b	χ/χ:/b	χ/b	χ	χ:-χ:-	χ	-χ-	χ/q
*χ: ^w	χ: ^w , -χ ^(w)	χ ^(w) /χ: ^(w) /b ^(w)	χ ^(w) /χ: ^(w) /b ^(w)	χ ^w /b ^(w) χ	χ	χ ^w -	χ ^w -	χ:-b	χ
*b	b/h	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	h
*b ^w	b/h		b ^(w)		b ^(w)		b	b	-0
*χI	χI	χ/χI/hχI	χ	χI	χI	χI	χ/h	χ/h	0
*χI ^w	-χI	χ/χI/h-χI	-χ ^(w)	-χI ^(w)	-χI	-χ	-χ	-χ	
*χ:I	χ:I,-χI	χ/χI/χI/χI:/bI	χ/b	χI	χI	h	h/χ	χ(I)	
*χ:I ^w	χ:I ^(w) , -χI ^w	χ/χI ^w /χ:I/bI	χ ^w /b ^w χI ^(w)	χI ^(w)	χI ^w , -χ:I-	h	(h)/χ	χ(I)	
*bI	bI	bI	bI	b	bI				

Comments.

1. Laryngeal features of fricatives.

PL lax fricatives are preserved without any changes in all Lezghian languages except Udi. In Udi all PL non-labialized lax fricatives (except the lateral *λ) have given zero reflexes, i.e. fallen out. It is not quite clear why the fricative *λ escaped this fate - probably, it was strengthened and already merged with *λ: in Proto-Udi. However, labialization prevented the disappearance of lax fricatives (cf. PL *s^w, *š^w > Ud. šI: PL *χ^w > Ud. χ).

Tense fricatives are at present preserved in the Archi, Agul, Tabasaran and Tsakhur languages. In Archi tense fricatives are preserved in initial and medial positions, but have weakened in final position.

In Agul tense fricatives are preserved in the Koshan dialect; in other dialects

they are already lost ([Magometov 1970] points to the presence of tense fricatives in some more Agul subdialects, particularly, in the subdialect of the village Khpyuk, but we have no data on these subdialects). We must specially mention the reflexes of tense uvular fricatives in Agul proper (Tpig subdialect); here PL *χ: > b, PL *χ:^w > b^w, PL *χ:I, *χ:I^w > č, i.e. they are voiced.

In Tabasaran tense fricatives have been preserved in the Northern dialect (though not identically in all subdialects; thus the Dübek subdialect has already lost tense fricatives in initial position), but have already been lost in the Southern dialect and in the literary language. In the Northern (to some extent also in the Southern) dialect of Tabasaran, there is a strong tendency to voice PL tense fricatives. Thus in some cases the PL non-initial *s: and *š: are being voiced (*s: only in subdialects of the Northern dialect; the voicing *s: > ž is also encountered in the Southern dialect). PL *s:^w and *š:^w are regularly voiced in all Tabasaran dialects before the narrow vowels *i, *i (in the Dübek subdialect cases of word-final voicing of *š:^w are also attested). PL uvular fricatives in non-initial position are regularly voiced in all Tabasaran dialects (thus, *χ: > b, *χ:^w > b^w, *χ:I > bI, *χ:I^w > bI^w). The development *χ: > b in initial position occurred only before Tab. u < PL *u, *o (it is worth noting that *χ:I is never voiced in this position). Of all PL fricatives only *λ:, *λ:^w are never voiced.

The Tsakhur language only preserves tense fricatives (s:, š:, x:, x^w:, χ:, χ^w:) in intervocalic position; elsewhere they have been weakened and merged with the reflexes of PL lax fricatives.

Other languages (Lezghi, Rutul, Kryz, Budukh, Udi) have not preserved tense fricatives as such. However, the reflexes of tense fricatives have completely merged with the reflexes of lax ones only in Rutul and Kryz (occasional differences - like the fact that in Kryz the reflex š is attested for PL *š^w, while f is attested for PL *š:^w - are apparently explained by insufficient evidence; we could expect Kryz f from PL *š^w as well, but all the available examples represent cases of early delabialization *š^w > *š). As for Lezghi, Budukh and Udi, the reflexes of PL tense and lax fricatives here remain distinct.

In Lezghi tense fricatives, unlike lax ones, can be subject to voicing. Its rules are as follows:

a) Voicing does not occur in the Akhty dialect, where reflexes of tense fricatives usually merge with the reflexes of lax ones. The only exceptions are the PL fricatives *s:^w and *λ:^w, which may be voiced in the Akhty dialect as well. (The voicing of *s:^w occurs before the PL narrow vowels *i, *i; chronologically it probably preceded the voicing of other fricatives, because it represents an isogloss, connecting Lezghi and Tabasaran; on a similar development in Tabasaran see above. The rules of the voicing of *λ:^w are unclear - perhaps we are facing interdialectal loanwords). In addition, the voicing of PL lateral *λ: is obligatory.

b) In other dialects, voicing of the PL lateral fricative *λ: and of the uvulars *χ:, *χ:^w, *χ:I, *χ:I^w is obligatory. PL *s:^w, just as in the Akhty dialect, is voiced only before original narrow vowels. The hissing *s: has the voiceless reflex s in all positions in the Kurakh dialect, but is voiced in intervocalic position in the Güne and Yarki dialects (and therefore in the literary language). Labialized PL *š:^w and *λ:^w in non-initial position, on the other hand, yield voiceless reflexes in all

dialects; in initial position *s': always develops voiced reflexes, while *λ'w:, like in the Akhty dialect, reveals a variation between voiced and voiceless reflexes. We cannot establish any rules for PL *s:, whose reflexes may be both voiced and voiceless. Such a complicated scheme of reflexes for PL tense fricatives apparently points to processes of interdialectal influence, active in the Lezghi-speaking area until recently.

In Budukh PL tense fricatives are regularly voiced in final position (*s: > -z, *s: > -ž, *s'w: > -w, *λ'w: > -b; one should also expect voiced final reflexes of PL *λ:, *λ'w: and *λ'x:, but reflexes of these phonemes in final position are not attested at all in Budukh). PL pharyngealized *λ:l and *λ:l'w can be voiced in other positions as well, but the rules of distribution for voiced and voiceless reflexes of these two phonemes are unclear due to insufficient evidence.

In Udi the basic difference between the reflexes of tense and lax fricatives is the fact that the former are not dropped (unlike the latter, whose normal reflex in Udi is zero, see above). Udi can also occasionally have affricates in the place of PL tense fricatives (such are the reflexes *s: > -c; *s: > -čI; *λ'w: > q; in such cases we usually observe a free variation of fricative and affricate reflexes in the same roots in Udi (cf. Ud. *mes* / *mec* "nest" < PL *mās:; Ud. *xel* / *qel* "burden" < PL *λ'x:al, etc.). The process of the affricatization of fricatives is rather unusual; still, there is apparently no reason to try to reconstruct affricates in such cases, basing this conclusion on Udi evidence alone.

Voiced fricatives are preserved in all languages (we should note only the affricatization *ž > ʒ in Rutul, Tsakhur and Kryz and the laryngealization *b > ʕ in Archi and Udi languages).

2. Local features of fricatives.

The main change that occurred in all Lezghian languages, except Archi, was the loss of lateral fricatives (on the loss of lateral affricates, see above). This led to the appearance of velar fricatives, not present in the PL system, in most languages. In Udi a further development of the velar x (< *λ, *λ:) into the uvular fricative ɣ occurred (on the uvular reflexes of lateral affricates in Udi, see above).

PL lax *λ developed into x in Agul, Tabasaran, Lezghi, Rutul, Tsakhur, Kryz and Budukh. In Tabasaran, Kryz and Budukh the palatalization x > ʃ occurred before PL front vowels (cf. Tab. *subu-b*, Düb. *sibbu-b*, Kryz *sibi-d*, Bud. *sub* "three" < PL *λep:i-). In Tabasaran this is the usual development (cf. above on a similar affrication of lateral affricates); it is, however, not typical for Kryz and Budukh and characterizes only this phoneme (even PL *λ: in Kryz and Budukh yields only the velar x). A similar development *λ > -x > -ʃ has occurred in Kryz in final position (in a single example: Kryz *lis* "louse" < PL *loλ(w)).

PL tense *λ: yields x: (or x, depending on the dialect and on the position) in Agul, Tabasaran, Tsakhur; in Rutul, Kryz and Budukh only the lax reflex x is present (on the distribution of tense and lax reflexes, see above). In the Koshan dialect of the Agul language the reflexion is unusual: PL *λ: > Kosh. ʃ: in all positions (thus, the tense fricative x: in Agul is preserved as such only in some subdialects of Agul proper, namely, in the Khpyuk and Tsirkhe subdialects; see

[Magometov 1970, 23]).

Tabasaran has a regular palatalization *λ: > *x: > ʃ: (ʃ in the Southern dialect) before front vowels.

In Lezghi *λ: yields g (through an intermediate stage of the voiced fricative ɣ, still preserved in the Yarki dialect) before back vowels and ʒ/j before front ones (the distribution of the latter two reflexes is yet unclear). Thus, the reflexes of *λ: merge here with the reflexes of the PL tense lateral affricate *λ' (on the development of which see above).

Pharyngealized fricatives have lost their pharyngealization in Lezghi (though some dialects still preserve it, see above on the reflexes of affricates), Kryz and Budukh. In Lezghi the reflexes of pharyngealized and non-pharyngealized uvular fricatives have completely merged, while in Kryz and Budukh the original pharyngealized fricatives have been laryngealized and transformed into the emphatic laryngeals h, ʕ. A fricative reflexion (*λ' > Kryz, Bud. ɣ) is observed only when this fricative was the second component in a medial consonant cluster.

A similar development is observed in Agul. Original pharyngealized fricatives are preserved only in the Fite dialect (where *λ'l, *λ:l > ɣl). In the Keren, Koshan and Burkikhan dialects, the pharyngealized fricatives have developed into the pharyngeal ʃ (i.e. *λ'l, *λ:l > ʃ), and the distinction in tensivity was lost (in Koshan, usually preserving it, the opposition ʃ - ʃ: is absent). However, it is reflected in Agul proper (Tpig), where a further laryngealization happened: *λ'l > ʃ > h, *λ:l > *R > ʕ. It is interesting that PL *b'l is preserved as b'l in Agul. This is perhaps an argument in favour of reconstructing in PL not the voiced fricatives *b, *b'l, but rather the voiced affricates *G, *G'l, whose reflexes were subject to independent fricativization in descendant languages. (The fact is that the development *q:l > R that happened in Agul (see above), had apparently passed through the intermediate state b'l, preserved in the Fite dialect. In this case the original *b'l and the new *b'l < *q:l should have inevitably merged. Since this has not happened, it is reasonable to suggest, that in Proto-Agul in the place of PL *q:l there was a fricative like *b'l, and in the place of PL *b'l - an affricate like *G'l, fricativized already after the *b'l > R development in Agul dialects). It is possible that PL had here a free variation of the articulations *G/*b and *G'l/*b'l respectively.

Labialized fricatives usually develop similarly to labialized affricates in Lezghian languages, namely:

1) The Archi language preserves all labialized fricatives except the hissing ones (which are always delabialized). Labialized reflexes are not attested for PL *λ'l', because of the rarity of this phoneme.

2) The Agul language preserves the labialized hissing (s'w), hushing (s'w in the Keren and Burkikhan dialects) and uvular fricatives (λ'w, λ'w:, b'w). The pharyngealized uvular labialized ɣl'w is preserved only in Fite dialect; other dialects have lost the labialization due to the development of pharyngealized uvulars into either pharyngeals or laryngeals (in these local series Agul has no distinction in labialization).

The PL labialized hushing *s'w is reflected as a (bi)labialized consonant only in the Keren and Burkikhan dialects; in the Koshan dialect the dentolabialized s'w is represented (cf. above on the reflexes of hushing labialized affricates). The Fite dia-

lect has the velarization *sːː > x here, too (just like in the reflexes of affricates). Similar reflexes could be expected from PL lax *sːː; but in fact, in the available examples we see only the delabialized reflex s (in all dialects). We may, however, note the development of the PL combination *mʃ in some Agul dialects, where -m has disappeared, leaving behind the compensatory labialization of the following consonant: cf. PL *hams "caraway" > Bursh. hams, but Rich. hasː, Burk. (with metathesis) sːːah, Fite hexː.

Labialized lateral fricatives in Agul have developed into labiodental fricatives (apparently through an intermediate stage of labiovelars). Thus, PL *λː > Ag. f, PL *λːː > Ag. f/f. It is interesting that the clusters *-wλ, *-wλː behave differently. Even in Proto-Agul *λ, in the combination wλ, had been strengthened and developed into *λː. The Koshan dialect reflects the combination wλː as a dentolabialized sːː (unlike *λːː > Kosh. f); other dialects have either the normal reflex f (< *λːː < *wλː), or x (with the loss of labialization). Cf. PL *jiwλ "snow" > Rich., Fit. ibx, Burk. ux, Bursh. jisːː; PL *λːːe "five" > Proto-Ag. *jewλːt (restructured by analogy with *jewqi- "four") > Rich. Rafu-d (with an unclear R), Fite jufu-d, Burk. ifa-d, Bursh. jisːːu-r.

3) In the Tabasaran language the PL hissing and hushing labialized fricatives have merged in a single dentolabialized series (Tab. sːː, sːːː, zːː). Labialized laterals, as in Agul, developed into dentolabial fricatives (f, fː); there are, however, cases of old delabialization, when *λːː > *λ > Tab. x.

In the system of labialized back consonants labialization is completely lost in the Northern dialect, but is preserved in the Southern dialect and in the literary language.

4) In Lezghi labialized hissing fricatives are reflected exactly like labialized hissing affricates (see above), i.e. they are preserved in Kurakh, Güne and some subdialects of the Akhty dialect (Khlyut), develop into labialized hushing fricatives in most subdialects of the Akhty dialect and yield labialized velars in the Yarki dialect. We must note, however, that such reflexes are only attested for PL *sːː; in the few known cases of reflecting PL *sːː Lezghi has the delabialized reflex s.

By analogy with the labialized hushing affricates, one would expect the labialized hushing fricatives to be preserved in the Kurakh and Akhty dialects, to develop into hissing labialized in the Güne dialect and into labiovelars in the Yarki dialect. But in reality the labialized hushing *sːː in the few attested cases has the delabialized reflex s (cf., however, the reflection of the PL cluster *mʃ, that developed into *sːː in Proto-Lezghi: PL *hams "caraway" > Lezg. lit. if-er-ar, Nüt. ux-er-ar.). The reflex sːː < PL *sːː is observed only in initial position in the Khlyut subdialect of the Akhty dialect (cf. Khl. sːːet "mosquito" < PL *sːːaː; otherwise cf. lit. wef, Akht. fet). The hissing zːː, as a reflex of *zːː, is known to us only in the literary language (zːːal "boiling" < PL *zːːal) and apparently represents the Güne development. The Yarki dialect indeed has labiovelar reflexes xː/gː < PL *sːː. Other dialects (Kurakh, Akhty, Güne) always reflect PL *sːː as a labiodental f or w (on the distribution of voice/voicelessness see above); the same labiodental reflexation is represented in final position in the Khlyut subdialect (cf. lit., Khl., Kur. jif, Nüt. jux "night" < PL *zːːisːː).

The labialized lateral *λː is usually reflected as labiodental f in all Lezghi

dialects. The labiodental reflex (f or w) is also typical for PL tense *λːː in most dialects; the Akhty dialect, however, reflects PL *λːː as labialized hushing sːː- (zːː-) in the initial position (only the Khlyut subdialect has a labiodental reflex here, too). Thus, within the Akhty dialect the reflexes of *λːː resemble an "inversion" of the reflexes of *sːː, cf.

PL	Akht.	Khlyut subdialect
*λːː	sːː-, f	f-, f
*sːː	f-, f	sːː-, f

(voiced initial variants are not listed in this table).

Uvular fricatives in Lezghi generally preserve the PL labialization quite well.

5) Rutul preserves the labialization of PL *sːː (> Rut. sːː), *sːːː, *sːːː (> Rut. sːː), *χIː, *χIːː (> Rut. χIː). For PL *sːː, *zːː, *χːː and *χːːː only delabialized reflexes are attested. The labialized laterals *λːː, *λːːː are reflected as xːː in the Mukhad and Shinaz dialects (in some subdialects of Mukhad dialect, e.g. Luchek, the younger generation already pronounces the labiodental f). The Amsar dialect has a variation xːː/f. Other Rutul dialects already have only the dentolabial f.

6) The Tsakhur language has preserved only the labialized χːː, χːːː (< PL *χːː, *χːːː) and xːː, xːːː (< PL *λːː, *λːːː), the Gelmet dialect having a variation between xːː/f and xːːː/f. Other PL labialized fricatives are only represented by delabialized reflexes in Tsakhur.

7) In the Kryz language we have attested only the labialized χːː < PL *χːː. In the past, however, there were apparently at least labialized hushing and labialized velar fricatives, judging by the development of PL *sːː > Kryz f and PL *λːː, *λːːː > Kryz f (in the case of early delabialization PL *λːː, *λːːː can also be reflected as x).

8) Budukh, like Kryz, has specific reflexes of PL *sːː and PL *λːː, *λːːː (*sːː > Bud. f-, -w; *λːː, *λːː > Bud. f). In other cases PL labialization has disappeared in Budukh without any trace.

9) In Udi the only trace of PL labialization is the fact that PL lax labialized fricatives yield non-zero reflexes, while PL lax non-labialized fricatives are dropped. Otherwise Udi has completely lost the distinction in labialization in the system of fricatives (as well as in the system of explosives and affricates, see above).

1.8.1.5. Laryngeals.

We reconstruct three local series of postuvular (laryngeal) consonants for PL: laryngeals proper, pharyngealized laryngeals and emphatic laryngeals. The reconstruction of pharyngealized laryngeals in the second series is quite hypothetical: it is clear only that this was a special series, different both from laryngeals proper and from emphatic laryngeals.

In each local series the binary opposition "explosive : fricative" is reconstructed. A correlation in labialization is also reconstructed in the system of laryngeals. It is interesting, however, that in each local series one can reconstruct only one labialized laryngeal. The articulation of labialized laryngeals could

probably vary between explosive and fricative (which explains some specific features of the reflexation of labialized laryngeals). For the purpose of uniformity we reconstruct only explosive labialized laryngeals for PL.

Let us adduce the system of correspondences of laryngeal consonants in Lezghian languages:

PL	Arch	Ag	Tab	Lezg	Rut	Tsakh	Kryz	Bud	Ud
*ʔ	ʔ, 0	ʔ-/j-, -ʔ/-ʔ	ʔ(/j-)	ʔ-/j-, -ʔ/-0	ʔ, -0	ʔ, -0	ʔ/j-, -ʔ	ʔ-/j-, -ʔ, -ʔ	ʔ, -0
*ʔʷ	h	ʔ	ʔ	w-/ʔ-, -ʔ-	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	p
*h	h, j	h-, h/ -h	h	h	h(/j-)	h, -0 (/j-)	h-, ʔ (/ʔ-)	h-, ʔ	h-
*ʔI	j	ʔ-/j-	ʔ-	j-/ʔ-, -q/-ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ-
*ʔIʷ	j-/w-	ʔ-/j-	ʔ-	w-, h-	ʔ	ʔ-, h-	h-, ʔ-	w-	ʔ-
*hI	ʔ-/h-, -j	ʔ-/ʔ-, -ʔ/-ʔ/ -ʔ	ʔ	j-(h-) /ʔ-	-ʔ	h-/ʔ-, -hI	ʔ-	h-/ʔ- ʔ-ʔ	ʔ-, -0
*ʔ	ʔI/-, -j	ʔ/ʔ/ʔ	ʔI/ʔ	ʔ-	j-, -0I	-0	ʔ-/j-, -ʔ		ʔ-, -0
*ʔʷ	-hI-	ʔ/ʔ/ʔ		w-/ʔ-	ʔI	ʔI			
*h	ʔI-, -0I	h/h	hI/h	h/ʔ	ʔ-/j-, -0	j-/ʔ-	ʔ-/j-, -ʔ	j-, -h	ʔI-

Comments.

1) Archi. Plain laryngeals have been preserved here (with modifications in on-initial position, where the glottal stop ʔ has disappeared, and h > j). The pharyngealized laryngeal *hI has been depharyngealized and apparently merged with *h (but in initial position before back vowels *hI has fallen out, which explains the double reflex ʔ-/h-). The pharyngealized *ʔI has apparently developed into the emphatic *ʔ, which afterwards lost its laryngeal articulation and developed into j (similarly *ʔIʷ > *ʔʷ > w).

After the loss of pharyngealized laryngeals their place was taken by PL emphatic laryngeals that yield pharyngealized reflexes in Archi.

2) Agul. Here labialized laryngeals have merged early with the respective non-labialized ones. Plain laryngeals and emphatic laryngeals are rather well reserved, although, compared with PL, some changes still occurred:

a) in final position PL *ʔ and *h may obtain a secondary emphatization (*ʔʔ, *h > h). The development *h > h is typical for Koshan, Burkikhan and Agul proper and apparently occurs after front vowels. The conditions of the development ʔ > ʔʔ, observed only in Koshan (where the usual reflex of the final *ʔ is -0), are less clear.

b) The PL emphatic laryngeals *ʔ and *h are well preserved in Koshan, Burkikhan and Agul proper (we must note that in Koshan a deemphatization before front vowels

occurred: *ʔ > ʔʔ, *h > h). In the Keren dialect *h has been preserved, while *ʔ has been fricativized and developed into ʕ. The Fite dialect has lost the emphatic laryngeals: *ʔ > ʔ and *h > h.

PL pharyngealized *ʔI in Agul has been depharyngealized and merged with *ʔ. However, *hI gives specific reflexes here: the Burkikhan dialect has ʕ- in initial position, while others have *ʔ-, i.e. we observe an absolutely unique series of correspondences (cf. above on the reflexes of other laryngeals). In final position *hI is reflected in the same way as the emphatic laryngeal *ʔ (i.e. gives Fite -ʔ, Ker. -ʕ, Kosh., Burk. and Agul proper -ʔ). We can suppose that Proto-Agul had a special phoneme *ʕ < PL *hI, which was only preserved in initial position in Burkikhan, while in final position it merged early with the explosive *ʔ.

3. Tabasaran. In the Southern dialect of Tabasaran (and in the literary Tabasaran language) PL laryngeals give the same reflexes as in the Fite dialect of the Agul language (see above). The Northern dialect still preserves the pharyngealized laryngeals ʔI, hI < PL emphatic *ʔ, *h in non-initial position.

Labialized laryngeals were delabialized early in Tabasaran, just as in Agul. However, in Proto-Tabasaran a labialized laryngeal *hʷ apparently existed, which originated from a metathesis of labialization and had afterwards developed into w. Cf. PL *hāmč "apple" > Proto-Tab. *hʷāIč > South. wič, North. walč.

4. Lezghi. Characteristic for Lezghi is the fact that its Northern dialects (as well as the literary language) regularly have w in the place of PL labialized laryngeals; the Akhty dialect usually has ʔ (only sporadically w, probably due to the influence of the literary language). Therefore, at least one labialized laryngeal should have existed as late as in Proto-Lezghi; it yielded w in the Northern and ʔ in the Southern (Central) dialect.

In other respects Lezghi has very much reduced the system of PL laryngeals. Explosive laryngeals are usually reflected as ʔ (though before front vowels sporadically ʔ- > j-), fricatives - as h (though PL *hI, *h also yield ʔ or j before front vowels).

We should also dwell on the Lezghi final reflexes of PL *ʔ and *ʔI. In both cases the Akhty dialect regularly has ʔ; in the Northern dialect (as well as in the literary language) the final *ʔ disappears, while the final *ʔI yields an unexpected reflex -q (cf. PL *waʔI "fat" > Klil. maʔ, lit. maq). Such a development probably points to the presence of two types of explosive laryngeals in Proto-Lezghi (apparently PL *ʔ > Proto-Lezg. *ʔ > Akht. -ʔ, North. -0; PL *ʔI > Proto-Lezg. *ʔʔ > Akht. -ʔ, North. -q).

5. Rutul. At the present time there are three laryngeals in Rutul: ʔ, h and ʔI. As in most other languages, PL pharyngealized laryngeals were early depharyngealized here. However, their reflexes have not completely merged with the reflexes of plain laryngeals. It is probable that at first all three pharyngealized laryngeals merged in one phoneme, similar to *ʔI, and only afterwards *ʔI > ʔ. This change must have occurred already after the disappearance of the original *ʔ in final position: cf. *ʔ > -0, but *ʔI > -ʔ.

Emphatic *ʔ and *h were apparently lost early. Their main reflexes are ʔ or j in initial position (in the Khnyukh subdialect we may also meet h in the place of *h) and 0, with a possible preservation of pharyngealization, in final position.

The labialized *ʷ was apparently preserved longer, though, like other labialized laryngeals, it was subject to the delabialization *ʷ > *ʔ. Afterwards, when the pharyngealized *ʔl had been depharyngealized (see above), this *ʔ had taken its place: PL *ʔʷ > *ʔ > Rut. ʔl.

6. Tsakhur. Here we must note the preservation of the phoneme hl < PL *hl (at least in final position). Otherwise Tsakhur reflexes are quite similar to Rutul ones.

7. Kryz and Budukh. Here it is interesting to note the development of PL plain laryngeals into the emphatic ʕ (in some cases, such as the reflex of PL *ʔ and *h in final position, as well as the reflex of the PL labialized *ʔʷ). The PL emphatic laryngeals are generally preserved (although before front vowels they develop into j-); it is worth noting that both *ʔ and *h yield the same voiced reflex, ʕ, in Kryz. The pharyngealized *ʔl has lost its pharyngealization and developed into ʔ; however, traces of the original pharyngealization are preserved in the reflexes of PL *ʔlʷ and *hl, yielding emphatic h and ʕ respectively in Kryz (Budukh has w- and h- here).

8. Udi. Here only the laryngeal h < PL *h is preserved. PL labialized *ʔʷ apparently first developed into *hʷ (see above on the possibility of the variation *ʔʷ/*hʷ as early as in PL), after which *hʷ > Ud. p (see above on the similar development of PL *qʷ > Ud. p:). All other laryngeals were lost in Udi (i.e. in initial position there is an automatic glottal stop, and in other positions - zero).

1.8.1.6. Consonant clusters.

In PL, as in most modern Lezghian languages, consonant clusters were not allowed in initial position. (Initial clusters existing in modern Lezghi and Tabasaran are secondary, being a result of the reduction of unaccented vowels of the first syllable). However, in the medial and final positions the number of possible clusters was rather large.

Here we will not examine the consonant clusters arising on morpheme boundaries, nor the consonant clusters in verbal roots, but will dwell only upon the development of consonant clusters within nominal root morphemes. These combinations may be divided into two types:

1) Consonant clusters on the syllable borders of a partly or wholly reduplicated morpheme (structures of the type **camcam*, **daldam*, **λ'ūλ'il*, **curcul*, etc.). In such morphemes virtually any consonant clusters are allowed. Their characteristic feature is their stability: except cases of irregular transformations (in expressive roots), both cluster components develop in the same way as in the isolated position.

2) Consonant clusters within a non-reduplicated morpheme (on the syllable border or at the end of the syllable). Here only "resonant+obstruent" clusters are allowed. In these clusters the first element may be represented by one of the resonants r, l, m, n or w (i.e. the opposition of tenseness-laxness is neutralized here; the correlates of the resonants listed above (j, l, m, n, ɰ) are not attested as first components of clusters). The second component of clusters may be represented by any obstruent except postuvulars (i.e. emphatic laryngeals and plain laryngeals).

There are few rules limiting the freedom of combination of resonants and obstruents (some of them may turn out to be fortuitous and it is possible that the gaps in the place of some clusters will be eventually filled). Here are these limitations:

1) there are no clusters of *w with following front consonants (of the type *wt, *wc, *wč) or with following velar ones (of the type *wk) (absence of the latter is probably accidental);

2) there are no clusters of *n with uvulars (of the type *nq) or labials (of the type *np);

3) there are no clusters of *l with laterals (of the type *lɰ);

4) clusters with labial consonants are in general very rare, and only two types of them are attested: "r+labial" and "m+labial".

No Lezghian language has left the PL system of consonant clusters intact. The main tendency in the development of such clusters is their simplification through the loss of the first component (resonant). One point should be, however, specially discussed: the reconstruction of combinations with the resonant *l.

In modern Lezghian languages, combinations with l as the first component are rather rare. However, we have reason to think that they were much more widespread in PL. The fact is that in most cases PL *l is either lost or changed to r in descendant languages. In such cases (when the reflex l is in fact not preserved in any language) we must reconstruct *l on the basis of system considerations. For example: if we have a correspondence "Tab. -lz: Ag., Lezg., Rut. z" (cf. "tongue": Tab. *melz*, Ag., Lezg. *mez*, Rut. *miz*), the reconstruction of *l in this case is based on Tabasaran evidence, allowing us to suppose that PL *l (at least before hissing consonants) yields Tab. l and Ag., Lezg., Rut. 0. However, although Tabasaran has the cluster lz (lɰ), a similar combination with the voiceless c (lc) is missing. On the other hand, we know of the correspondence "Tab. rc: Ag., Lezg. c, Rut. s" (cf. Tab. *marc-ar* "clay stove for baking bread", Ag. Bursh. *mac* "fireplace", Lezg. *mac* "a clay shelf over the fireplace", Rut. *mas* "wall"). This correspondence does not allow us to reconstruct PL *rc (in such a case we would expect the preservation of r in Rutul and Lezghi, see below in the table of correspondences). Therefore, one can suppose that in this case we are dealing with the PL cluster *lc, whose development is quite symmetrical to the development of *lc: (i.e. a zero reflex of the resonant in Ag., Lezg. and Rut., but the preservation of the resonant in Tab.); in Tabasaran, however, the further change *lc > rc occurred. As a result of such reasoning, we can reconstruct a large number of PL combinations with the resonant *l, such reconstruction often being confirmed by the data of related Daghestan languages.

The same is true for some clusters with *-n-, where -n- has either disappeared or was denasalized and turned into -r-, and is reconstructed only on basis of system considerations.

Let us now give the system of correspondences of the reconstructed consonant clusters:

PL	Arch	Ag	Tab	Lezg	Rut	Tsakh	Kryz	Bud	Ud
*rp			rp	p			p	p	p
*rt		rt		t	rt	rt	(r)t		
*rt:	t:	rd/d	rd	t:/rt:	d	d	d(r?)	d	d
*rt	rt	rt/t	rt	(r)t	t	t	(r)t		(rd)
*rd	rd	rd	rd	rd	rd	rd			
*rc			rs(?)	rc	rc				
*rc:		rz/z	r2	z	z				
*rc:	(nc?)	rc	rc	rc	ç	ç			
*rc:	rc:	rt:	rc:	rt		t:			c:
*rs	rs	rs/s	rs/s	rs/s	s		rs	rs	
*rs:	rs:	rs	rs	rs	s	s:			
*rč		rč	rč	rč/č	rč	rč			č
*rč:	č/(rč?)								čI
*rč		rč	rč	rč	rč		rč	rč	
*rč:	rč	rč:	rč:	rč	rč				č
*rs~ls		rs	rs						
*rλ		rx	rs	rg	h				q
*rλ:	λ	rg/r	ry	r	γ	γ	γ	j	ɸ
*rλ:	λ	rk:	rk:	k/rk	k	k	k	q	
*rλ:	λ:	rf/rx	rx/xf	rx/xf	x				
*rk		rk	rk	rg/g	x		rk	rk	
*rk:	k:	g	rg	(k:)	g	g	g	(n)g	
*rk	k	rk	k	rk	k	k	k	k:	
*rq~lq?				rq			rq		
*rq	q	(r)q	rq	(rb)	q	q		q	
*rq~lq:		rb	rb						
*rq:	q:			rq	q:		rq		
*rλ:	λ:	rx(rb)	rx(rb)	rb(b)			rb		
*rql	l(rλ)	qI							
*rql	qI	qI	(qI)		qI	qI	(r)q?		b/h
*rql:		ql:	qI:	rq	qI	qI	q	q:	
*rλI		rx	rxI	rx/λ	λI	λI	rx	rx	
*It	rt	t	rt		rt	rt			(nt:)
*It:	rt:	rd/d	rd	(t:)	d	rt	lt		
*It	rt			(ld?)	rt	t	t		
*lc		c	rc	c	s				
*lc:	c	z	lz	z	z	z	z	z	
*lc			rc	ç					
*lč	š	rč	rč	rč	č	č	rč/č	rč	(č)
*lč:	č	rč	(r)č	č	č	č	č	č	0
*lč:	č	rč/lč	rč/lč	č:	č	č	č?		
*ls:	š:	rs	rč	š	š	š		čI	
*lk	rk								
*lk:		lg/rg	rg	rg	rg	rg	(rg)	k:	

PL	Arch	Ag	Tab	Lezg	Rut	Tsakh	Kryz	Bud	Ud
*lk			rk	rk	rk	rk	(r)k		
*lg/lg:	rk:		rč	rg					
*lq	(rč)	rč	rč	rč	(rč)	q?			
*lq:					lq	lq			
*lχ		rχ	lχ	lχ/χ	rχ	rχ			
*lχ:	rχ:		rb	rb			rχ	lχ	rχ
*lql		rql/r?	lql/rql	rč	rql	rql		q	
*nt		nt	nt	nt	nt	nt			
*nt	nt	nt	nt	nt(p)	nt/t	nt/t	nt	nt	t:
*nd			nd	nd	nd		nd		
*nc:	c	nz/rz	rz	rc:					
*nc	ç		nc	nc					
*nč	nč/nč	nč/č	nč(č)	nč	nč		(n)č/nč	č/nč	(š)
*nλ:	(λ)	j	rš/rč	k/č	j	l	γ	j	ɸ
*nλ:	nλ	rk:	rk:		k	(k)	k	k	q:
*nλ(°)		f	f	f	rx°	rx	f		
*nk	ng						k		
*nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	(n)k	nk	
*mp	mp	p	mp	p	p	b	p/b	p	
*mp:	m	mb(b)	mb(b)	p:		b			
*mp		mp	mp	p/mp					
*mt	nt	t(rt)			t				
*mt	nt	t	(mč)	t	(d)	t	t	t	t:
*mc	ns	c(°)	c	c	s	c			s
*mc:	(mz)	bz/wz	mz	k°:/c°:	z	(ms)	z		z
*mč	mč/nč	(n)č	(m)č:/č	(n)č	č				
*mč:	mč:/nč:	t°:	č°:	rt	t	t(°)	t	t	čI
*ms	(mu)s		š°						
*ms:			ms/ms:		s				
*mč	nš	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	šI
*mč	nč	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	
*mš	(mu)š	mš/š°	f	š	š				
*mλ:		mš	w	j		w	w		
*mλ	mχ	mχ/k	mχ/k	q/k		q	q	p:	
*mq		q°	mq		q				
*mχ	nχ	(mχ)	(mχ)	χ	χ				
*mχ:	nχ:			ɸ			χ		
*mqI		mqI	mqI						
*mk		bk	mk	k		k			
*mk:	bk	g°	mg			g	g		
*wλ		bx/š°	f	(ž)					
*wλ	bk	k/mk	wk		q	k	q	q	p:
*wq:	bq	bb°/b°	wq:	q°:	ɸ°	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ
*wq	bq	q(°)	q(°)	q	q	q	q	q	p:
*wχ	bχ			χ					

Note: in the present table we show the combination reflexes of both PL labialized and non-labialized consonants; the behaviour of the resonant in the combination does not depend on the labialization of the following consonant.

1.8.1.7. The development of resonants in verbal roots.

1. The reconstruction of medial resonants in the PL verbal root is very much complicated by the following circumstances:

a) the resonant *r (sometimes *l as well, if it develops into r by phonetic rules) can be reinterpreted as a class indicator; this process, for example, led to a nearly complete loss of consonant clusters inside the verbal root in Tabasaran;

b) the resonant *r (as well as *l, if it develops into r by phonetic rules) can be reinterpreted as the durative stem marker. This process is connected with the presence of three main types of conjugation in PL:

1) verbs without any resonant, neither in the durative stem nor in the terminative stem;

2) verbs without any resonant in the terminative stem, but with the infix -r- (possibly -rV-) in the durative stem;

3) verbs with a resonant (*r, *l or *w) in the durative stem as well as in the terminative stem.

We can properly talk about root resonants only concerning the last type of conjugation. However, in this type of conjugation the root resonant *r or *l could be reinterpreted as a durative marker and be lost in the terminative stem by analogy with the second type of conjugation. This process apparently took place in many Lezghian languages (except Agul).

[Let us note that from the historical point of view the proper "resonantless" roots are represented only in the second conjugation type; the first type of verbs in Proto-Daghestan probably contained the resonants -m-, -n-, lost in the PL verbal root. This explains, first, the fact that these roots do not accept the durative indicator -r-, second, that there are no combinations with the first component -m- or -n- in PL verbal root].

As a result of the shown processes medial resonants have been totally lost in Tsakhur.

In Tabasaran and Kryz resonants have been lost as well in most cases. Tabasaran preserves medial resonants only in some verbal derivatives (like *daršul* "splinter" < *t:ars*":*al*, though *kt-as*":*uz* "to rip" < PL **ars*":*a*, cf. Arch. *ars*":*a-s* "to cut into pieces"), or in the case of a metathesis of -r- or -l- into the beginning of the root, mostly when the first root vowel is narrow (cf. **irλ:ar* "to paint" > Tab. *rix-uz*, **ilχan* "to work" > Tab. *liχ-uz*, etc.).

A similar metathesis is often observed in Agul, though in some dialects the old order may be preserved as well (cf. PL **irq:ar* "to freeze" > Rich. *rub-as*, but Tp. *ur'a-s*; PL **irχ:ar* "to kill" > Rich., Tp. *ruk:as*, but Bursh. *urk:as*; PL **ilχan* "to work" > Bursh., Tp. *liχanas*, etc.). In other respects Agul is very conservative and preserves well the PL combinations with medial resonants (this conservatism is probably explained by the loss of the system of class agreement and, therefore, the arising possibility of mixing the medial resonant with the class marker in Agul).

In other Lezghian languages combinations with resonants inside the verbal

root generally developed in the same way as in the nominal one (though we must keep in mind the possibility of an irregular loss of the resonant as a result of the processes, described above).

2. Reconstruction of final resonants in the verbal root.

In final position verbal root resonants also develop differently from those in the nominal root. This condition is due to the fact that final consonants in certain verbal forms have a tendency to be reinterpreted as morphological markers (final -r and -l are mixed with the PL durative gerund suffix *-r, *-ri; the final *-n - with terminative gerund suffix *-na. We must take into account that these gerund suffixes could apparently already form certain finite verbal forms in PL and were quite frequent).

Final resonants in verbal roots are completely lost in Tabasaran, Rutul and Udi (according to [Ibragimov 1978] the Borchin-Khinov dialect of Rutul still preserves the traces of PL final resonants, but we do not possess any data from this dialect). Other languages have the following reflexes of PL *-r, *-l and *-n (no other resonants occurred in PL verbs in this position):

1) Archi. Here PL final *-l and *-n have merged in one -n-conjugation. Cf. PL **eχan* "to forget" > Arch. *eχin-* (*eχmus*); PL **jeřal* "to bind" > Arch. *eřin-* (*eřmus*), etc. The merger of *-l and *-n-conjugations in Archi (as well as in Agul, see below) was caused by the rarity of -l-conjugation roots and by a formal resemblance between the -l and -n-conjugations, manifested in the presence of the durative infix -l- in both of them (as opposed to -r-, present in the -r-conjugation and in roots without a final resonant).

PL *-r is lost in Archi bisyllabic roots (cf. PL **jatār* > Arch. *ati-s* "to let, to leave"), but preserved in monosyllabic roots (that have lost the PL vowel *-i, see below), cf. **ʔič:ar* "to fry" > Arch. *čar-as*, etc. However, there are cases when -r in monosyllabic roots is reinterpreted as a durative marker and consequently lost in the terminative forms (cf. PL **ʔiçar* "to melt" > Arch. *ča-s*, representing an adequation based on durative *čar*, etc.).

2) Agul. In Agul proper and in the Koshan dialect the *-l and *-n-conjugations have merged into a single -n-conjugation; in other dialects the n-conjugation is already lost. Cf. PL **jeřal* "to bind" > Bursh. *i-l-itan-as*, Tp. *itan-as*, Rich. *it-as*; PL **ʔi-š:Vn* "to knead" > Bursh., Tp. *ʔišan-as*, Rich. *ʔiš-as*. In a single case the Koshan dialect preserves the final -l, cf. PL **ʔiřal* "to eat" > Bursh. *ʔulal-as* (*-d-?), but Tp. *ʔuřan-as*, Rich. *ʔuř-as*. In some cases in the dialect of Agul proper the old *-n disappears (on the other hand, sometimes a resonantless verb can obtain the n-conjugation in this dialect), which is probably caused by morphological analogy.

All Agul dialects have lost the PL *-r-conjugation.

3) Lezghi. Here the final resonants -n and -r are only preserved sporadically. For *-n cf. PL **ʔi-š:Vn* > Lezg. *ʔuřun-iz* "to knead, rub"; PL **ʔalc-an* > Lezg. *alcum-iz* "to measure" (< **alc-an-iz* with a metathesis of labialization) and a few others. PL *-r can be preserved only in roots with the PL narrow initial vowel *i, lost in Lezghi (see below), and only in preverbless forms. Cf. PL **ʔilqlar* > Lezg. *qur-ez* "to laugh"; PL **ʔiçar* > Lezg. *čur-az* "to melt" (but with a preverb: *el-eç-iz* "to melt (metaphorically); be very content", etc. In most cases, however,

Lezghi has lost the final -r and -n; the final *-l has been lost completely.

4) Tsakhur, Kryz and Budukh.

In Tsakhur and Kryz, PL final *-r, *-l and *-n are preserved best of all. Budukh has preserved PL *-l and *-n well; as for the -r-conjugation, it has merged with the resonantless conjugation (therefore, both PL roots with the final -r and PL roots with a vocalic ending have at the present time an identical paradigm in Budukh).

In one type of cases Tsakhur loses the final -r: in roots with the structure *i(R)Car, obtaining the vowel e in Tsakhur (< PL ablaut grade *ā, see below). Cf. PL *iĉ:ar "to fry" > Tsakh. q-eġes (vs. Lezg. ĉ:ra-z, Kryz 3ir-ā3, Arch. ĉar-as); PL *iġar "to weave" > Tsakh. q-eġas (vs. Lezg. ġra-z, Kryz ġir-i3, etc.). At the present time it is hard to determine the reason for such a development of this structure in Tsakhur.

Except this regular type, we occasionally observe the loss of *-r and *-n in Tsakhur and Kryz. Cf. PL *iŋq:er "to freeze" > Tsakh. h-iġar-as, but Kryz s-aġ-u3; PL *iġ:an "to want, to love" > Tsakh. ik:an-as, but Kryz ik-ā3; PL *i[e]ġan "to hang" > Kryz k-eġn-i3, Tsakh. (Tsakhur proper) giwajġan-as, but Mik. giw-aġ-as. However, these cases are very rare. Normally the evidence of Tsakhur and Kryz is most valuable for reconstructing the PL final resonants in verbal roots.

1.8.2. Vocalism.

For PL we reconstruct a 7-vowel system with three rows (front, mid and back) and three heights (high, mid and low). In the front and back rows all three degrees of height are filled (in the front row: i, e, ā; in the back row - u, o, a). The mid row is defective and represented by a single vowel ĭ, that could probably vary between high and mid.

All vowels could also be pharyngealized (il, el, āl, ĩl, ul, ol, al); usually these vowels occurred adjacent to postvelar pharyngealized consonants, but they were possible in other positions as well. We should note that high pharyngealized vowels are extremely rarely met without adjacent postvelar pharyngealized consonants.

Below we give the system of vocalic correspondences between Lezghian languages. In this table we give only the reflexes of vowels without adjacent labialized consonants (and for pharyngealized vowels - also without adjacent postvelar pharyngealized consonants). Moreover, we will only list the reflexes of vowels in monosyllabic nominal roots, where there is no influence of other vowels. Unfortunately, it is hardly possible to examine all the positional modifications of PL vowels in each Lezghian language in this work. Therefore in this commentary we omit almost everything related to the development of vowels adjacent to labialized consonants, as well as to the modification of vowels in polysyllabic words. Nor will we examine the development of pharyngealized vowels near pharyngealized consonants. We hope to deal with all these questions in a special publication.

PL	Arch	Ag	Tab	Lezg	Rut	Tsakh	Kryz	Bud	Ud
*i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
*il	i	i	e/i	i	i	ĭl/e	e/i	i	?
*e	e/a/i	e/i	e/i	e	i	e	e	e	i
*el	?	i	e	i	i	?	e	?	?
*ā	a/e	e/i	i	e	ā	e/a	ā/a/e	ā/e	e/a
*āl	āl	e/i/āl	āl/i	e/i	ā	e	e	e	e/a
*ĭ	o	i	i	i	ĭ	ĭ/i	i	i	u
*il	ol	?	(i)	(i)e	?	?	i	e	?
*u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u/ĭ	u	u
*o	o	u	u	u/ĭ	ĭ	ĭ	ĭ	u/ĭ	o/u
*ol	ol/o	ul/u	ul/u	u/i	il/i	il	(i)	ĭ	u
*a	a/o	a	a	a	a	a	ā/a/e	a/e	a
*āl	āl/a	āl/ā/a	āl/a/e	a/e	ā/a	āl/a	e/a,ā	e/a	(a)

Comments

1. PL *i.

This vowel is usually well preserved in Lezghian languages, but appears to be rather unstable if it is adjacent to labialized consonants (the most frequent modification in this position is the labialization i > u, but shifts in height occur as well: e.g., a regular shift i > a after labialized back consonants in Lezghi).

2. PL *il.

The independent (i.e. not adjacent to a pharyngealized consonant) pharyngealized *il is extremely rare in PL. We know of only two roots (in both cases there is a labialized hushing consonant before *il): *ĉil: "span" and *ĉil: "blue, green". We should note that in the root "span" all the languages except Archi and Rutul (Arch. ĉim, Rut. ĉub) reflect a non-labialized variant *ĉil:, which probably appeared as a result of dissimilation with the final labial consonant.

3. PL *e.

This vowel is preserved without changes in the Lezghi, Tsakhur, Kryz and Budukh languages. In Rutul and Udi, as well as in the Fite dialect of Agul and in the Northern dialect of Tabasaran the reflex is a narrow i (other Agul dialects and the Southern dialect of Tabasaran usually preserve the wide e). In Archi the narrowing e > i, judging by the few examples available, occurs near the resonant l (cf. PL *le? "skin" > Archi ili; PL *hjel "steam, breath" > Arch. hil). On the contrary, in some cases PL *e > Arch. a (cf. *ĉeh "goat" > Arch. ĉaj; *melc: "tongue" > Arch. mac); this is possibly connected with the presence of a hissing consonant near *e. In other cases Archi, too, preserves the vowel e.

In the case of adjacent labialized consonants the vowel *e, as well as *i, can be affected by various modifications. In Archi and Tsakhur the most typical development is *e > o, and in other languages *e > u (in Kryz and Budukh, depending on the consonant environment, a secondary delabialized reflex, ĭ, may appear as well).

4. PL *el.

The positionally independent pharyngealized *el, just like *il, is very rare in PL. It is reconstructed in the roots *p:els:- "deaf" (cf. Ag. *bulrse-f*), *çell "willow" (cf. Ag. dial. *çul*) and *melrλ "deer". In the latter root pharyngealization as such is not preserved in any language, but some specific features of the vowel development (e.g., the narrow i in the Lezghi form *murg* - a reflex, typical for *e in position near uvular pharyngealized consonants) make the reconstruction of *el in this root probable.

5. PL *a.

This phoneme is best preserved in Rutul, where it always yields the reflex a. In other languages we observe various reflexes:

a) in Archi - front e near back consonants, but back a in other cases (cf. PL *lak- > Arch. *lek:i* "bone", but *λ:al > Arch. *λal* "lamb", etc.);

b) in Agul *a and *e have merged; thus, in the Fite dialect the reflex is i, while other dialects have e;

c) in Tabasaran in all dialects the normal development is *a > i. We must note that the reflexes of *a and *i are not completely indistinguishable: in the Northern dialect after the reflexes of lateral consonants, PL *a yields a wide reflex a, while *i is preserved: cf. *λ:al "lamb" > Düb. *žal*, but *λ:imç "fear" > Düb. *giçi* (the lack of affrication *λ: > ž in the second root is probably caused by dissimilation with the next hushing consonant).

d) in Lezghi, as in Agul, the reflex of *a has merged with the reflex of *e, i.e. usually in all dialects *a > e;

e) in Tsakhur the most frequent reflex of PL *a is e. The wide reflex a is observed if there was a resonant n, l or a lateral fricative (> Tsakh. x) before a, in which case the mentioned consonants become palatalized. Cf. PL *λ:al > Tsakh. *gew* "lamb", PL *s:an > Tsakh. *sen* "year", but PL *nawλ > Tsakh. *naç* "dream", PL *laça > Tsakh. *laça* "bracelet", PL *λ:an: > Tsakh. *xan* "water", etc. The Gelmet dialect has an a/e variation where Tsakhur proper and Mikik dialects have e.

f) in Kryz PL *a gives three types of reflexes: back a before r (cf. below on the specific reflexes of *a in this position); e before l, hushing consonants and consonants, going back to PL laterals (i.e. before phonetically palatal or easily palatalized consonants); and a in other cases. Cf. PL *c:ar > Kryz *zar* "cow"; PL *λ:al > Kryz *kel* "lamb"; PL *λ:an: > Kryz *xad* "water", etc.;

g) Budukh usually has the reflexes e or a; e is observed in cases when Kryz also has e (cf. Budukh *kel* "lamb" with Kryz *kel* < PL *λ:al), and a is observed when Kryz has a and a (cf. Bud. *zar* "cow" < PL *c:ar; Bud. *xad* "water" < PL *λ:an:, etc.);

h) the most frequent reflex of PL *a in Udi is e. In two cases we observe the reflex a: PL *λ:al "lamb" > Ud. *q:al*; PL *ma[rλ] "handful" > Ud. *maxla* (although the latter etymology is somewhat dubious). In both cases *a is adjacent to lateral affricates, but it is not clear whether this was the reason for a specific development of the vowel in these roots (the data is insufficient).

Being adjacent to labialized consonants, PL *a is somewhat more stable than

the higher *e and *i, but it can also be subject to various modifications (e.g., it can be labialized and develop into o or u).

6. PL *al.

Without adjacent uvular pharyngealized consonants the vowel *al is reconstructed in a very small number of roots (still it is more frequent than *il and *el): *na/λ: "milk", *ç:alɪm "butter", *λ:alɪm- "liquid", *pa/ç- "light" and possibly in a few more. Pharyngealization is preserved in Archi, Agul (in all dialects except Fite) and Tabasaran (Northern dialect) (on Tsakhur see below). In Agul and Tabasaran the preservation of pharyngealization requires the presence of a labial consonant adjacent to *al (therefore, in the root *na/λ: "milk" neither of these languages preserve pharyngealization); even if the labial is present, pharyngealization may still disappear in an unaccented syllable. In the same position pharyngealization is preserved in Tsakhur, judging by the form *xilmal-n* "liquid" - probably a reduction < *xalɪmal-n < *λ:alɪm-.

As for the qualitative development of PL *al, we must say that when pharyngealization is preserved, the reflexes of *al merge with the reflexes of *al (see below), and in case of its loss - with the reflexes of *a (see above).

7. PL *i.

This vowel is preserved in Rutul and, though somewhat worse, in Tsakhur (there *i develops into i near hissing and hushing consonants; i can be sporadically preserved in this position only in the Gelmet dialect, and in the root *siwa* "mountain" (PL *siwa) in all Tsakhur dialects; the vowel in this root behaves not quite regularly in other languages as well). In the Agul, Tabasaran, Lezghi, Kryz and Budukh languages, *i has been fronted and has developed into i (the vowel i, present in Lezghi dialects, Kryz and Budukh, has another source, see below). In Archi and Udi *i was subject to a secondary labialization (Archi. o, Udi. u).

If adjacent labialized consonants are present, the vowel *i turns out to be extremely unstable and most often develops into u (some other modifications of *i also occur in this position).

8. PL *il.

An independent pharyngealized *il may be reconstructed only in one root: PL *pilɪmp/*pilɪmp "knee, corner" (cf. the pharyngealization in Archi *polɪmp*). Though this root preserves pharyngealization only in Archi, some specific features of reflexation (e in the Akhty form *pep* while the literary Lezghi has *pip*; e in Budukh *pep*; lack of labialization *i > u in Kryz *pip* - PL *i before labial consonants is usually reflected as u in Kryz) confirm the reconstruction of a specific PL phoneme here.

9. PL *u.

This vowel is well preserved in all Lezghian languages (except near hushing consonants, where it is often fronted and delabialized). We must specially note the development of *u in Kryz and Budukh. In Kryz u is preserved only near back consonants; near hushing consonants and laryngeals, as well as after some fricatives

(lateral and uvular) *u > i; in other cases *u is reflected as i. In Budukh, reflexes of the third type are unknown (because of the lack of data), and in the first two cases, reflexes are the same as in Kryz. Cf. *qula "board" > Kryz, Bud. *qul*; *ruk: "dust, earth" > Kryz, Bud. *rug*; *çun: "flea" > Kryz., Bud. *çid*; *ruš: "girl, daughter" > Kryz. *riš*, Bud. *riž*; PL *tur > Kryz *fir* "pimple"; PL *rup: > Kryz. *rib* "needle", etc.

The pharyngealized correlate of PL *u is attested only near uvular pharyngealized consonants; therefore, an independent phoneme *ul is lacking in PL.

10. PL *o.

The original vowel *o has been preserved only in Archi (possibly also in Udi, where, however, in addition to o we observe the reflex u, and sometimes even a - there is not enough evidence to establish the distribution between these reflexes). In Tabasaran, Agul and the Northern dialects of Lezghi (as well as in literary Lezghi) PL *o has narrowed and merged with *u, so that the reflexes of *o and *u are completely identical in the mentioned languages. In Rutul and Tsakhur, as well as in the Central and Southern dialects of Lezghi, the vowel *o has been delabialized and has developed into i (however, it has completely merged with the original *i only in Rutul; in Tsakhur and Lezghi the original *i - in Tsakhur at least in some positions, and in Lezghi in all cases - has fronted and developed into i even earlier, see above). In Proto-Shakhdag (the proto-language of Kryz and Budukh) PL *o has developed into *i near back consonants, but has preserved labialization and developed into *u near front consonants. This situation is preserved in Budukh; in Kryz the further delabialization *u > i occurred adjacent to front consonants (that affected PL *u as well, see above). Thus, in Kryz PL *o is most often reflected as i (except some modifications near hushing and lateral fricatives). Cf. PL *ʎ:ola > Kryz *il* "arm", Bud. *kila* "shoulder"; PL *moʎ:or > Kryz *migir*, Bud. *jumur* "wooden ladder"; PL *ʎona > Kryz *ʎin*, Bud. *ʎun* "trough", etc.

11. PL *ol.

The independent pharyngealized *ol is reconstructed in several roots: *s:olla "fox", *polr- "saddle", *t:olt- "larynx, gullet", *s:oll "rye" (in the latter root we should probably reconstruct a variation ol~o, as well as in the root *ql:ol ~ *q:ol "wheat"). This vowel preserves pharyngealization in Tsakhur, somewhat more poorly - in Archi, Agul and Rutul, where independent pharyngealization is at present inadmissible near hissing consonants. We should note that the pharyngealized i in the Rutul form (Kh. *piłpiłr* "saddle" < PL *polr-) is the only case of preservation of independent pharyngealization in Rutul known to us. In other languages pharyngealization of *ol has not been preserved, but the reflexes of *ol are somewhat different from the reflexes of the plain *o in quality. A detailed examination of the reflexes of *ol is, unfortunately, impossible in this book.

12. PL *a.

This vowel is well preserved in all languages, and it is less subject to

positional modifications than other vowels. In particular, the vowel *a is usually well preserved adjacent to labialized consonants, where other vowels (especially *i, *e) are very unstable. We should specially note the following features of the development of PL *a:

a) in Archi, besides the usual reflex a, in some cases we observe the reflex o. The development *a > o occurs regularly in the case of metathesis in the structure *CV, cf. PL *çaj > *ça > Arch. *oç* "fire"; PL *s:a > Arch. *os* "one"; PL *ʎ:aj > *ʎ:a > Arch. *oʎ* "wool", etc. (Such metathesis in the *CV structure also occurs if other vowels are present in this structure, cf. PL *çuxj > *çux > Arch. *ux* "field", etc., but other vowels do not modify their quality in the case of metathesis). The reflex o is also present in Archi as a result of the transfer of labialization from a following lateral consonant (cf. *marʎ > Arch. *moʎ* "foam"). There are also individual cases of the correspondence "Arch. o : a in other Lezghian languages", even if the conditions mentioned above are not met (cf. PL *dagij "donkey" > Arch. *dogi*; PL *t:alk:- "(eye)lid" > Arch. *dorki*), but we do not consider it necessary to reconstruct a specific PL vowel in this case (first of all, because there are very few examples and because only Archi has a specific reflex here).

b) in the central dialects of Lezghi (e.g. in Akhty) two a-type vowels are observed: a more open a and a closed a. Both of these vowels correspond to the vowel a of other Lezghian languages. We do not exclude the possibility of a prosodic origin of this difference in Lezghi; however, this problem requires special examination.

c) in Kryz PL *a has a triple reflection: a, e and ä. The first reflex is present after all uvular consonants except q- and after the emphatic laryngeal ʕ- (cf. PL *çal > Kryz *çal* "roof, ceiling"; PL *hIamʎ "sweat" > Kryz *ʕaq*, etc.); before the uvular -b, as well as before the resonants -r, -w (in the latter case there can be a development a > o before -w), cf. PL *çabʎa > Kryz *çab* "jackdaw", PL *maq: > Kryz *maḅ* "ploughshare", PL *wiraq: > Kryz *wiraḅ* "sun", PL *t:ar > Kryz *dar* "tree", PL *c:aw > Kryz *zaw* "sky" (Al. *zow*), etc. The second reflex (e) is present after hushing consonants and j-, cf. PL *çal: "tongue, word" > Kryz *çel*; PL *ç:ar > Kryz *çer* "cream"; PL *jaʎ: "meat" > Kryz *jek*, etc. The same reflex is present in Kryz *eb* "wolf" < PL *ʕIam: (i.e. after the laryngeal ʕI-). In all other cases PL *a yields Kryz ä, cf. PL *çaj > Kryz *çä* "fire"; PL *k:aš > Kryz *gäš* "famine"; PL *ʎan > Kryz *qän* "bottom"; PL *raʎ:a > Kryz *räk* "door", etc.

d) in Budukh after hushing consonants and j- we observe the reflex e, the same as in Kryz (cf. *çel* "tongue, word", *jek* "meat", etc.). In other cases Budukh usually has the reflex a, though we may sometimes meet ä. The distribution of the two latter variants still requires some additional examination.

13. PL *al.

This is the most frequent of PL pharyngealized vowels. It preserves its pharyngealization in Archi, Agul (in the Keren and Burkikhan dialects), Tabasaran (Northern dialect) and Tsakhur. The presence of adjacent labial consonants is favourable for the preservation of the pharyngealization of *al. If this condition is missing, pharyngealization can disappear in the mentioned languages as well (we will not go into details of the disappearance or preservation of pharyngealization here). The loss of pharyngealization often leads to the fronting *al > ɛ,

and, further, $\bar{a} > e$; therefore, the reflexes of $*a$ are easy to distinguish from the reflexes of PL $*a$, even if pharyngealization is not preserved in descendant languages.

1.8.2.1. The development of vocalism in verbal roots.

In PL verbal roots the set of vowels was smaller than in nominal ones; first, there were no narrow vowels $*i$, $*u$; second, there were no independent pharyngealized vowels. Therefore, in the first syllable of PL verbal roots we only meet the vowels $*i$, $*e$, $*\bar{a}$, $*o$ and $*a$. Their reflexes generally coincide with their reflexes in nominal roots, though there are some differences. Let us relate the most important ones:

1. Since most PL verbal roots are bisyllabic, the vowel of the first syllable is often reduced or modified under the influence of the following vowel. This is most obvious in Budukh, where the system of vowels of the first syllable in verbal roots has been totally rebuilt under the influence of the vowels of the second syllable.

The only PL narrow vowel allowed in the first syllable of the verbal root, $*i$, is very often subject to reduction and may disappear completely. This process ($*i > 0$), facilitated by the fact that the initial vowel of PL verbal roots was usually preceded by a laryngeal (most often $*\bar{h}$), which in this case disappeared itself, led to a total loss of initial i in verbal roots in Archi (cf. $*i\bar{c}:ar$ - "to roast" > Arch. $\bar{c}ara-s$; $*i\bar{a}:i$ - "to give" > Arch. $\bar{a}o-s$, etc.). In Archi i is preserved only in a few roots with a medial combination of consonants (like $*i\bar{l}\bar{x}an$ "to work" > Arch. $ir\bar{x}mus$). Sporadic cases of the same development are present in Tabasaran and Agul, very rarely - in Rutul, Kryz and Budukh. The only language, in which $*i$ is never reduced, is Tsakhur.

This tendency to reduce the vowel of the first syllable has reached its maximum in the Lezghi language, where in preverbal forms all PL vowels except $*a$ are reduced. Cf. PL $*i\bar{c}:ar$ - "to roast" > Lezg. $\bar{c}:ura-z$; PL $*ec:a$ - "to pour" > Lezg. $c:a-z$; PL $*\bar{a}\bar{x}a$ - "to break" > Lezg. $\bar{x}a-z$; PL $*o\bar{l}:a$ - > Lezg. $\bar{l}":a-z$ "to shave"; but PL $*ac:a$ - > Lezg. $ac:a-z$ "to milk", PL $*a\bar{l}":i$ - > Lezg. $a\bar{l}u-z$ "to tear, to cut", etc.

2. In the PL verbal system there was a productive system of ablaut (see below). Often a certain grade of ablaut spread over the whole verbal paradigm in descendant languages. As a result of this, regular vowel correspondences in verbal roots can be violated.

There are some more specific features of the reflexation of PL vowels in verbal roots in separate Lezghian languages, but their detailed examination is impossible in this work.

1.8.2.2. Ablaut.

Many nominal and verbal roots in modern Lezghian languages reveal paradigmatic vowel alternations, not conditioned by position (ablaut). Since these alternations, as a rule, correspond to each other in different Lezghian languages, it seems possible to trace them back to Proto-Lezghian.

1.8.2.2.1. Nominal ablaut.

Vowel alternations are only observed in roots with the structure CV(R)C(V). One should probably reconstruct the following types of ablaut for PL:

1. $*a/o$.

This type of ablaut is comparatively rare. It is directly reflected in a very few Tabasaran and Agul paradigms of the type Tab. $\bar{x}al$ "house" - loc. $\bar{x}ula$, pl. $\bar{x}ular$ "house", Ag. $\bar{x}al$ - erg. $\bar{x}ula$, pl. $\bar{x}ular$ (PL $*\bar{x}al$, obl. stem $*\bar{x}ola$). In Rutul this type of ablaut gave rise to the paradigm $\bar{y}al$ "mouth" - erg. $\bar{y}ilir$ (PL $*\bar{y}al$, obl. stem $*\bar{y}o\bar{l}V$); however, in most cases the ablaut type $*a/o$ in Rutul has been mixed with the more widespread type $*\bar{a}/i$ (see below), as a result of which paradigms like $\bar{j}ak$ - erg. $\bar{j}igir$ "meat", $\bar{r}at$ - erg. $\bar{r}idir$ "threshing-floor", $\bar{r}ak$ - erg. $\bar{r}igir$ "door" appeared.

The PL ablaut $*a/o$ should apparently be reconstructed in the paradigm $*\bar{c}aj$ "fire" - obl. stem $*\bar{c}oj\bar{i}$; cf. Lezg. lit. $\bar{c}aj$ - erg. $\bar{c}u$, Khl. $\bar{c}aj$ - erg. $\bar{j}ici$ (metathesis < $*\bar{c}i\bar{j}i$); Rut. $\bar{c}aj$ - erg. $\bar{c}i-r$; Kryz $\bar{c}\bar{a}$ - erg. $\bar{c}i-r$. (The Tabasaran and Agul forms in this case reflect a contraction of the oblique stem: Tab. $\bar{c}i$ -, Ag. $\bar{c}i$ -).

Traces of $*a/o$ ablaut may be found in some adjective roots. Cf. Arch. $\bar{q}las-kes$ "to get tired", Rut. $\bar{q}las-di$ "old", Tsakh. $\bar{q}las:i-n$ "old" < PL $*\bar{q}las$ -, but Ag. $\bar{q}luse-f$, Lezg. $\bar{q}luz$, Kryz $\bar{q}usa$ "old" < PL $*\bar{q}los$ -, and some others.

The main vowel in this type of ablaut is always $*a$, replaced by $*o$ in the oblique stem; no inverse correlation has been discovered (i.e., nouns with $*o$ in the direct stem never replace it with $*a$ in the oblique one).

2. $*\bar{a}/i$.

This type of ablaut is attested in Rutul, Tsakhur and Kryz; at the present time it is no longer productive, and paradigms with this alternation reveal a strong tendency towards unification. In other languages traces of this ablaut seem to have been lost (the Agul (Koshar) paradigms of the type $\bar{n}e\bar{s}$ "nit" - obl. stem $\bar{n}itani$, pl. $\bar{n}it-ar$ can be explained by the narrowing of $e > i$ in a preaccented syllable; see above on the development of $\bar{a}$ in Agul).

For Rutul, Tsakhur and Kryz cf. the following cases of $*\bar{a}/i$:

PL $*\bar{h}\bar{a}m\bar{c}$ "apple", obl. stem $*\bar{h}im\bar{c}a$; Rut. $\bar{a}\bar{c}$, erg. $\bar{i}\bar{c}-ir$.

PL $*\bar{a}\bar{l}$ "lamb", obl. stem $*\bar{a}ila$; Rut. $\bar{g}\bar{a}\bar{l}$, erg. $\bar{g}il-ir-ir$; Kryz $\bar{k}el$, erg.

$\bar{k}ili-3$.

PL $*\bar{q}\bar{a}\bar{l}$ "salt", obl. stem $*\bar{q}ila$; Rut. $\bar{q}:\bar{a}\bar{l}$, erg. $\bar{q}il-ir$; Kryz $\bar{q}el$, erg. $\bar{q}il\bar{i}\bar{3}$.

PL $*\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{q}\bar{l}$ "road", obl. stem $*\bar{r}i\bar{q}\bar{l}i$; Rut. $\bar{r}a\bar{q}\bar{l}$, erg. $\bar{r}i\bar{q}\bar{l}-ir$ (the backward shift of pharyngealized $\bar{a}\bar{l}$, $\bar{i}\bar{l}$ is regular in Rutul); Tsakhur dialectal paradigms with different directions of unification also indirectly reflect ablaut - cf. Tsakh., Mik. $\bar{j}a\bar{q}\bar{l}$, obl. stem $\bar{j}a\bar{q}\bar{l}i$ - vs. Gelm. $\bar{j}i\bar{q}\bar{l}$, $\bar{j}i\bar{q}\bar{l}a$.

PL $*\bar{c}:\bar{a}\bar{r}$ "cow", obl. stem $*\bar{c}ira$; Rut. $\bar{z}\bar{a}\bar{r}$, erg. $\bar{z}ir-ir$; Kryz $\bar{z}ar$, erg. $\bar{z}iri\bar{3}$ (apparently an adequation of vocalism < $*\bar{z}iri\bar{3}$, or else a transition into the

ablaut type $*a/o$ as a result of the development $*ā > a$ in the direct stem).

PL $*λ:ām-$ "nail", obl. stem $*λ:im-$: Rut. $xāb$, erg. $xibilir$ (a rather obscure development in Tsakh. Mik. $xiwna$, Germ. $xibina$).

PL $*λ:ān-$ "water", obl. stem $*λ:in-$: Rut. $xād$, erg. $xijir$; Tsakh. Mik., Germ. $šan$, obl. stem $xine-$, Germ. $šan$, obl. stem $xini-$; Kryz. $xād$, erg. $xižiz$. The uniform presence of the vowel i in oblique stems of Tabasaran (Düb. $šut-$, Kand. $šit-u-$ < $*šidu-$), Agul (Rich. $xit-a-$, Bursh. $š:iri-$, Fite $xit-i-$) and Lezghi (Khl. $jic:i$, lit. $c:i$ < $*jic:i$) should be most probably considered a reflection of the same ancient ablaut.

PL $*nāIλ-$ "milk", obl. stem $*niIλ-$: Tsakh. Mik. $ñak$, obl. stem $nik-ne-$.

PL $*nāq-$ "chaff": Tsakh. Mik. $ñaq$, obl. stem $ñuq-ne-$ (< $*niq-ne-$).

PL $*nāwλ$ "dream", obl. stem $*niwλ[a]-$: Tsakh. $ñak$, obl. stem $niķi-$.

PL $*mā[rλ]$ "handful", obl. stem $*mi[rλ]-$: Kryz mek , erg. $mikiž$.

PL $*χ:āl$ "burden", obl. stem $*χ:il-$: Kryz $χel$, erg. $χiliž$.

It is not to be excluded that the ablaut $*ā/i$ can explain some cases in Agul and Tabasaran when, in the place of PL $*ā$, we find reflexes of $*i$. Cf. PL $*λ:āl$ "track" > Ag. Rich., Burk. xil (instead of $*xel$), Bursh. $š:il$ (instead of $*š:el$), Tab. Khūr. $š:il$ (instead of $*š:al$) - cf. regular forms - Lezg. gel , Rut. $xāl$. Cf. also the Kryz doublet xel "track" - xil "furrow", apparently representing the "split" of a single old paradigm "dir. stem $*λ:āl$ - obl. stem $*λ:il-a-$ "; apparently, the Agul and Tabasaran forms, given above, are explained by an adequation to this oblique stem. A similar adequation probably explains Ag. Tp. $χil$ "wing" (instead of $*χilal$ < PL $*χāl$, cf. Tab. $χil$ "sleeve", Lezg. $χel$ "branch; sleeve"; Kryz $χel-xāž$ "sleeve"); Ag. Rich. $nirX$ "spelt" (instead of $*nerX$ < PL $*nārχI-$, cf. Lezg. $neχ$, Rut. $naχI$, Tab. $nurχI$), and some other cases.

3. Other types of ablaut.

In Archi and Kryz a small number of nominal roots reveal vowel alternations that cannot be traced back either to $*a/o$ or to $*ā/i$. We mean the Archi ablaut a/e in cases like naq "earth" - erg. $neq-i$ (PL $*nāq$; the form $neq-i$ cannot go back to the PL oblique stem $*niq-$, on which, see above) and the Kryz ablaut e/i in cases like mez "tongue" - obl. stem $miz-$ (PL $*melc-$; other languages do not point to the existence of an ablaut type $*e/i$).

Both of these phenomena are probably local innovations. The alternation a/e in the place of PL $*ā$ in Archi should perhaps be explained by an old positional development $*ā > e$ before front vowels of the next syllable. (Thus it turns out that nominal Archi roots do not reflect any PL ablaut at all; all Archi paradigms are adequated to the direct stem). The Kryz ablaut e/i in the place of PL $*e$ has probably appeared by analogy with e/i < PL $*ā/i$ already after the merger (in some positions, see above) of the reflexes of PL $*e$ and $*ā$. In any case, by now we do not possess any data that could serve as an argument for the archaism of the Archi and Kryz evidence.

1.8.2.2.2. Verbal ablaut.

In verbal roots, as well as in nominal ones, some Lezghian languages reveal

vowel alternations (ablaut) in the 2nd position. We can reconstruct two main types of ablaut:

1. $*i/*ā/*i$.

This type of ablaut is reflected in Archi, Rutul, Tsakhur and Kryz. Cf. in Archi (where $*i > 0-$, see above):

$kar-as$ "to lead, to accompany" - dur. $orkir$, term. oka ($*i/*i$)

$χ:e-s$ "to carry" - dur. $orχ:ir$, term. $oχ:a$ ($*i/*i$)

$qle-s$ "to go" - dur. $orqlir$, term. $oqla$ - $herqla-s$ "to walk" ($*i/*i/*ā$) (cf. also qla - term. from $alis$ "to come")

$λo-s$ "to give" - $oλa-s$ "to sell" ($*i/*i$)

$λummus$ "to pull" - $oλmus$ "to (be) pull(ed) out" ($*i/*i$)

$qa atis$ "to seat smbd." - $oqi-s$ "to mount (a horse)" - $eqi-s$ "to be, to exist" ($*i$ "to sit", cf. also $qelqi-s$ "to sit" < $*qal eqi-s$) ($*i/*i/*ā$)

$šel-s$ "to start running" - $helrsals$ "to run" ($*i/*ā$)

$çu-bus$ "to enter" - $aça-s$ "to hide" ($*i/*ā$)

In Rutul:

$k-uç-a-s$ "to begin" ($*iç-a-s$) / $k-äç-a-s$ "to begin; to enter" ($*äç-a-s$) - cf. the Archi pair $çu-bus/aça-s$ ($*i/*ā$)

$h-iqa-s$ "to be ripe" - $l-ä-j-qa-s$ "to mature" ($*i/*ā$)

$jiqe-s$ "to die" - term. sg. $jiqi-r$, but pl. $l-irqi-r$ ($*i/*i$)

$s-uq-a-s$ / $s-iq-a-s$ "to sit" - a parallel plural form $s-ilqla-s$ (vs the more common $s-ulq-e-s$) ($*i/*i$)

In Tsakhur many verbs with the root vowel i reveal the alternation i/e (i in the terminative stem, e in the durative stem), developed from PL $*i/*ā$. Cf. $?iç-es$ "to enter" - dur. $?eçe$; $al-iš-es$ "to buy" - dur. $il-eš-e$; $q-ik-as$ "to die" - dur. $q-ek-a$; $h-iχ-as$ "to run away" - dur. $h-eχ-a$; $al-ik-as$ "to make smbd. do smth." - dur. $il-ek-a$, etc. Traces of the grade $*i$ in Tsakhur verbal paradigms are hard to discover (cf., however, the paradigm: $ixe-s$ "to become, to be born" - dur. exe - term. ixa).

In Kryz many verbs with PL root $*i$ replace it with $ā$ (<PL $*ā$) in the imperative. Cf. $xij-iž$ "to be" - imp. $s-äx$; $qä-j-iž$ "to die" - imp. $s-äq$; $kur-iž$ "to stab" - imp. $s-äkir$; $žir-iž$ "to roast" - imp. $s-äžir$, etc. Traces of the grade $*i$ in Kryz are hard to discover because of the merger of the reflexes of PL $*i$ and $*i$ (see above).

All this evidence allows us to suppose that in the paradigms of verbs with the root vowel $*i$ in PL, the vowel $*i$ characterized the infinitive and terminative stems, while the vowel $*ā$ characterized the durative stem.

This situation is well preserved in Tsakhur. In Archi this semantic opposition is seen in "split" paradigms, cf. $šel-s$ "to start running" - $helrsal-s$ "to run" (cf. also the terminative form of $šel-s$ - $šal$); $qle-s$ "to go" - $herqla-s$ "to walk" - qla "has come" (at present qla is already part of another, suppletive paradigm of the verb $alis$ "to come").

The meaning of forms with the grade $*i$ is harder to determine. We should probably start from Rutul evidence, where in a few cases the forms with i are used in the plural (both in durative and in terminative). In Archi this usage is lost, and

forms with *o* (< PL **i*) have either supplanted other forms of the durative and terminative (cf. the terminative *oqla* from *qle-s*, probably with an old plural meaning, while the normal terminative *qla* moved into another paradigm) or formed separate paradigms with various modified meanings (cf. *λo-s* - *oλa-s*, *λummus* - *oλmus*, *qa atis* - *oqis*).

The use of the grade **a* in imperative forms in Kryz is somewhat strange (the imperative is usually formed from the terminative stem); however, we may suppose that the PL imperative was not strictly tied to any particular aspect, but could be formed from the durative as well as from the terminative (with a later redistribution: the imperative began to be formed only from the terminative stem, and the prohibitive - only from the durative stem).

Though the ablaut **i*/**a*/**i* is no longer productive in any language, its traces may be discovered in many verbal roots; the generalization of one of the grades of this ablaut often leads either to the split of verbal paradigms or to the violation of regular correspondences.

Let us stress once more that **i* could not occur as an independent vowel in the 2nd position in the PL verb. It is encountered in this position only as a grade of the ablaut **i*/**i*. On the contrary, verbs with the independent root vowel **a* are rather numerous.

2. **a*/**i*.

This type of ablaut is at present productive only in the Northern dialect of the Tabasaran language, where the grade *a* characterizes the infinitive and the terminative stems, and the grade *i* - the durative stem. Cf. Düb. *a-w-q-us* "to fall" - dur. *i-w-q-ur-*, *ald-a-w-t-us* "to cut down" - dur. *ild-i-w-t-ur-*, etc. The same type of ablaut probably explains the Tsakhur *a/i* alternation in verbs of the -*r*-, -*l*- and -*n*- conjugations, such as *s-aḱal-es* "to return" - dur. *s-iḱal*, etc. (though this Tsakhur type also includes verbs with other PL vowels as a result of rather complicated modifications and unifications of paradigms).

In the past this type of ablaut was probably more productive. Cf. Arch. *aḱ:ar* "to be ill" (durative form; other forms are not preserved in Archi) and the Rut. derived *jad:al* "illness, pain", pointing to the existence of a PL form of the root **aḱ:a-*, vs. the Tab. durative *ic:ru xuz* "to be ill" and the forms of other languages, pointing to the vowel **i*: Ag. *it:ar xas* "to be ill", Lezg. *ḱa-z* "to ail", Kryz *tit-aḱ* "to nag". It is evident that for this (and some other similar cases) we must suppose a PL paradigm: term. **aḱ:a-*, dur. **iḱ:a-*, unified afterwards in individual languages in one of the two directions. Cf. also the following cases:

PL **asa(n)*: Arch. *asa-s* "to put on"; Tab. Düb. *a-w-s-us* "to smear", *k-a-w-s-us* "to stick" (dur. *i-w-s-ur-*, *k-i-w-s-ur-*); Lezg. *hal-s-iz* "to put on with some effort"; Tsakh. *g-aḱsan-as* "to close (not the door)"; Kryz *q:-isn-iḱ* (with generalization of *i*) "to dress oneself".

PL **arq:a* "to see, to look": Tab. Düb. *a-w-ql:-us* (dur. *i-w-ql:-ur-*) "to see"; Ag. Bursh. *raq:l:a-s*; Rut. *g-aq:a-s* "to observe, to look"; Ud. *boḱIa-esun* "to be found"; in Kryz - split into two paradigms: *w-aq-uḱ* "to find; to graze, to guard", but *i-r-q-aḱ* "to see" (= Bud. *irql* "to see").

3. Other types of ablaut.

There seem to be some reasons for reconstructing a third type of PL ablaut, that is, **a*/**i* (i.e., inverse to the type **i*/**a*, see above). Traces of this ablaut are found in Kryz, cf. the following two verbs: *jāh-aḱ* "to skin" - dur. *jih-ri* (? cf. Tab. *a-r-χI-uz* "to pick", Ag. Bursh. *arḱa-s* "to shear", Rut. *a-j-χI-as* "to pick" - probably < PL *(*j*)*arχIa*); *c-aḱ-aḱ* "to throw", *q:-aḱ-aḱ* "to pursue" - dur. *c-iḱ-ri*, *q:-iḱ-ri* (PL **lāhi*). Cf. also PL **āc:a* "to sow, to plough" > Kryz *j-iz-aḱ*; the vowel -*i* here can point to the unification of an earlier **a*/**i* alternation. However, outside Kryz we could not find any secure traces of the ablaut **a*/**i*.

The PL vowels **e*, **o* were apparently never part of any ablaut gradations.

1.8.2.3. Final vocalism.

1.8.2.3.1. Auslaut in nominal roots.

The reconstruction of the nominal auslaut in PL is rather complicated and closely connected with morphological problems. In all modern Lezghian languages the most nominal roots in the direct stem (nominative stem) end with a consonant. The only exception is the Dübek subdialect of Tabasaran, in which many nominal roots end with a vowel. This is a result of the secondary addition of final vowels after historically tense consonants. In these cases the final vowel always imitates the preceding root vowel.

A comparatively small number of roots with vocalic endings in individual languages (cf. Arch. *dogi*, Tab. *daḱi*, Ag. *degi* "donkey"; Arch. *maλ:i* "winter pasture", Ag. Tsirkh. *max:i*, Rut. Ikhr. *mexi* "stable", etc.) are explained by the loss of the final -*j* (cf. its restoration before endings beginning with a vowel: Tab. *daḱi* "donkey" - erg. *daḱiji*, etc.).

In certain cases some languages have a vocalic auslaut, others have a consonantal one. Cf. Lezg. *nisi*, Rut. *nisā*, Tsakh. *nis:e*, Kryz *nisi*, Bud. *nusu* "cheese" vs. Tab., Ag. *nis*. These cases should probably be explained by a **-j* / **-0* variation in PL (*j*-forms for this root are found in Tsakh. Gelim. *nis:ej*, as well as in the oblique stems: Tsakh. *nis:ej-i*, Rut. *nisiji-*). For the root **maλ:ij*, given above, cf. also the form of Ag. Bursh. *max:* "stable" without the final -*j*. Such cases are rather few, and they do not form any obvious system. We may only suppose the existence of a PL suffix -*j* (the meaning of which is at present hard to determine), optionally added to some nominal roots.

If we discard such cases, some phenomena that require interpretation still remain. Namely:

- 1) Tsakhur has a large number of nominal roots, ending with -*a* (more rarely -*e*, -*ā*). In other languages these roots regularly have a consonantal auslaut.
- 2) Many languages insert vowels between the last consonant of the nominal root and the case/number suffix. The quality of these vowels is often impossible to

predict. This situation is characteristic for Agul, Tabassaran, Rutul, Tsakhur, and, to some extent, also in Archi. Thus, the problem of reconstructing the PL oblique base arises (we certainly do not regard here cases, in which the oblique base is formed in another way - by adding suffixes such as *-t:e-, *-ra-, etc., to the direct base).

The last vowel of the oblique stem of the noun is interpreted in modern languages as a connecting element between the root and the suffix and is therefore subject to various analogical and phonetic modifications. In Archi, Kryz, Budukh and Udi these processes were so active that all vocalic distinctions in this position became neutralized (Archi has preserved only a few archaic oblique stems, while in most cases the last vowel of the oblique stem is automatically predicted by the root vowel). In Agul, Tabassaran, Lezghi, Rutul and Tsakhur the end of the oblique stem is also subject to rather significant modifications; generally these modifications are caused either by phonological factors (the influence of root vowels), or by morphological factors (analogy, leading to statistical prevalence of a certain vocalic end and resulting in the elimination of other types of oblique stems). Still, after discarding evident innovations, there is a significant number of archaic vocalic oblique stems left in these languages, and they can serve as a basis for reconstructing the PL system.

For PL we reconstruct four types of nominal oblique stems, which apparently should be interpreted as, respectively, *e, *ā, *i and *a-stems. The correspondences are as follows:

PL	Lezg	Rut	Tsakh	Tab	Ag
*e	-i/-u	-i/-i	-e/-a	-i/-a	-i/-u
*ā	-e/-a	-ā/-a	-ā(-e)/-a	-i/-u	-i/-a
*i	-i/-u	-i/-i/-u	-i/-i	-i/-u	-i/-u/-a
*a	-e/-a	-ā/-a; -i/-i	-e/-a	-a	-a

Comments.

1. In Lezghi there are two basic types of oblique stems: roots with front vowels can form the oblique base in -i or -e, and roots with back vowels - in -u or -a. (There are also stems ending in -ū, but they are only formed from roots with the vowel -ū- or from roots with -e- followed by a labialized consonant: cf. *bur* - *bara* "flour", *nex* - *nexū* "spelt", etc. No other vocalic stems can be formed from roots like this; therefore, stems ending with -ū are irrelevant for comparison). Thus, in Lezghi stems in -u and -a are back correlates of front stems ending in -i and -e, respectively.

As we see from the table, the Lezghi -i/-u-stems have developed from PL stems in *e and *i (in both cases the back -u, which is represented in central dialects as -i, must be considered secondary, having developed under the influence of the back root vowel); the Lezghi -e/-a-stems have developed from PL stems in *ā and *a. Probably, at first *ā > -e and *a > -a, and only afterwards synharmonic variants appeared: -e changed to -a after a back root vowel, and -ā changed to -e after a front root vowel.

2. Rutul also has two main types of oblique stems: stems ending in -i/-i/-u and stems in -a/-ā. The distribution of variants inside each of these two types is generally similar to Lezghi, i.e. the choice of front or back vowels usually depends on the character of the root vowel. However, unlike Lezghi, this distribution is somewhat complicated by the fact that the vowel of the oblique stem interacts with the root vowel in a different way, depending on its accent. In addition, the palatality of the final consonant of the root plays a part as well. A detailed examination of the Rutul distribution is, unfortunately, impossible here. It is also important to mention that stems with root ablaut (on which see above) can end only with -i or -i (usually -i if the accent stays on the root, and -i if the accent is shifted) and are therefore irrelevant for external comparison.

Rutul stems in -i/-i/-u, as we see from the table, have developed from PL stems in *e and *i - a development very similar to the one described above for Lezghi. Stems in *ā and in *a are reflected in Rutul as -a/-ā-stems - also similarly to Lezghi. We must, however, say that *a-bases yield this reflex only when the accent shifts to the last vowel of the oblique stem; if the accent is preserved on the root, PL *a-stems are reflected as -i/-i-stems in Rutul. Cf. PL *q'ila- "cliff, rock" > Rut. *qulā*-, but *p:alla- "forehead" > Rut. *bāli*-, etc.

3. Among Tsakhur dialects the most archaic situation is represented in the Gelmet dialect, the data of which we will utilize here (the Tsakhur proper and Mikik dialects reveal substantial innovations). Here there are two main types of oblique stems: in -i/-i and in -e/-a. Unlike Lezghi and Rutul, the front and back variants in Tsakhur are generally distributed depending not on the root vowel, but on the final root consonant (as a rule, with palatal final consonants and -n we observe stems ending with -i and -e, and with non-palatal final consonants - stems with -i and -a, respectively). The Tsakhur -i/-i-stems have developed from PL stems in *i, and the Tsakhur -e/-a-stems - from PL stems in *e and *a. Thus, PL *e > Tsakh. -e with a secondary variant -a after non-palatal consonants; PL *i > Tsakh. -i with a secondary variant -i after palatal consonants; PL *a > Tsakh. -a with a secondary variant -e after palatal consonants. We must also note that if the root contains labialized vowels, the final -i and -a in Tsakhur may change to labialized -u and -o, respectively.

PL *ā-stems have a specific reflex in Tsakhur. Here the vowel is preserved not only in the oblique stem, but in the direct stem as well. One has therefore to suppose that PL here had a final vowel in the direct stem as well, and that this vowel was preserved in Tsakhur, but lost in all other Lezghian languages. In Tsakhur this vowel is usually reflected as -a (the variant -ā appears after hushing consonants and -j- < *r-). The fact that PL *r- changed to -j- here, except after a back -u- (cf. *ql:ora "hare" > Gelm. *blījā*, *c'era "urine" > Gelm. *zojā*, etc.) tells us that this vowel was pronounced as *ā after -r- and hushing consonants already in Proto-Tsakhur. In other cases, however, the vowel *a was pronounced (cf., e.g., the development -l- > -w- in this position: *s:olla > Tsakh. *silwa* "fox", etc., as well as the preservation of -r- after a back vowel -u-: *sura* "part", *čura* "belt (ornament)" etc. The data of other languages (cf. the front reflex -i in Agul and Tabassaran, as opposed to the single back reflex -a of the PL *a-stems) obviously favours the reconstruction of *ā in the oblique stem. Nouns belonging to

this type in PL probably had a final *-a in the direct stem, replaced by *-ä in the oblique one. This reconstruction seems to give a satisfactory explanation to all presented facts.

4. In Tabasaran and Agul the back and front reflexes are, as a rule, complementarily distributed, depending on the root vowel (more seldom this distribution is influenced by the final consonant of the root). A detailed description of inner Agul and Tabasaran distributions would take us too far (it is sufficient to say that virtually every dialect of Agul and Tabasaran has its own rules of distribution, often seriously differing from other dialects). In Agul and Tabasaran the process of the analogical modification of oblique stems was more active than in other Lezghian languages, and is still active even now (in both languages -a-stems are apparently becoming more and more productive, while other types of oblique stems are gradually being eliminated). The procedure of detecting archaic oblique stems in Agul and Tabasaran requires a detailed description, which we are not able to give in the present book.

1.8.2.3.2. Auslaut of adjective and numeral roots.

Adjectives (in other terminology - stative verbs) reveal relevant vocalic distinctions in auslaut in Archi (-0-stems vs. -a-stems), in the Southern dialect of Tabasaran (-u-stems and -i-stems) and in Tsakhur (-i/-i/-u-stems, with a phonetic distribution of the three variants, vs. -a-stems). In other languages the auslaut of adjectives has been completely or almost completely morphologized and reduced to some single vowel, at present interpreted as an adjective marker.

Among Archi, Tabasaran and Tsakhur we observe the following correspondences, that allow us to reconstruct two types of auslaut of adjective roots (*-ä and *-i) for PL:

PL	Arch	Tab	Tsakh
*-ä	-a	-i	-a
*-i	-0	-u	-i/-i/-u

In bisyllabic numerals an *-ä-stem is reconstructed for the numeral *menl:ä- "eight" (cf. Arch. *mele*, Tab. *mirzi-b*; Tsakhur has *moli-lle* instead of **mole-lle*, due to the influence of other numerals). In the numerals "three", "four", "six", "seven", "nine", "ten" we reconstruct an *-i-stem (**lep-i*, **jewqi*, **riki*, **uirki*, **uic-i*, cf. Arch. *leb*, *ebq*, *dil*, *wil*, *uq*, *wic*; Tab. *subu-b*, *juqu-b*, *jirxu-b*, *urgu-b*, *urcu-b*, *jiçu-b*; Tsakh. *xibi-lle*, *joqu-lle*, *jixi-lle*, *jigi-lle*, *jiçu-lle*, *jiçi-lle*).

We must note that, although adjective auslaut has been unified in all languages except Archi, Tabasaran and Tsakhur, numerals proved to be more conservative. The distinction between -i and -ä-stems is here also preserved in Agul (cf. *xibu-d* 3, *jaqu-d* 4, *jarçu-d* 9, *icu-d* 10, but *maja-d* 8) and in Rutul (cf. *xibi-d* 3, *juqu-d* 4, *rixu-d* 6, *jiwi-d* 7, *huçu-d* 9, *jiçi-d* 10, but *mije-d* 8).

In monosyllabic roots *s:a 1, *q:l:a 2, *λ:e 5, *q:a 20 vowels behave as usual. The numeral *wal:s: "hundred" behaves as a noun; its oblique stem is unknown

(judging by the Tsakhur (Gelm.) genitive *wal:s:n* it is either an *-a- or an *-e-stem).

1.8.2.3.3. Auslaut of verbal roots.

The distinctions of final vowels in verbal roots are completely neutralized in Tabasaran, most dialects of Agul (except Koshan), Tsakhur, Kryz and Udi. Let us describe the distinctions attested in other languages.

1. Archi.

Here in bisyllabic verbal roots the following types of auslaut exist:

- a in infinitive, -a in durative. Cf. *aca-s* "to milk", dur. *aca-r*.
- a in infinitive, -u in durative. Cf. *aka-s* "to pursue", dur. *arku-r*.
- i in infinitive and in durative. Cf. *ati-s* "to let", dur. *arti-r*.

A very rare type with the vowel -u in both the infinitive and the durative (*ak:u-s* "to see", dur. *ak:u-r*) is probably a variant of the last type, where -u < *-i as a result of the transfer of labialization from the root consonant (*ak:u-s* < **ak'i-s*).

In bisyllabic roots of the -n-conjugation vowel distinctions are neutralized (the vowel is reduced in the infinitive before the suffix *-bos, while the durative stem always has an -i, cf. *asmus* "to measure" < **as(i)n-bos*, dur. *arsin-*, term. *asn-i* < **asn-t:e*, etc.).

Monosyllabic verbal roots (going back to PL roots with *-i) have three types of auslaut as well: in -a (*ca-s* "to praise"), in -o (*lo-s* "to give") and in -e (*χ:e-s* "to carry away"). Two verbal roots have a unique final -i: *ki-s* "to die", *χ'i-s* "to die out" (but in the durative: *ka-r*, *χ'a-l*).

In monosyllabic roots of the -r and -n-conjugations, vowel distinctions are neutralized: before the resonant in a non-reduplicated durative form such roots have -a- (with secondary positional modifications, cf. *čar-as* "to roast", dur. *čar*, term. *čere* < **čar-t:e*; *lummus* "to pull" < **lan-bos*, dur. *lan*, term. *lenne* < **lan-t:e*); in a reduplicated durative form they have -e- (*χ:ummu-s* "to weave" < **χ'an-bos*, dur. *χ:emχ:in*).

2. Agul (Koshan dialect, Burshag village).

Here verbal roots of the resonantless conjugation distinguish between two basic vocalic types of auslaut: in -a (*ruχa-s* "to be born", *aq:a-s* "to take", *ʔas:a-s* "to cry", etc.) and in -i (*ur'i-s* "to freeze", *argi-s* "to return", *afi-s* "to dig", etc.). While comparing Agul with other languages one has to consider the following distribution: in Agul all verbs with roots ending in hissing consonants (except a few roots with a back rounded vowel) belong to the -i-conjugation. Cf. *iči-s* "to melt", *at:azi-s* "to be spilt", *awa-j-s:i-s* "to catch", *q-azi-s* "to push", *açi-s* "to (be) fill(ed)", *k:üt-ist-s* "to be silent", *ici-s* "to roast grain", etc. (but with the vowel -u: *ʔa-w-za-s* "to get up", *aʔ-za-s* "to stand" (**ab-uza-s*, cf. Fite *ab-uzas*), *uza-s* "to plough", *uca-s* "to mow").

In verbs of the -n-conjugation in Agul, as in Archi, vocalic distinctions of

final vowels are neutralized (all such roots end in -an, cf. *dalqan-as* "to rock", *iljan-as* "to bind", *tišan-as* "to rub", *ʔulč:an-as* "to wash", etc.).

3. Lezghi.

In Lezghi, except the so-called "regular" type of conjugation (that contains historical compounds of verbal nouns and inflected forms of the verb *iji-z* "to do, to make"), the following types of auslaut occur:

a) -a in the infinitive, -a in the past tense (cf. *g-ata-z*, *g-ata-na* "to beat"; *čux-a-z*, *čux-a-na* "to scratch"). A variant of this type is the type with -e: *reb-e-z*, *reb-e-na* "to grind", etc. (the fronting of the vowel happens in the case of PL pharyngealization, as well as near labialized hushing consonants, which yield either velar or hissing reflexes in dialects);

b) -u in the infinitive, -a in the past tense (cf. *aŭu-z*, *aŭa-na* "to cut", *gu-z*, *ga-na* "to give", etc.). The fronted correlate of this type is the type -ü/-e (cf. *χa-z*, *χe-na* "to take care of", etc.);

c) -i in the infinitive, -a in the past tense (cf. *g-aŭi-z*, *g-aŭa-na* "to rot", *eki-z*, *aka-na* "to get stuck", etc.). The fronted correlate of this type is the type -i/-e (cf. *w-ehi-z*, *w-ehe-na* "to throw"; *fi-z*, *fe-na* "to go", *k-xi-z*, *k-xe-na* "to write", etc.), though in this case the phonetical causes of the split of these two subtypes are less evident. Still, the distinction between -a and -e in the past tense base hardly reflects any PL differences in this case;

d) -a in the infinitive, -u in the past tense (cf. *ta-z*, *tu-na* "to leave"; *ak-a-z*, *ak-u-na* "to see", etc.). The fronted correlate of this type is unknown to us.

In addition to the above-mentioned types there is a single verb with a stem ending in -u both in the infinitive and in the past tense: *q-ač-u-z*, *q-ač-u-na* "to take, to buy" (and the derived verbs - *q-aχ-č-u-z*, *waχ-č-u-z* "to take away").

In the Lezghi masdar nearly all distinctions of final vowels are neutralized. It usually ends in -un in verbs of the types -a/-a, -u/-a, -i/-a, -a/-u. Only a small number of verbs of the fronted types -i/-e, -e/-e have a masdar ending in -in (*k-xin* "to write", *fin* "to go" and some others).

4. Rutul.

Here verbal roots have three types of auslaut:

a) -a in the stem of the present tense and the infinitive (sg. and pl.), -i in the stem of the past tense (sg. and pl.). Cf. *h-ača-s* "to know", dur. *h-ača-r*, term. *h-ačt-r*. If the root consonant is labialized, there is -u instead of -i (cf. *h-arc-a-s*, term. *h-arcu-r* "to measure" etc.).

b) -e in the stem of the present tense (sg. and pl.) and the infinitive, -i in the stem of the past tense (sg. and pl.). Cf. *j-iχe-s* "to carry", dur. *j-iχe-r*, term. *j-iχt-r*.

c) -a in the stem of the present tense singular, but -e in the stem of the present tense plural, and, respectively, -i (-u in case of labialization) in the stem of the past tense singular, but -i in the stem of the past tense plural. Cf. *s-ata-s* "to leave", dur. sg. *s-a-l-ta-r*, but pl. *s-a-l-te-r*; term. sg. *s-a-l-ti-r*, but pl. *s-a-l-ti-r*.

However, after closer examination it appears that the two latter types are complementarily distributed: type b) is observed, if the root has a front first vowel, and type c) - if the root has a back vowel (a, u). Besides, all verbal roots ending with a hushing consonant can only belong to the type b), not a) or c). Thus, Rutul actually has two types of verbal auslaut:

1) -a/-i (independent from the first root vowel);

2) -e/-i, realized in this way only if the root has a first front vowel; otherwise the auslaut -e/-i is preserved in plural forms, but coincides with the type -a/-i in singular forms.

The comparison of auslaut vowels in verbal roots of individual Lezghian languages allows us to reconstruct four types of PL vowels in the last position. They should apparently be interpreted as *e, *ā, *i and *a (see above, page 170, on the similar four types of nominal oblique stems).

1. Stems in *e.

The correspondences here appear as follows:

Arch	Ag	Lezg	Rut
-e/-i	-i	-i	-e

Archi has -e in monosyllabic roots (going back to PL roots with initial *i-), but -i in bisyllabic ones. The phonetic reasons for this distribution are evident: the vowel -e has been narrowed (*e > i) in a postaccented syllable (most bisyllabic verbal roots in Archi are accented on the first syllable, and in the postaccented position the wide vowels e, o are not observed in Archi, except rare cases when they occur in contracted forms or loanwords). In one case Archi has -i in a monosyllabic root (*ki-s* "to die", see below). The reasons for this are unclear (it is not to be excluded that in this root we should reconstruct a unique PL final *i, but Archi evidence alone is not sufficient for such a solution). A second Archi verb in -i, *χ-i-s* "to die out", unfortunately, has no parallels in the Agul, Lezghi or Rutul languages.

2. Stems in *ā.

This type of stems yields the following correspondences in descendant languages:

Arch	Ag	Lezg	Rut
-i	-a	inf. -a, past -u	-e

In monosyllabic Archi roots we would also expect a reflex -e (as in the first type), but actually in the single case available we have -a (*χ-a-s*, see below). The reconstruction *ā is dictated, first, by the front character of Archi and Rutul reflexes, second - by the reflex -a- in Lezghi and Agul. The Lezghi past tense in -u in this type (-i in the Akhty dialect), must probably be explained by old ablaut (missing in stems ending with -a). This ablaut, however, is reflected only in Lezghi.

In two cases Archi has an -a-stem instead of the expected -i-stem: PL **aq̣:ā* > Arch. *aq̣:a-s* (dur. -a-r) "to leave"; PL **a-χār-* "to lie, to sleep" > Arch. *aχa-s* (dur. -a-r). The reasons for this irregularity are unclear.

3. Stems in *-i.

These stems reveal the following correspondences:

Archi	Ag	Lezg	Rut
inf. -a/-o, dur. -u/-o	-i	-i/-u	-a

Archi has the reflex -o in monosyllabic roots (PL roots beginning in *-i) and reflexes -a/-u - in bisyllabic ones. It is evident that in the postaccented syllable a narrowing occurred, normal for Archi: (PL *-i) > Arch. -o > -u. In the infinitive stem, the final vowel was apparently changed to -a- by analogy with the more widespread -a-stems. It is interesting that even the original labialization of root consonants regularly disappears in this type, which confirms the fact that the unification of infinitive stems occurred later in Archi than the development *C*i* > *C*o* > *C*u* in the postaccented syllable.

In Lezghi the reflex -u is observed if the root consonant was originally labialized, the reflex -i - without such labialization. While explaining the reflex -a in Rutul, we should keep in mind that -i-stems are absent in modern Rutul; the a-conjugation is mixed, forms with -a being typical for the present tense, forms with -i - for the past tense. It is evident that old *-i and *-a-stems in Rutul underwent a secondary redistribution, having merged in a single conjugation type, including both forms in -i and forms in -a.

The normal reflex of *-i in Agul is -i. However, in some roots with a labialized root consonant we observe an irregular reflex -a (but these roots are very few, compared to the number of roots with the regular reflex -i).

4. Stems in *-a.

This type of stems is the most common in PL. Here we see the following correspondences:

Archi	Ag	Lezg	Rut
inf. -a, dur. -a/-u	-a	-a	-a

In Archi, labialization of root consonants in this type is preserved only in monosyllabic roots (that have lost PL *-i). In bisyllabic roots labialization is lost, but is preserved as the vowel -u in the durative (nonlabialized roots have -a in the durative stem). Therefore, roots ending in *-a with a labialized root consonant in Archi are reflected in the same way as roots ending with *-i (see above).

Other languages usually preserve -a-stems without any changes.

1.8.2.3.3.1. Vowel alternations in the end of verbal roots.

The final vowels of verbal roots, as well as the initial ones, could apparently alternate in PL. There is some reasons for reconstructing two main types of ablaut in this position:

1. *-a/*-i ablaut (possibly *-a/*-o, see below).

This type of ablaut was characteristic for *-a-stems. It is directly reflected in Archi. Cf. *aca-s* "to milk", dur. *aca-r*, but term. *acu* < **aco* < **ac:i*; thus, the vowel -o < *-i in Archi characterizes the terminative stem of verbs having an -a-stem in other forms. The same ablaut in Rutul serves to differentiate the stem of the present tense from the stem of the past tense (pres. -a, past -i). As we have already shown, the merger of the forms of *-a-stems and *-i-stems (with no ablaut) in the past tense in Rutul led to a general merger of -i and -a-stems (i.e. the vowel -a was generalized in all the forms of the present tense, even in the original *-i-stems).

It is, however, not to be excluded that in this case we should reconstruct not the ablaut *-a/*-i, but the ablaut *-a/*-o, cf. -u-forms of -a-stems in Agul: Bursh. *aq̣a-s* "to make", past ger. *aq̣u-na*, etc. The Archi and Rutul evidence is ambiguous (*i and *o had merged in these languages).

2. *-ā/*-a ablaut.

This type of ablaut was apparently only characteristic of roots with the first vowel *i (which, as was shown above, could itself alternate with *ā and *o). Forms with *-ā were probably used for the finalis (infinitive) stem, and forms with *-a - for the durative and terminative stems (as well as for the plural forms with -o-). This kind of ablaut is suggested by some evidence from Archi and Rutul. Cf. Arch. *sel-s* "to start running" (**hiśā*) - terminative *sal* (**hiśa*) - durative **hā-r-sa-r*, which served as a base for the formation of a new paradigm *helrsal-s* "to run"; similarly *ql̄e-s* "to go" (**iq̣:l̄ā*) - term. *ql̄a* "has come" (**iq̣:l̄a*) durative **[ʔ]ā-r-q:l̄a-r*, whence *herql̄a-s* "to walk" - terminative (probably, old plural) *oql̄a* "went" (**oq:l̄a*), etc. (Archi contains a rather large number of such paradigms, irregular from the synchronistic point of view; they are often split into several paradigms, with new forms being built by analogy).

In Rutul we may point out the following cases: *s-uq̣ā-* "to sit" with a parallel form *s-iq̣ā-s* (**iq̣ā-e* / **iq̣ā-a*), cf. also the plural form *s-i-l-ql̄a-r* (< **oql̄a* - with a pharyngealization of unclear origin; cf. Arch. *qa atis* "to seat smbd." < **iq̣(ā)a*, *ql̄ejq̣is* "to sit" < **ql̄a eq̣i-s* < **iql̄(ā)a* ?*āq̣(ā)s* with a similar pharyngealization in **iql̄(ā)a*); Rut. *k-uč̣ā-s* "to begin" (root -uč̣ā < **ič̣ā*, cf. pl. *k-u-l-č̣ā-s*) / *k-āč̣ā-s* (**ič̣ā*) "id." (root -āč̣ā-) - cf. Arch. *ču-bus* "to enter", dur. *ču-r* = Rut. -uč̣ā-, cf. also imperative *če* (labialization in the latter form is lost in an open syllable), but *ač̣ā-s* "to hide", dur. *ač̣u-r* < **ā-r-č̣ā-r* = Rut. -āč̣ā-, etc.

The situation is somewhat complicated by the fact that durative forms of such *-ā-stems could apparently have parallel auslauts: -a, as well as the normal -ā. Cf., on a par with Archi archaic durative forms *helrsal-r*, *herql̄a-r*, apparently also archaic duratives *selrsi-r*, *heqli-r* (cf. also with o: *orqli-r*), etc. It is most

probable that in PL the ablaut $*\bar{a}/*a$ was already unproductive and that the grade $-a$ was actively being supplanted by the normal grade $-\bar{a}$ (by analogy with the infinitive stem and, perhaps, some other forms as well). All these facts present some difficulties for reconstruction; however, we should once more emphasize that this type of ablaut can be postulated only for verbal roots with the initial $*i$.

3. Other types of ablaut.

At least for one root we may postulate the ablaut $*e/*\bar{e}-a$, similar to the ablaut $*\bar{a}/*a$: PL $*ir\bar{x}e$ "to die", cf. Arch. dur. *ka-r*, term. *ka* (infin. *ki-s*), Rut. pl. stem *-irqa* (vs. the normal one *-iqe-*).

Modern languages have also some other types of final vowel alternations (cf. Rut. $-e/-i$ in $-e$ -stems; Lezg. $-a/-u$ in stems going back to PL $*\bar{a}$ -stems and some others), that apparently should not be projected on the PL level (although their origin is not always clear).

1.8.2.3.3.2. On the reflection of final vowels in verbal roots of the Budukh language.

After this section was already complete, we obtained an opportunity to look through the materials on the Budukh verbal system. In Budukh there are conjugation types with the following vowel alternations: $-u/\bar{e}$, $-u/-i$, $-a/-i$, $-a/\bar{a}$, $-i/-i$, $-i/\bar{e}$ and $-u/-u$. These types reveal the following correlations with the reconstructed PL types of verbal auslaut:

a) the type $-u/\bar{e}$ goes back to PL $*\bar{a}$ -stems (PL ablaut $*o/*\bar{a}$);

b) the types $-u/-i$ and $-a/-i$ go back to PL $*\bar{a}$ -stems (PL Ablaut $*a/*\bar{a}$), the $-a/-i$ type being observed in intransitive verbs, and the $-u/-i$ type in transitive ones. Apparently the $-u$ grade of ablaut is secondary here, borrowed from the 1st type of conjugation.

c) $-a/\bar{a}$ and $-i/-i$ types have developed from PL $*e$ -stems, the $-i/-i$ type being characteristic for intransitive verbs, and the $-a/\bar{a}$ type - for transitive ones. This is possibly a result of splitting the $-a/-i$ type, which would be a normal reflex of the PL ablaut $*a/*\bar{e}$ (for the suggestion of such an ablaut type, see above).

d) types $-i/\bar{e}$ and $-u/-u$ go back to PL $*i$ -stems, the $-u/-u$ type being phonetically conditioned by labialization of the root consonant. The presence of the grade $-\bar{e}$ in Budukh is not quite clear here, because other Lezghian languages do not show any ablaut in this type of stems. This may be an archaism, preserved only in the Budukh language.

Thus, the Budukh system of final vowel alternations in the verb confirms, in general, the reconstruction outlined above and provides us with valuable evidence for reconstructing individual PL verbal roots.

1.8.2.3.4. Accentuation.

We know very little about PL accentuation as of yet. In modern Lezghian languages there is either no accent (as in Kryz and most Tsakhur dialects), or it is extremely

morphologized or phonologized (i.e. the rules of accentuation of the word-form depend on its morphemic and phonemic content - such is the situation in Archi, Agul, Tabasaran and Lezghi). Independent distinctions in the place of accent may be discovered only in Rutul (in nouns; the positioning of accent in the verb is yet unclear), in the Gelmet dialect of Tsakhur, and, possibly, in the Tabasaran verbal system. Archi has a rather strict system of accentuation rules both in verbal and in nominal word-forms; rare deviations (of which the most significant is the unpredictability of accent in bisyllabic nominal roots) are probably archaic.

In the '70s the MSU expeditions have discovered tonal systems in some Lezghian languages (in the Northern dialect of Tabasaran, in Tsakhur, Kryz and Budukh). The number of tones ranges from two to four (two - in Budukh, three - in Kryz, four - in the Northern dialect of Tabasaran and in Tsakhur). It is possible that the afore-mentioned non-standard accent systems in Rutul and in the Gelmet dialect of Tsakhur, as well as accent archaisms in Archi, are reflections of the PL tonal system. Unfortunately, we do not yet possess the systematic tonal records of any Lezghian language except Kryz; therefore we cannot yet talk about the reconstruction of PL tones. We can, however, expect some progress in the nearest future.

1.9. Khinalug.

In spite of the fact that this language is often included in the Lezghian group (see, e.g., [Talibov 1980]), there are no serious reasons for this; the impression that Khinalug is especially close to Lezghian languages arises apparently because of a rather large number of loanwords from the neighbouring Kryz and Budukh languages (probably from Proto-Shakhdagh as well). Multiple specific phonetic and lexical features of Khinalug (on the development of Khinalug phonemes from PEC, see above) clearly distinguish it from Lezghian languages, as a separate branch of East-Caucasian.

In general there is less data on Khinalug, than on other North-Caucasian languages (in fact only comparatively small lexical lists, given in the works [Kibrik-Kodzasov-Olovyannikova 1972, Kibrik-Kodzasov 1988, 1990]). Therefore, many specific features of Khinalug reflexation are yet unclear: there are many gaps in the reflexes of PEC consonants, uncertainties in establishing the behaviour of vowels, the Khinalug reflexation of the verbal root is completely unexamined, the Khinalug prosodic system has not been described. All these problems still expect their investigation.

1.10. From PWC to modern West-Caucasian languages.

First we will describe the development from PWC to PAT (Proto-Abkhaz-Tapant or Proto-Abkhaz-Abaza), PAK (Proto-Adyghe-Kabardian) and Ubykh languages, and then give a short characterization of the development from PAT and PAK to modern languages.

1.10.1. Consonantism.

The multitude and extreme complexity of correspondences between the

consonants of West-Caucasian languages are due to the PWC features of palatalization and labialization, as well as their combination. The interaction of these features (for the most part transferred from following vowels, see above) with local and laryngeal features of consonants creates a very complicated and, at first sight, chaotic system of reflexes. Below, however, we will try to show that this system can be explained.

For PWC we reconstruct the following system of consonants (not including the additional features of palatalization and labialization):

Labials	p	p:	b	p	f		w	m
Pharyngealized labials	pI	p:I	bI	pI				mI
Dentals	t	t:	d	t			r	n
Hissing	c	c:	ʒ	ç	s		z	
Hushing	ç	ç:	ʒ	ç	ʃ	ʃ:	ʒ	j
Laterals	ʎ	ʎ:	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ:	L	l
Velars	k	k:	g	k	x		ɣ	
Uvulars	q	q:	G	q	χ		ʁ	
Pharyngealized uvulars	qI	q:I		qI	χI		ʁI	

Pharyngealized consonants in PWC are reconstructed mostly on the basis of Ubykh evidence, and tense ("preruptive") consonants - on basis of the Adyghe evidence, though other languages often have specific reflexes of these classes of consonants as well. The tense fricatives ʃ: and ʎ: reveal specific reflexes in Adyghe (Shapsug), see below, and in some cases their reflexes differ from the reflexes of respective lax fricatives in other languages as well (Ubykh, PAT). However, in combination with certain quality features, the reflexes of lax and tense fricatives have apparently merged in all WC languages: thus, it is impossible to distinguish PWC *ʎ from *ʎ: (although there is a distinction *ʎ - *ʎ:), or *ʃ from *ʃ: (although *ʃ is opposed to *ʃ:). It is quite possible that PWC also had distinctions of other tense and lax fricatives (*f-f:, *s-s:, *x-x:, *χ-χ:, *χI-χI:I), but, because of the specific character of Adyghe reflexation (the Shapsug dialect preserves only two pairs of opposed fricatives at the present time, ʃ-ʃ: and ʎ-ʎ:), their reflexes have merged with each other in all modern West-Caucasian languages.

We reconstruct the following correspondences between the subgroups of West-Caucasian languages:

PWC	PAT	Ub	PAK
*p	*p	p	*p
*p:	*b	b	*p:
*b	*b	b	*b
*p	*p	p	*p
*f	*f	f	*x(?)
*w	*w	w	*w

PWC	PAT	Ub	PAK
*m	*m	m	*m
*p	*p	t ^w	*t
*p:	*b	(d ^w ~t ^w)	*t:
*b	*b	d ^w	*d
*p	*p	f ^w	*f
*p ^w	*p	f	*p
*b ^w	*f	f	*b
*p ^w	*ç	t ^w	
*b ^w	*ʒ	d ^w	*d
*p ^w	*ç	t ^w	*f
*pI	p	vI	*p
*p:I		bI	*p:
*bI	*b	bI	*b
*pI		pI	*p
*mI	*m	mI	*m
*t	*t	t	*t
*t:	*d	d	*t:
*d	*d	d	*d
*t	*t	t	*f
*r	*r	d-,r~ʁ	*t:-,r
*n	*n	n	*n
*r	*r	L	*ʒ
*t ^w	*t ^w	t ^w	*t
*t: ^w	*d(?)	t ^w	*t:
*d ^w	*d ^w	d ^w	*d
*t ^w	*t ^w	t ^w	*f
*t ^w	*t ^w	t ^w	*ç
*c	*c	c	*s-,c
*c:	*c	c	*c:
*ʒ	*ʒ	ʒ	*ʒ~z
*ç	*ç	ç	*ç
*s	*s	s	*s
*z	*z	ʒ~z	*z
*ç	*ç	c	(*s)
*ç:	*ʒ(?)	c	*c:
*ʒ	*ʒ	ʒ	*ʒ~z
*ç	*ç	ç	*ç
*s	*s	s	*s
*z	*z	ʒ~z	*z
*c ^w	*c ^w	c ^w	*s ^w
*c: ^w	*c ^w	c ^w	*c: ^w
*ʒ ^w	*ʒ ^w		*ʒ ^w
*ç ^w	*ç ^w	ç ^w	*ç ^w
*s ^w	*s ^w	s ^w	*s ^w

PWC	PAT	Ub	PAK
*k ^w	*k ^w	*k ^w	*k ^w
*q ^w	*h ^(w)	χ	*q ^w -
*q ^l ^w		q	*q ^l ^w
*G ^w	*γ ^(w)	g	*g ^w
*d ^w	*s ^w (*d ^w ?)	d	*z ^w
*χ ^w	*h ^(w)	χ	*χ ^w
*g ^w	*s ^(w)	g	*g ^w
*q:l	*s		*q:
*qI	*h(?)	qI	*q:
*χI		χI	*χ
*bI	*s	bI	*b
*qI	*q	q(I)	*h
*q:l	*z	q	*z
*qI	*h	q	*z
*χI	*h	χ(I)	*h
*bI	*s	b	*j
*qI ^w	*h ^w	χI ^w	*q ^w -
*qI ^l ^w	*s ^w	qI ^(w)	*q ^l ^w
*qI ^w	*q ^w (*q ^w)	qI ^w	*q ^l ^w
*χI ^w	*h ^w	χI ^w	*χ ^w
*bI ^w	(*h ^w ?)	bI ^w	*g ^w
*qI ^w	*q ^w	χ ^w	*h
*qI ^l ^w	*s ^w	q ^w	*z ^w
*qI ^w	*h ^w	q ^w	*z ^w
*bI ^w	*s ^w	w	*w~b ^w

Comments.

1. Labial consonants. As we see from the table, labial resonants, the rare fricative *f and labialized pharyngealized consonants do not have any palatalized or labialized correlates. Other consonants have palatalized and labialized variants. While evaluating the given reconstructions one must keep in mind that the labialized dentals are articulated as biphocal explosives (i.e. phonetically = /tp, dɸ, ɸp/) in modern Abkhaz and Ubykh, and have a pronounced palatalized character; therefore, the development of the type *p > t^w (with a possible further delabialization t^w > t) seems quite possible to us. The reconstruction of the series of "palatalized-labialized" labials is rather hypothetical. One could reconstruct here a series of "palatalized-labialized" dentals as well, but some external correspondences lead us to assume the labial character of original PWC phonemes. In Ubykh and Adygh they give the same reflexes as palatalized labials proper; in PAT we should suppose, at first, the depalatalization of palatalized labials (*p > p), and afterwards - the delabialization of "palatalized-labialized" with a following affrication (*p^w > *p > c).

2. Dental consonants. For a specific rare correspondence "PAT *r: Ub. L: PAK *3" we suggest a PWC palatalized *r. The liquids *r and *l (on the latter, see below) are thus the only PWC resonants that have palatalized correlates (correlation in labialization in the system of resonants is altogether absent). An interesting feature

of the dental series is the possible presence there of at least two "palatalized-labialized" consonants (*t^w and *t^l), while the respective plain palatalized ones are missing. However, it is not to be excluded, that they were present in PWC, but were subject to depalatalization (or, less likely, merged with the reflexes of affricates) in all descendant languages.

3. Hissing consonants. Plain hissing consonants are well preserved in descendant languages (except the fricativization *c > s in PAK and the 3-z variation in the place of *3 in PAK and in the place of *z in Ubykh). Palatalized hissing consonants are preserved in PAT (though we should note the depalatalization *z > z) and in Ubykh, but depalatalized in Adygh. Labialized hissing consonants are generally well preserved in all three subgroups (in modern languages labialized hissing consonants are phonetically articulated as dentolabialized, see below).

The suggested "palatalized-labialized" hissing consonants have specific reflexes in subgroups. In Adygh a consonant shift occurred: after the depalatalization of original palatalized sounds (see above), the delabialization of "palatalized-labialized" hissing sounds apparently happened (*c^w > c^l, *s^w > s^l, etc.). In Ubykh a development of palatalized-labialized hissing sounds into palatalized-labialized hushing ones apparently occurred (*3^w > 3^l, *s^w > s^l, etc.), with a following delabialization of affricates (there are no hushing labialized affricates present in modern Ubykh), but with the preservation of labialization in the subsystem of fricatives (it must be noted that the phonemes, transcribed in Ubykh as s^w, z^w, according to their descriptions, have an evident - though phonologically insignificant - palatalization, i.e. phonetically they are /s^l, z^l/). A similar development had apparently happened in PAT, i.e. first all palatalized-labialized hissing affricates developed into palatalized-labialized hushing ones; then affricates were simultaneously delabialized and depalatalized - cf. a similar development that occurred much later in some Abaza dialects, where the process (*t^w) > t^l > c, *s^w > s happened (see [Lomtadze 1976]). As for palatalized-labialized fricatives, they have apparently simply lost their labialization (i.e. the same process as in Adygh languages occurred). As a result, there we have a specific system of correspondences, wherein the original labialization of all regarded consonants is hinted at only by the fricative reflexes s^w, z^w in Ubykh. Below we will see that complicated processes of delabialization, accompanied by a shift in other quality characteristics of consonants, are typical for other local series of West-Caucasian consonants as well: it was these processes that have caused the extreme complexity of phonetic correspondences, observed among modern WC languages.

4. Hushing consonants. PWC palatalized hushing consonants are comparatively stable in WC languages. They are usually preserved in descendant languages (except the palatalized hushing fricatives *s, *s^l, *z, which have lost palatalization in PAT and in PAK; as we see from the table, the palatalized hushing fricatives of PAT and PAK go back only to PWC lateral or velar consonants).

The matter is more complicated with the reflexes of PWC non-palatalized and "palatalized-labialized" hushing consonants. Here the following situation is observed:

a) there are several rows of correspondences where the PAT palatalized hissing ("hissing-hushing") consonants correspond to Ubykh and PAK

non-palatalized hissing ones. In this case we cannot reconstruct palatalized hissing consonants for PWC, since their place is already occupied (see above: palatalized hissing consonants are reconstructed on the base of the correspondences "PAT, Ub. palatalized hissing: PAK non-palatalized hissing");

b) despite the fact that non-palatalized hushing consonants are present in all three subgroups of West-Caucasian languages, the correspondences between them are never uniform; thus, on one side, we have rows of correspondences where the non-palatalized hushing consonants in PAT and Ubykh correspond to palatalized hushing consonants in PAK; on the other side, we have rows of correspondences where non-palatalized hushing consonants in PAT and PAK correspond to palatalized hushing consonants in Ubykh. The parallel fricative rows of correspondences usually reveal traces of original labialization. Thus, the row "PAT *č : Ub. č : PAK *č" is parallel to the row "PAT *s : Ub. š : PAK *š" (we must keep in mind that the non-palatalized PAK *š is a reflex of an earlier *š, see above); on the other hand, the row "PAT *č : Ub. č : PAK *č" is evidently parallel to the row "PAT *š : Ub. s : PAK *š", etc. Here the Abkhaz and Ubykh evidence serves as an argument for reconstructing original labialization in those rows of hushing correspondences, where only non-palatalized (and non-labialized) hushing reflexes are found nowadays.

In our opinion, this situation should be interpreted as follows. The original non-palatalized hushing *č, *č, *š, etc., have lost their hushing feature in all three subgroups, changing into non-palatalized hissing consonants in Ubykh and PAK (only the glottalized *č, for some unclear reason, has yielded PAK hissing-hushing *č, and into hissing-hushing consonants in PAT. Here we should note that the so-called "hissing-hushing" consonants in West-Caucasian languages have a dual phonological and phonetical nature; on one hand, they occupy the place of palatalized correlates for nonpalatalized hissing consonants (and therefore merge with plain hissing consonants in case of depalatalization). On the other hand, they form a sort of intermediate series between hissing and hushing consonants. Because of the last circumstance, the direct development of non-palatalized hushing into hissing-hushing consonants seems phonetically justified. The fact that, in the regarded rows of correspondences, one must reconstruct hushing consonants, is confirmed by external comparison with East-Caucasian languages as well.

After the loss of old non-palatalized hushing consonants their place in PAT, Ubykh and PAK started to be filled by means of delabializing originally labialized consonants. In PAT reflexes of labialized and "palatalized" hushing affricates merged (all of them developed into non-palatalized hushing consonants, except the affricate *ʃʷ, that apparently fricativized early and developed similarly to the fricative *ʃ; the variation ʒʷ~ʒ in the place of *ʃʷ is probably a rather late occurrence). The tense fricatives *ʃʷ, *ʃʷ developed similarly (> PAT *ʃ); however, lax fricatives preserved labialization, though they have been locally shifted (*ʃʷ > sʷ and *ʃʷ, *ʃʷ > ʃʷ, ʒʷ). We must note that the latter shift is, in a way, "orthographic": the PAT labialized hushing *ʃʷ, *ʃʷ, as well as the respective consonants of the modern Bzyb dialect, undoubtedly had been phonetically palatalized (= [ʃʷ], [ʒʷ]), though they had no non-palatalized correlates. The reflex ʒ in the place of PWC *ʃʷ is unclear (one should expect a *ʒʷ).

In Ubykh the labialized hushing affricates were subject to a uniform process of delabialization (*ʃʷ > č, *ʃʷ > č, etc.). Nonpalatalized labialized hushing fricatives developed similarly (*ʃʷ, *ʃʷ > š, *ʃʷ > ʒ), but palatalized-labialized hushing fricatives have preserved labialization. Lax *ʃʷ, *ʃʷ > ʃʷ, ʒʷ (just as in PAT, this rule does not really mean any phonetic change; on the phonetic character of these Ubykh consonants see above, page), but the tense *ʃʷ has lost its hushing character and developed into sʷ.

Finally, in PAK the palatalized and non-palatalized labialized hushing consonants seem to have "swapped places" after delabialization. Apparently, there was a whole series of successive processes that led to this result. We can suppose that the palatalized-labialized hushing consonants, as a result of delabialization, first changed into hissing-hushing (traces of this stage are preserved as hissing-hushing fricatives š, ʒ in the place of PWC *ʃʷ, *ʃʷ). Non-palatalized labialized hushing consonants consequently became the only labialized hushing series and underwent a phonetic palatalization (if there is no phonological distinction in palatalization, the palatalized articulation of hushing consonants is always more typical for Caucasian languages), as a result of which, after delabialization, they merged with the reflexes of palatalized hushing consonants. Only afterwards did the hissing-hushing consonants (except lax fricatives *š, *ʒ < *ʃʷ, *ʃʷ) were apparently shifted into the non-palatalized hushing series. Thus, here we also see a phonetic closeness between non-palatalized hushing and hissing-hushing consonants, which was already mentioned above (concerning the development like *č > č in PAT).

5. Lateral consonants. The reconstruction of lateral consonants in PWC is extremely complicated. PAT has altogether lost laterals as a local series; PAK and Ubykh have only three lateral consonants (λ, L and λ), whose correspondences with the PAT fricatives š and ʒ were already established by N. S. Trubetskoy (see [Trubetskoy 1922]). However, we may show that these series of correspondences are not at all the only ones that reflect PWC lateral consonants.

First, we should note an evident palatalized character of those PWC consonants that were preserved as laterals in PAK and Ubykh (this is already testified to by the palatalized character of the PAT reflexes š, ʒ). Therefore, we reconstruct PWC palatalized laterals *λ, *L, *λ here.

The presence of laterals in PWC can be also postulated in those series of correspondences where PAT has the lateral reflex l. Therefore, it is comparatively easy to reconstruct the PWC resonants *l and *l (though in some languages and positions we observe the specific reflexes r, d, th here; the reflex L in PAK and Ubykh is not surprising, because L is the only voiced lateral phoneme here). However, we have two more series of correspondences (PAT *l: Ub. L: PAK *l and PAT *l: Ub. w: PAK *h) in which we should reconstruct some PWC lateral affricates (the latter row evidently represents a labialized correlate of the former one, and the labialization of resonants is impossible in PWC). The most natural solution would be to reconstruct the voiced affricates *L and *Lʷ, the reflexes of which appear to be rather close to those of the resonant *l.

In addition to the examined correspondences, there is still a rather large number of specific rows of correspondences, in which descendant languages either

have sibilant reflexes (that do not at all fit into the ranks of the rows of correspondences of original hissing and hushing consonants examined above), or mixed reflexes, with front affricates or fricatives of some languages corresponding to velar fricatives in others. The latter circumstance is already a direct hint at the possibility of reconstructing original lateral consonants here (because velar fricatives are typical reflexes of laterals in many East-Caucasian languages, see above). The reconstruction of PWC laterals in all of these series is well confirmed by East-Caucasian correspondences.

All types of correspondences that are of interest to us here are divided into four types (which is by itself already an argument for the reconstruction of a standard PWC four-way distinction of qualitative features):

1) Correspondences of non-palatalized PAT fricatives (*x) or hissing affricates (*c, *č) to the Ubykh palatalized hissing consonants š, č (or to the hushing š in the series PAT *x: Ub. š: PAK *č) and PAK palatalized hushing consonants. Here we reconstruct PWC non-palatalized laterals (since the places of palatalized laterals are already occupied - see above, and because of the nonpalatalized character of PAT reflexes). We should note that PAT has a double reflex (x or č) of the glottalized *š, the former being present if a following hissing consonant is present in the word (i.e. in a dissimilative position), and the latter - in independent position. The phoneme *š, reconstructed above, is included in the series of PWC nonpalatalized lateral consonants as well, despite the fact that it has specific reflexes in descendant languages (which is natural for the least stable element of the lateral series - the voiced lateral affricate).

2) Correspondences of the palatalized PAT fricatives š and ž to PAK and Ubykh lateral λ, L, ʃ. Here, as we have already pointed out, we reconstruct PWC palatalized laterals. This series should also undoubtedly include the correspondences of PAT palatalized fricatives š, ž to Ubykh š, ž(=b) and PAK *č, *γ (i.e. the rows of correspondences "PAT *š : Ub. š: PAK *č" and "PAT *ž : Ub. ž(=b): PAK *γ"). In the two latter rows it is natural to reconstruct the palatalized PWC affricates *š and *ž (which have also lost their palatal character in PAK and Ubykh).

3) Correspondences, in which PAT and Ubykh reveal labialized hissing consonants, but PAK has hushing reflexes. It is evident that we also should add here the rows of correspondences with nonpalatalized hushing fricative reflexes in PAT, labialized hissing fricative reflexes in Ubykh and either hushing or velar fricative reflexes in PAK. These are most probably reflexes of PWC labialized lateral affricates (*šʷ, *čʷ, *čʷ; *šʷ, *čʷ, as well as the respective non-labialized *š, *č, has specific reflexes, see above) and fricatives (*šʷ, *čʷ).

4) Correspondences of PAT labialized hushing consonants to different (velar or front) consonants in Ubykh and PAK. There are exactly four such correspondences (by the number of affricates: *šʷ, *čʷ, *čʷ and *šʷ), and we should apparently reconstruct the PWC "palatalized-labialized" lateral affricates here (we must note that in PAT labialized hushing affricates, as well as fricatives, on which see above, had probably been phonetically palatalized). There are also two fricative rows, in which Ubykh šʷ, žʷ correspond to non-palatalized hushing consonants in PAT and to velars in PAK, and in which we reconstruct the lateral fricatives *šʷ and *žʷ respectively.

We should once more emphasize that for all the above-examined rows of correspondences quite reliable external PEC data exists, pointing to the fact that all these rows actually reflect original lateral consonants. Without such external data the reconstruction of the PWC system of laterals would certainly be absolutely hypothetical. Let us note that the correspondence of Adygh front affricates to lateral consonants of Daghestan languages was also mentioned in the works of A. I. Abdokov (see [Abdokov 1976, 1983]); these works, however, do not contain a reconstruction of the PWC system of laterals.

We see that the reconstruction of three local affricate series (hissing, hushing and lateral) and a four-way distinction of qualitative features (plain - non-palatalized, palatalized, labialized and palatalized-labialized consonants) allows us to find a place and to suggest a phonetic interpretation virtually for all - absolutely chaotic at first sight - correspondences between West-Caucasian affricates and fricatives.

6. Velar consonants. At the present time the opposition of palatalized and unpalatalized velars exists only in Abkhaz and Abaza, and is reconstructed on their evidence. In Ubykh and PAK all velars underwent a secondary palatalization. The "palatalized-labialized" velars are reconstructed for those rows of correspondences, in which Ubykh has non-labialized (palatalized) velars corresponding to labialized velars in PAT and PAK. The reflexes of the palatalized fricatives *š, *č (preserved in PAT but subject to sibilantization in Ubykh and PAK), as well as of *šʷ, *čʷ (yielding normal reflexes in Ubykh and PAK, but developing into *sʷ, *zʷ in PAT) are somewhat specific (though easy to explain).

7. Uvular consonants are best preserved in the Ubykh language (where we should note only the usual processes: weakening of tense uvulars and delabialization of "palatalized-labialized" uvulars, completely similar to the analogical process in the system of velars, see above). We must note that the signs š and ž in Ubykh are somewhat misleading: there is no distinction of velar and uvular palatalized fricatives, and therefore we could write š, ž as well as š, ž (thus, the development *š > š is pure orthography, not a real change). Among other changes in Ubykh we should also note the fricativization G > š (in combination with all qualitative features) and *čʷ > š.

In PAT we observe a characteristic process of laryngealization *š, š > h, ʃ (in combination with all qualitative features). A similar laryngealization has also occurred here with the lax uvular *q (and its qualitative correlates), obviously, as a sequence of the preceding fricativization *q > *š. Among other processes that have affected the PAT system, we should mention: 1) the weakening *q > q; 2) the fricativization *G > γ (we must note that, in PAT, uvular and velar fricatives were not opposed, therefore we could write š instead of γ). The original palatalization is preserved only by PAT reflexes of the PWC phonemes *č and *č; palatalized č, h and ʃ are missing in PAT, therefore in the place of PWC *č, *č and *č, PAT has non-palatalized reflexes.

In PAK lax q, qʷ are well represented only in initial position; judging by the available examples, the PWC lax uvular affricates were strengthened in intervocalic position in PAK. Palatalization of uvulars (except the relic fricative š; on its

reflexes in Adygh languages, see below) has been lost in PAK. We must note, however, that while the non-palatalized glottalized *q, *qʷ lose their glottalization in PAK (> q; qʷ), the respective palatalized consonants yield the specific laryngeal reflexes ʔ, ʔʷ. We should note that A. Kuipers ([Kuipers 1963]) reconstructs here PAK *q, *qʷ, which does not seem quite legitimate to us (see below).

Uvular pharyngealized consonants are only preserved in Ubykh. In this language pharyngealization was lost only by palatalized pharyngealized consonants, whose presence in PWC can, however, be postulated on basis of specific rows of correspondences, where Ubykh uvular (sometimes preserving their pharyngealization) consonants correspond to PAT and PAK emphatic laryngeals.

In PAT most pharyngealized uvulars developed into emphatic laryngeals; the uvular character was preserved only by PWC *q̣l, *q̣lʷ and *q̣lʷ. In PAK the pharyngealized uvulars (except the palatalized ones) develop just as their respective non-pharyngealized counterparts. However, the suggested uvular pharyngealized palatalized (as well as palatalized-labialized) consonants have all developed into emphatic laryngeals (we should note the development *ɟl > j, *ɟlʷ > w, that had apparently had an intermediate stage ʕ, ʕʷ).

1.10.1.1. Consonant clusters.

Consonant clusters are extremely widespread in modern West-Caucasian languages. Historical analysis shows, however, that in most cases these combinations are secondary, arising as a result of vowel reduction. Only in comparatively few cases can we reconstruct real consonant clusters for PWC (mostly on the basis of Ubykh and PAK data; in PAT all the old clusters were probably altogether lost) in the following correspondences:

PWC	PAT	Ub	PAK
*P-C	C	PC	PC
*M-C	m(V)C	mC	C
*T-C	C	TC	TC
*n-C	C	nC	n(V)C
*r-C	C	C	r(V)C
*s-C	C	ʃC/ʃC	ʃC/tC

In the latter type of clusters, Ubykh and Adyghe have ʃ preceding a uvular consonant, but ʃ and t respectively preceding other consonants.

All the listed types of clusters are mostly attested in the beginning of PWC roots and have probably historically developed from the sequences *CVC-, where vowel reduction had occurred already on the PWC level. In some cases, however, the initial PWC clusters probably reflect grammatical prefixation (see above, page 85), the traces of which are almost lost in nominal PWC roots. Grammatical prefixation is probably reflected in some other cases as well (e.g., there is a set of roots with the initial sequences PC- or TC- in PAK, but plain C- in Ubykh and in PAT; these cases are difficult to interpret in any other way than the reflection of old prefixation).

In the medial position of PWC non-monosyllabic roots, consonant clusters are extremely rare (on the simplification of old consonant clusters in this position see above, page 63). However, there is one class of cases that should be specially mentioned. In some roots with initial labial consonants there are variations of nasal and non-nasal reflexes in descendant languages. We tentatively reconstruct nasalized vowels here and establish the following rows of correspondences:

PWC	PAT	Ub	PAK
*w̃-	*w-	w-	n-
*b̃-	*m-/P-	P-	P-
*p̃-; *p̃̃-, *p̃̃̃-	*m-/P-	m-	P-

In many cases like this nasalization probably reflects old lost nasal or liquid medial resonants. However, the reconstruction of nasalization for PWC is rather tentative - first of all, because there are no traces of nasalized vowels after other initial consonants or in monosyllabic structures. The exact phonetic character of this phenomenon in PWC is yet to be investigated.

PAT has the reflex m- usually preceding fricatives and resonants, while a non-nasal reflex is present in other cases. Laryngeal features (voice / voicelessness / glottalization) of the initial labial in PAT, Ubykh and PAK reflexes depend on the following consonant (see below).

1.10.1.2. Variations of laryngeal features of consonants.

In some cases in West-Caucasian languages we observe a violation of regular (see above) correspondences of features, such as voice/voicelessness, tenseness/laxness and glottalization. Variations of voice/voicelessness and glottalization are not rare in the development from PNC to PWC (see above); but sometimes such variations are observed as well within West-Caucasian languages themselves. Sometimes the reasons for these variations are difficult to establish; in most cases, however, the probable reason is the activity of various assimilative processes.

One of the most typical cases is the violation of correspondences of laryngeal features in structures of the type PVCV, where the first consonant is usually labial, and the second consonant is usually a front one. Most frequent are the following types of correspondences between languages:

PWC	PAT	Ub	PAK
*pVC:V	*p(V)CV	pCV	*p:C:V
*pṼCV	*p(V)CV	pCV	*p̃CV
*pVZV	*p(V)SV	bZV	*bZV
*pVZV(?)	*b(V)ZV	p̃CV	*bZV

In some other types of roots we may also suppose the activity of various assimilative processes; they all, however, require individual comments.

1.10.2. Vocalism.

West-Caucasian languages are known for their poor vocalic systems. For PWC we should apparently also reconstruct a system consisting of two vowels: *ə and *a, preserved in all descendant languages. In Ubykh and in the Adygh languages there is an additional long vowel ā. In the Adygh languages this vowel is evidently secondary: it appears in the first syllable of the word in the place of the short *a in case there is another a in the next syllable (in case of ə in the next syllable there is no lengthening). In Ubykh, ā in the first syllable can also appear only before the vowel a of the second syllable. In the same position, however, we can meet the short a as well, thus the distribution between a and ā is not quite clear here (though it would not be reasonable to reconstruct the opposition *a - *ā for PWC on the basis of Ubykh data alone).

In many cases the PAT, Ubykh and PAK vowels ə and a uniformly correspond to each other. We should mention some particular regularities that seem to modify the reflexes in individual cases:

1) The vowel *ə yields a in PAK and Ubykh in monosyllabic roots that are included in the enklina (unaccented) type in PAT; the old *ə is preserved in roots of the orthotonic (accented) type and after labialized consonants;

2) The vowel *a is usually preserved everywhere. Only in the initial syllable *ma- in bisyllabic roots do we observe the development a > ə in Ubykh and in PAT - also only in roots with the initial unaccented (minus) syllable.

The situation with vocalic correspondences is somewhat complicated by the evident presence of the *ə/a ablaut in PWC (in PAT there are clear traces of this ablaut in nominal roots, and in PAK it is very productive in verbal stems). This often leads to a violation of correspondences even between close dialects.

On the prehistory of West-Caucasian bivocalism see above (page 73); its development from a richer original system (as a result of transferring qualitative features onto preceding consonants) seems quite clear. This allows us to explain the extreme richness of PWC consonantism as well as the four-way opposition of consonantal qualitative features. However, it is hardly reasonable to reconstruct qualitative oppositions of vowels as late as on the PWC level, as does A. I. Abdokov; we should rather date the process of destruction of qualitative (and quantitative) vocalic oppositions from the period that immediately preceded the division of the PWC unity.

1.10.3. Root structure and prosody.

In PWC, as well as in modern West-Caucasian languages, the bulk of roots had the structure (C)CV; longer roots with the structure CVCV or CVCVCV were more rare. The prevalence of monosyllabic roots in PWC is historically explained by the fall of syllables with resonant and laryngeal consonants (see above, page 85).

PWC undoubtedly had a tonal accent structure. In the modern Ubykh and Abkhaz languages the original tonal system has been transformed into a system with a

dynamic mobile accent, wherein the positioning rules are determined by information about the belonging of each syllable of the given word-form to one of the two accent classes (which are respectively marked as "+" and "-" by V. A. Dybo). Both Abkhaz and Ubykh have a rule according to which dynamic accent in the word is placed on the last syllable in the sequence of "plus" syllables, and in the case when the word has no "plus" syllables - on the last syllable in the sequence of "minus" syllables. See the description and an attempt of the reconstruction of the original system (it is suggested that the morphonologic "+" and "-" characteristics reflect PWC tones) in the works [Dybo 1977, 1989].

Some irregularities in accent correspondences between Ubykh and Abkhaz are probably explained by the presence of a third tone in PWC, which cannot be discovered by synchronous morphonological analysis of the Ubykh and Abkhaz systems. While working with speakers of the Tapant dialect of the Abaza language, we discovered that it still preserves tonal oppositions (already lost in Abkhaz), that are, however, already combined with a developed system of dynamic accent. The differences between the Tapant and Abkhaz systems also serve as an argument in favour of reconstructing one more tonal feature in PAT, whose postulation would allow us to explain many cases of irregular Abkhaz-Ubykh accent correspondences. The solution of this problem now depends on a careful field examination of the Abaza data.

In the modern Adygh languages the accent distinctions seem to be absent. However, S. L. Nikolayev was able to reconstruct a distinctive accent in bisyllabic nominal PAK roots, the place of which, in most cases, corresponds to the place of accent in related Abkhaz and Ubykh forms (see below).

The reconstruction of the PWC accent system, we hope, will be completed in the nearest future, after which it will be possible to attempt a comparison of prosodic systems in West-Caucasian and East-Caucasian languages.

1.10.4. From PAT to the modern Abkhaz and Abaza dialects.

All modern Abkhaz and Abaza dialects are very close to each other, and therefore we will limit ourselves to the briefest information about their comparative phonology (we use the data of the best described systems: the Bzyb and Abzhui dialects of Abkhaz and the Tapant dialect of Abaza).

For PAT we reconstruct the following system of consonants (a similar system - with some minor differences - is suggested in the works of K.V. Lomtadze, see [Lomtadze 1976] et al.):

Labials	p	b	ɸ	f	w	m
Dentals	t	d	ɬ		r, l	n
Labialized dentals	tʷ	dʷ	ɬʷ			
Hissing	c	ʒ	ç	s	z	
Hissing-hushing	č	ʒ	č	š	ž	

PAT	Bzyb	Abzh	Tap
*q̣	q̣	q̣	q̣
*qʷ	χʷ	χʷ	qʷ
*q̣ʷ	q̣ʷ	q̣ʷ	q̣ʷ
*ʔ	q̣	q̣	ʔ
*h	h	h	h
*ɣ	O(ā)	O(ā)	ɣ
*hʷ	hʷ	hʷ	hʷ
*ɣʷ	ɣʷ	ɣʷ	ɣʷ

Comments.

1. Phonemes, that are reconstructed as hissing labialized and hushing labialized, could be interpreted as hissing-hushing labialized and hissing labialized respectively. Historically, however, only the former have developed from hissing labialized consonants (the rare PAT hushing labialized consonants go back only to PWC laterals, see above), and we prefer the interpretation suggested above.

2. PAT had no distinction between velar and uvular fricatives (it has arisen only in the Bzyb dialect as a result of the fricativization $q > \chi$). In modern Abkhaz and Abaza dialects these phonemes have a uvular articulation. This also concerns the Bzyb dialect with its opposition $x - \chi$: the phoneme that we denote as x also has a uvular (or, at least, back velar) place of articulation, and differs from the uvular χ primarily by the character of friction (flat friction slot by x as opposed to round friction slot by χ). In PAT we could also reconstruct uvular rather than velar fricatives; historically, however, these phonemes go back to PWC velars (and laterals, see above), while old uvular fricatives in PAT have undergone laryngealization. Therefore, for PAT we prefer to reconstruct velar fricatives (though it is certainly only one of the possibilities).

3. The PAT voiced laryngeal ɣ disappears in Abkhaz, leaving behind a compensatory lengthening of the vowel (both $\bar{a}$ and a give $\bar{a}$ in this case). The correlated labialized laryngeal, preserved in Abaza, in Abkhaz is pronounced as a specific "emphatic-palatalized" w (/wɪ/). For the sake of uniformity we denote this specific Abkhaz phoneme as $ʷ$, using the same transcription as in Abaza.

As for vowels, we reconstruct the same bivocalic system with the vowels $\bar{a}$ and a for PAT, as for PWC in general. In Abkhaz as well as in Abaza there is a rule according to which the vowel $\bar{a}$ is dropped in unaccented position (if the accent is being shifted to this unaccented syllable, the vowel $\bar{a}$ is restored). As a result of $\bar{a}$ -reductions in long words new clusters can arise, consisting of a large number of consonants; the morphonological analysis, however, clearly shows that all such sequences are recent and that in PAT we should reconstruct dropped vowels. Both in Abkhaz and in Abaza there are some contexts in which the unaccented $\bar{a}$ does not disappear; however, since such contexts are rather few, and the operating rules are rather complicated, we will not dwell on them here.

In some words Abkhaz dialects have clusters of identical consonants, never divided by $\bar{a}$. This is mostly expressive vocabulary, but it may in principle point to the appearance in Abkhaz of a new class of tense consonants (geminate) (the old PWC tense consonants have been lost in PAT, see above).

As a result of the complete simplification of consonant clusters, the PAT root has acquired the structure CV (or CVCV, more rarely CVCVCV). In modern languages this structure is preserved on the morphonological level, but, as a result of $\bar{a}$ -reduction, on the phonological level there are already many roots with new consonant clusters.

For a short characteristics of the Abkhaz accent system see above, page 193; for more detailed information see the works [Дыбо 1977, 1989].

1.10.5. From PAK to modern Adyghe languages.

The PAK reconstruction was made by A. Kuipers (see [Kuipers 1963]; later Soviet works - Балкаров 1970 and Кумахов 1981 - have little added to our knowledge of PAK). There are the following minor differences (suggested by S. L. Nikolayev) between his reconstruction and ours:

1) On the basis of (rare) correspondences "Ad. $\acute{c}$: Kab. $\acute{s}$ " and "Ad. $\acute{z}$: Kab. $\acute{z}$ ", we reconstruct the PAK hissing-hushing affricates $*\acute{c}$ and $*\acute{z}$, which are parallel to the hissing-hushing fricatives $*\acute{s}$, $*\acute{z}$ (the latter two are present in the reconstruction of A. Kuipers, too). Consequently, the correspondence "Ad. $\acute{s}$: Kab. $\acute{s}$ " (according to A. Kuipers reflecting PAK $*\acute{s}$) is interpreted by us as the result of a uniform fricativization of the original PAK glottalized hissing-hushing affricate $*\acute{c}$.

2) On basis of the correspondence "Ad. γ : Kab. $\acute{z}$ " (also very rare) we reconstruct a fourth PAK lateral phoneme $*\acute{L}$ (on its origin see above). Consequently, instead of the lateral glottalized fricative $*\acute{\lambda}$ (according to A. Kuipers) we reconstruct a PAK lateral glottalized affricate $*\acute{\lambda}$.

3) On basis of the correspondences "Ad. $\acute{h}$: Kab. $\acute{\chi}$ " and "Ad. γ : Kab. $\acute{z}$ ", we reconstruct two palatalized back fricatives $*\acute{\chi}$ and $*\acute{\gamma}$, not present in the reconstruction of A. Kuipers (they are also very rare).

4) Instead of the fricative $*\acute{s}ʷ$, we reconstruct the affricate $*\acute{c}ʷ$; thus, glottalized fricatives are totally eliminated from the PAK system (their secondary character is also clearly seen in comparison with the evidence of other West-Caucasian languages, see above).

5) On the other hand, instead of the glottalized affricate $q̣$ of A. Kuipers we reconstruct the emphatic laryngeal $*\acute{q}$ (preserved with the same articulation in modern Adyghe languages); as we have seen above, though this laryngeal developed from an earlier uvular consonant, it did not develop directly from $*q̣$. The fact that this consonant is rendered as $q̣$ in Ubykh loanwords, is irrelevant in this case (because of the lack of emphatic laryngeals in Ubykh).

6) Instead of the initial h , reconstructed by A. Kuipers on the basis of system considerations, we prefer to reconstruct a zero beginning in PAK.

7) In bisyllabic roots of PAK we reconstruct two possible places of accent with the following development of structures in descendant languages:

?

**ajjāi*?V a k. of tree (rowan, cornel): Nakh. **(ā)stVw*; Av.-And. **azal* (~ o); Tsez. **asa*; W.-Cauc. **za* (~ ž-).

| Nakh. **(ā)stVw* cornel: Chech. *stow*; Ing. *esti*.

Chech. has reduced the first weak syllable, preserved in Ing. (*esti* < **āstVw*).

| Av.-And. **azal* (~ o) 1 strawberry 2 rowan: Av. *azāli*; Akhv. *aža-naq-e* 1; Cham. *azal* 2; God. *azal* 2.

The Av. word has a specific meaning: "silk fibres of a cocoon; maize stigmata". In Akhv. (Magomedbekova writes: *ažaneq:e*) the meaning of the component -neq:e is not clear (*aža-* can be analyzed as *aža* 'bush', but external evidence clearly shows that it is a folk etymology, due to the merger of **z* and **ž* in Akhvakh).

| Tsez. **asa* rowan: Tsez. *asa*; Gin. *ase*; Khvarsh. *āsa*; Bezht. *āza*. Gunz. *āza*.

PTsKh **āsa*; PGB **āza*.

| W.-Cauc. **za* (~ ž-) cornel: Abkh. *a-bgā-žara*; Abaz. *zarā*. Ad. *zāja*; Kab. *za*.

PAT **ja-rV* (-rV is originally a collective suffix), cf. also the Abzh. variant *a-bgā-žar*, Bzyb. *a-bgā-žar* (the compound means literally "fox's cornel"). PAK **za* (Ad. reflects only the compound **za-jā*, where -jā is the "tree suffix", = Kab. *zej* 'cornel-tree').

The reason for the spirantization *z* > *ž* in Abaz. is not quite clear; perhaps it is due to Adygh influence, although the word as such can not be regarded as an Adygh loan (despite Lomtadze 1944,209, Kondzharia 1969,8).

The correspondence PAT **ž* : PAT **z* points to PWC **ž* or **z*.

[] Correspondences are regular. The etymology seems preferable to Trubetzkoy's comparison (PWC **ja* : PEC **žāžē* 'thorn' - which has a quite different etymology).

**ak* (~ -a-) to beat; to forge: Tsez. **ak-*; Lezg. **aki*. W.-Cauc. **ka* (~ **k-*).

| Tsez. **ak-* to forge: Tsez. *ak-*.

Attested only in Tsez., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **aki* to destroy, break; to fall apart: Lezg. *čki*; Tab. *ṭ-a=k-* (Khan.); Kryz. *čuk-*; Arch. *a=ka-*.

Cf. Lezg. pret. *čka-na*, Arch. dur. *-arku-r*. In all languages except Archi, the root is combined with expressive preverbs (**č-* or **ṭ-*).

| W.-Cauc. **ka* (~ **k-*) 1 to forge 2 smithy: Ad. *čāsā* 2; Kab. *čās* 2. Ub. *kā* 1.

PAK **kā-sā* (= Ub. *kā-s* 'smithy'); Ub. *a-kā-n*, *a-sā-kā-n*. In PAK the root is reflected also in **dāsa-kā* (Kab. *dāsač*) 'goldsmith'. See Shagirov 2, 135 (with literature).

[] A common NC verb; although not very widely represented, seems both phonetically and semantically reliable.

**alwE* whetstone, to whet; to sweep: Nakh. **ālxi*; Av.-And. **ax-* (~ -o-); Tsez. **ilu* (~ -L-); Lezg. **alV*; W.-Cauc. **la*.

| Nakh. **ālxi* whetstone: Chech. *ālxa*; Ing. *ālχ*; Bacb. *atχē*.

4th class in all languages. Cf. also Chech. dial. (Imnaishvili) *ālxa* id.

| Av.-And. **ax-* (~ -o-) to whet: Av. *λ-ux-*; Chad. *λ-ux-*; Cham. *-ah-*. Tind. *-ah-*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *-ah-* 'to whet'. Length of vowel in Cham. and Tind. is not clear; otherwise correspondences are regular. Av. *λ-* is an expressive preverb.

Since in Avar the verb *λ-ux-* means both 'to whet' and 'to sweep' (= 'to make clean, polished'), it seems possible to relate here also the PA word for 'broom, besom' **i(r)xu*: Cham. *ih* (Gig. *ihu*), Tind. *ehu*, Kar. *erxu*, Bagv. *erx* (Tlond. *eh*).

| Tsez. **ilu* (~ -L-) flint, flint-stone: Bezht. *ilo*; Gunz. *ilu*.

PGB **iLu*.

| Lezg. **alV* to sweep: Tsakh. *s-a=x* a-; Kryz. *w-of-*; Bud. *w-o=x*.

| W.-Cauc. **la* 1 to whet 2 to stroke, rub: Abkh. *a-š-ṛā* 2; Abaz. *š-ṛa* 2. Ad. *la-n* 1; Kab. *la-n* 1.

PAT **š-ṛa* (with expressive gemination; the non-geminated form **š* is used only in compounds, cf., e.g., Abkh. *ā-k-š-ṛa* 'to run one's hand over smth.' etc.); PAK **la*. Cf. also the stem **la-* in Kab. *da-la-n* 'to stroke, to rub'.

[] The WC form has lost labialisation: this happens sometimes in verbal roots, probably because of interaction with class prefixes. Otherwise correspondences are regular.

**antV* (~ -m-) dirt, earth: Tsez. **atu* (~ -ā-); Khin. ant.

| Tsez. **atu* (~ -ā-) dirt, mud: Tsez. *atu*; Gin. *atu*.

PTsKh **atu*.

| Khin. ant earth, ground.

The root serves as a base for *ant:ir-qi* 'to lie' (= 'to be on the ground').

[] A Tsez-Khin. isogloss.

**anV(jV)* mother: Tsez. **inVju* (~ -i-); Darg. **ne-š*; Lezg. **anaj*; W.-Cauc. **(a)nə*.

| Tsez. **inVju* (~ -i-) mother: Tsez. *enju* / *eniju*.

Cf. also Tsez. *eni* 'mummy'. The root is attested only in Tsez., but has probable external parallels.

| Darg. **ne-š* mother: Ak. *neš*.

The suffix -š may be discerned on analogy with **t:ut:e-s* 'father'.

| Lezg. **anaj* 1 mother 2 grandmother: Tab. *ana* 1 (Khaidakov); Tsakh. *anaj* 2.

| W.-Cauc. **(a)nə* mother: Abkh. *ā-n*; Abaz. *anə*; Ad. *nə*; Kab. *āna*; Ub. *na*.

PAT $^{*}(a)n\bar{a}$; PAK $^{*}(a)nV$; Ub. def. $\bar{a}$ -na. Although this is a nursery word, it is certainly the PNC root for 'mother'.

[] Although the root is not very widely spread in EC, it seems to have been the basic PNC word for 'mother' (opposed to $^{*}obV(jV)$ 'father'), superseded in most EC languages by other expressive "children's words" ($^{*}babV$, $^{*}j\bar{a}jV$, $^{*}dajV$) or its reduplicated variant $^{*}n\bar{a}nV$ (q.v.).

$^{*}apV\bar{t}V$ pole; board, cover: Av.-And. $^{*}VpVIV$; Tsez. $^{*}apal$ (~ -r).

| Av.-And. $^{*}VpVIV$ lid, cover: Av. *epel* (Andal.).

Cited from Миканлов 1959; the same form in Av. Shul.

| Tsez. $^{*}apal$ (~ -r) pole (for planking the ceiling): Inkh. *apar*.

Attested only in Inkh., with a possible Av. parallel.

[] An Av.-Tsez. isogloss.

$^{*}ar\bar{c}V$ a k. of reed: Nakh. $^{*}er\bar{c}$; Tsez. $^{*}e\bar{c}$.

| Nakh. $^{*}er\bar{c}$ reed, cane: Chech. *erz*.

Obl. base $^{*}er\bar{c}a$ - (Chech. *erza*-). Cf. also Lev. $^{*}jerz$, It. $^{*}jerza$ id.

| Tsez. $^{*}e\bar{c}$ a k. of reed (poros): Bezht. $^{*}e\bar{c}$ (Tlad.).

Cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *e\bar{c}* id.

[] A Nakh-Tsez isogloss. Attested only in two languages, and thus not very reliable.

$^{*}arV$ plain: Nakh. $^{*}arV$; Lak. *ar*; Lezg. $^{*}ar(a)$.

| Nakh. $^{*}arV$ plain, steppe: Chech. *are*; Ing. *ara*.

Cf. also the adverb Chech. *ara*, Ing. *ara* 'outside' (* 'in the open').

| Lak. *ar* plain.

| Lezg. $^{*}ar(a)$ marsh, swamp: Tab. *ar*.

Attested only in Tab., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

$^{*}a\bar{z}\bar{E}$ (~ -\bar{a}-, -\bar{o}-) to be ill, feel pain: Nakh. $^{*}l-a\bar{c}$; Av.-And. $^{*}\bar{c}i-n$;

Lak. $\bar{c}u$ -; Darg. $^{*}ic$ -; Lezg. $^{*}a\bar{c}$; Khin. $\bar{c}i-t$; W.-Cauc. $^{*}\bar{z}V$.

| Nakh. $^{*}l-a\bar{c}$ to hurt, feel pain, be ill: Chech. *laz*-; Ing. *laz*-. Bacb. *la\bar{c}*-.

| Av.-And. $^{*}\bar{c}i-n$ - to tickle, scratch; to be ticklish: Akhv. $\bar{c}i-n$ -. Tind. $\bar{c}i\bar{c}i-n$ -. The Tindi form is reduplicated.

| Lak. $\bar{c}u$ - to hurt, ache.

Cf. Khosr. $\bar{c}u-n$ (imper. $\bar{c}u\bar{c}u$).

| Darg. $^{*}ic$ - to hurt, ache, be ill: Ak. *izz*-; Chir. *ic*-.

Cf. also Ur. *iz*- id. and the PD derivative $^{*}ic:ala$ 'disease, pain': Ak. *izzala*.

Chir., Kait., Kub. *ic:ala*.

| Lezg. $^{*}a\bar{c}$:a to be ill, hurt, ache: Lezg. *ja*-; Tab. *ic:ru xuz*. Ag. *it:ar xas*;

Rut. $-\bar{a}dda$ -; Kryz. *tit*-; Bud. *tut-kar*-; Arch. $-\bar{a}\bar{c}:a$ -.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *it:aj xis*. The stem demonstrates the PL $^{*}a/^{*}i$ Ablaut

(\bar{a} in Rut. is not quite clear) and belongs to the weak conjugation class; the Kryz. and Bud. forms are reduplicated. Tab. and Ag. have preserved only participial forms combined with auxiliary verbs. Cf. also the PL derivative $^{*}ji\bar{c}:al(a)$ 'sickness, disease, pain': Lezg. *jal*, Ag. *it:al*, Rut. *jaddal* (Shin. *jatal*, Mükhr. *jed:al*, Mishl. *jadal*).

See Bokarev 1961, 71; Leksika 1971, 135; Giginayshvili 1977, 107.

| Khin. $\bar{c}i-t$ sick, ill.

Cf. also $\bar{c}i\bar{t}-\bar{q}i$ 'to be sick, ill'.

| W.-Cauc. $^{*}\bar{z}V$ 1 to be ill, sick 2 illness, disease: Abkh. $a-\bar{c}\bar{a}ma-\bar{z}a^{\bar{c}}$ - 1; Abaz. $\bar{z}^{\bar{c}}a$ 2; Ad. $\bar{w}\bar{a}\bar{z}\bar{a}$ 2; Kab. $\bar{w}\bar{a}\bar{z}$ 2; Ub. $\bar{z}a-\bar{b}^{\bar{c}}\bar{a}$ 2.

PAT $^{*}zV^{\bar{c}}V$; PAK $^{*}w\bar{a}-\bar{z}\bar{a}$ ($^{*}w\bar{a}$ - is a frequent verbal prefix). For PWC we can also reconstruct a compound $^{*}\bar{z}V-\bar{b}^{\bar{c}}V$ (besides the listed forms cf. also Kab. $\bar{w}\bar{a}\bar{z}\bar{a}\bar{b}^{\bar{c}}a$ = $\bar{w}\bar{a}\bar{z}\bar{a}$); the second part ($^{*}-\bar{b}^{\bar{c}}V$) is not quite clear etymologically (it can be attributed to several PWC roots).

[] A rather widely represented common NC root. The etymology on the whole seems quite satisfactory, but there are some irregularities: in PD we would rather expect $^{*}z$, not $^{*}c$. We may think that the root consonant here was expressively geminated (PD $^{*}izz$ - > $^{*}icc$ -), and indeed we see traces of this gemination in Ak. *izz-es*, *izz-ala*. It is even possible that the gemination occurred as early as in Proto-Darg.-Lezg. - cf. a quite analogous gemination in Rut. $-\bar{a}dda$ - (normally $-\bar{d}$ - would be expected). Cf. also Hurr. *azz-u/oš\bar{x}\bar{a}* 'tabooed, impure, sinful, sick (or the like)', see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 40.

See Abdokov 1983, 136.

$^{*}a\bar{h}V$ (~ $^{*}h\bar{a}^{\bar{c}}V$) to throw, to winnow: Av.-And. $^{*}=VH$ -; Tsez. $^{*}-V^{\bar{c}}$ -; Lak. *hu=il*-; Darg. $^{*}ihl$ - (~ $-\bar{c}$ -); Lezg. $^{*}l\bar{a}hi$ -.

| Av.-And. $^{*}=VH$ - (/ $^{*}HVr$ -) to throw, scatter: Av. $-\bar{a}$ -; Kar. *er*-.

| Tsez. $^{*}-V^{\bar{c}}$ - to scatter: Bezht. *g-u^{\bar{c}}*- (Khosh.).

Cf. perhaps also Bezht. Khosh. $-\bar{i}^{\bar{c}}$ - in $\bar{q}-\bar{i}^{\bar{c}}-e\bar{j}$ - 'to winnow'. This laryngeal root is attested only in Bezht., but has probable external parallels.

| Lak. *hu=il*- to winnow.

G. pr. *hu=u-nu*. Cf. Khosr. *huji-n* id.

| Darg. $^{*}ihl$ - (~ $-\bar{c}$ -) to winnow: Ak. *i^{\bar{c}}-es*.

| Lezg. $^{*}l\bar{a}hi$ - 1 to throw 2 to winnow 3 to shoot: Lezg. *wehi*- 1; Tab. *it*- 2; Rut. $\bar{e}=e$ - 1,3; Tsakh. *aha*- 3; Kryz. $s-\bar{a}^{\bar{c}}$ - 1; Bud. $s-\bar{e}^{\bar{c}}$ - 1. Arch. *j\bar{a}ha*- 2.

Cf. also Lezg. pret. *wehe-na*, Tab. Düb. *l-ü-p-us* (< $^{*}i-b-h$ - with a class infix, just like lit. Tab. *it-uz* < $^{*}i-d-h$ - with another one); Arch. dur. *j\bar{a}rhu-r*, Rut. $s-\bar{e}=e$ - 'to throw, sow' (= Kryz. $s-\bar{a}^{\bar{c}}$ -, Bud. $s-\bar{e}^{\bar{c}}$ -), $l-\bar{e}=e$ - 'to winnow' (= Tsakh. *al'-a=ha*-), Kryz. $\bar{c}-\bar{a}^{\bar{c}}$ - 'to throw down'. Weak conjugation in PL.

See Giginayshvili 1977, 75.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of the common EC verbal roots with a laryngeal root consonant.

*ʔāIGi (~ -e) side; hip: Nakh. *ʔābo-b; Tsez. *ʔob: (~ʔ-,b); Darg. *ʔelq:i.

| Nakh. *ʔābo-b side: Chech. *ābō*; Ing. *ābuw*.

Cf. also Cheb. *ābaw*, Lev. *ābwō* id.

| Tsez. *ʔob: (~ʔ-,b) thigh, hip: Tsez. *oʔI*; Gin. *oʔ*.

PTsKh *ʔoʔ. Inkh. and Khvarsh. (Radzhibov) have *eʔ* 'hip' which raises phonetic problems: in fact, it may reflect another root (see PEC *ʔinGwV), otherwise lost in Tsezian.

| Darg. *ʔelq:i cheek: Chir. *alq:e*.

Cf. also Kub. *ēq:e*, Kharb. *irq:i* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*ʔēçwĀ raw, sour; to get sour: Nakh. *ʔune; Tsez. *ʔoc; Lezg. *ʔāçwV; W.-Cauc. *PçV.

| Nakh. *ʔune 1 dampness, moistness 2 raw, damp, moist: Chech. *ʔuna* 2. Ing. *ʔuna-l* 1; Bacb. *ʔwī* 1.

The pure stem is preserved in Bacb. (cf. also Chech. *ʔun-dan* 'to moisten' = Bacb. *ʔwin-od-dar*); the Chech. adjective goes back to *ʔune-n (cf. in Uslar's recording *ʔunin*; cf. also Cheb. *ʔunī*, Shar. *ʔujnī*, Khild. *ʔwinī* etc.).

| Tsez. *ʔoc 1 whey 2 curds: Tsez. *oc* 1; Khvarsh. *oc* (Radzhibov). Inkh. *oc* 1,2.

PTsKh *ʔoc.

| Lezg. *ʔāçwV 1 raw 2 sour 3 to be fermented: Lezg. *iči* 1; Tab. *uçʳu* 2. Ag. *ruçar* 2; Ud. *aje-sun* 3.

The root normally does not have class prefixes, thus the Ag. form with *r*- is probably secondary (the same with Tab. Düb. *riçʳri* id.). In Ud. cf. also *aljil-n* 'ferment, yeast'.

| W.-Cauc. *PçV 1 to go sour, to curdle (of milk) 2 raw: Ad. *pça-n*. Kab. *pça-n*.

PAK *pça. The WC etymology of Shagirov (2,50-51: comparison with Ub. *bačə* 'to become thick') seems dubious for both semantic and phonetic reasons. Since the EC counterpart of the root means both 'sour' and 'raw' (a natural and frequent semantic correlation), it seems possible to compare also (with a secondary loss of initial labial) PAK *çə-nā (Ad., Kab. *çəna*) 'raw' (also borrowed in Ub.: *çəna* id., see Shagirov 2, 126).

[] The PN form (as well as PAK *çə-na) contains a suffixed *-nV (originally participial); the weak initial syllable with a laryngeal is reduced (which probably reflects the Ablaut grade *ʔicwĀ). The WC form contains a labial (class) prefix, with a usual in this case delabialisation of the affricate. The comparison of PAK *çə-na with Lezg. was proposed by Rogava (1956, 81); see also Abdokov 1983, 150-151.

*ʔčmšwV to stop up, plug, close up: Av.-And. *ʔinš:- / *ʔiš:-Vn-. Lak. *aš:-a- / aš:-i-; Darg. *b-arš:-; Lezg. *ʔāšʳi.

| Av.-And. *ʔinš:- / *ʔiš:-Vn- 1 to darn 2 to lock 3 to unlock: Av. *š:uš:n-* 1; And. *d-aš:-* 2; Cham. *is:-Vn-* 3; Tind. *inš:-* 2.

Cf. also Cham. *Gig. -as:-Vn-* 'to unlock' (the only form with changing class prefixes, probably secondary). Loss of -n-conjugation in And. is not clear.

| Lak. *aš:-a- / aš:-i- to close tightly, stop up.

G. pr. -aš:-u-nu.

| Darg. *b-arš:- to load, charge (weapon): Ak. *bars-es*.

Cf. also Ur. *bars-* / *birs-*, Kub. *baš:-* / *baš:-* id.

| Lezg. *ʔāšʳi 1 stop up, plug 2 to be buried, planted 3 to insert: Tab. *hit-i-sʳ-* 1; Rut. *ā-sʳa-* 1; Tsakh. *q-eše-* 1; Bud. *ʔa-s-* 3; Ud. *b-osIe-sun* 2.

The verb belongs to the weak class in PL.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*ʔēmtū (~ -n-) soft; liquid, wet: Av.-And. *tantV- (~ -o-). Tsez. *tōtV- A; Lak. *ati-l-*; W.-Cauc. *tʳa.

| Av.-And. *ontV- (/ -intV-) 1 soft 2 liquid 3 wet 4 to warm up (a liquid): And. *b-itom* 3; Akhv. *tanta-b* 1 (Tseg.); Cham. *tantu* 2 (Gig.). Tind. *anta-* 4; God. *tantu* 2.

Most forms are reduplicated; cf. also Cham. *itā-* 'to thaw, melt'; Tind. *titin-* 'to drizzle'.

| Tsez. *tōtV- A 1 soft 2 warm: Tsez. *tatanu* 2; Khvarsh. *tutunu* 1. Bezht. *totilo* 1; Gunz. *tōdil* 1.

PTsKh *tuta-nu (with vowel assimilations), PGB *tōti-l(u).

| Lak. *ati-l-* wet.

With reduplication (and expressive pharyngealization) cf. also *taltu* 'pool'.

| W.-Cauc. *tʳa 1 to pour 2 to melt 3 liquid: Abkh. *a-tʳa-rā* 2, *a-ta-tʳa-rā* 1; Abaz. *čʳa-ra* 2, *a-ta-čʳa-ra* 1; Ub. *tʳa-* 3.

PAT *tʳa-; the Ub. root is seen in compounds *tʳa-χʳā* 'river', perhaps also *tʳā-šx* 'hail'.

[] Several languages reflect also the reduplicated form *tēmtV.

*ʔēmV paternal uncle; father: Av.-And. *ʔima; Lezg. *ʔem(Vj).

| Av.-And. *ʔima father: Av. *emēn*; And. *ima*; Akhv. *ima*; Cham. *ima*. Tind. *ima*; Kar. *ima*; Boil. *ima*; Bagv. *ima*; God. *ima*.

Av. paradigm B (pl. *umū-mul*).

| Lezg. *ʔem(Vj) paternal uncle: Tab. *em*; Tsakh. *emi*; Ud. *āmi-k-*.

[] An Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss.

*ʔēndū forehead: Av.-And. *hondV (~h-); Darg. *ʔant:a.

| Av.-And. *hondV (~h-) forehead: Av. *nodō*; Chad. *nodō*; And. *honno*. Kar. *handu*.

Av. paradigm B (*nadā-lzul*, *nadā-l*; Chad. *nadāldul*, *nadāl*); *nodō* regularly < *ʔondō.

| Darg. *ʔant:a forehead: Ak. *anda*.

Cf. also Ur. *anda*, Kub. *nat:a*, Tsud. *ant:a*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*ʔēnirgwi cave, cavern: Av.-And. *nV(r)q:-V; Tsez. *ʔoniχ:- B; Lak. *nuχ*; Darg. *ʔiniq; Lezg. *ʔriq / *ʔirq; Khin. *nuqa*.

| Av.-And. **nV(r)q:V* cave, cavern: Av. *noq:ô*; Chad. *noqô*.
Av. paradigm C (*noq:ô-dul*, *nôq:a-l*; but Chad. B: *noqô-l*, *noqô-jal*). Av. (dial.)
> Gin. *noqi* 'cavern'.

| Tsez. **niχ*. B cave, cavern: Tsez. *imχu*; Khvarsh. *iχnu* (*Radzhibov*). Inkh. *eχnu*; Bezht. *onoχ*; Gunz. *onuχ* (*Gunz.*).

PTsKh **onχ*^V / **oχ*^{nV} (~ -e-); PGB **onuχ* (Bezht. *onoχ* < **anoχ*, which would be regularly expected, due to vocalic assimilation).

| Lak. *nuχ* cave, cavern.

Gen. *nuχ-u-l*. Cf. also Khosr. *nuχ*, Gen. pl. *nuχ:a-rdil* id. Lak. > Darg. Chir. *nuχ*, Arch. *noχ* 'cavern'.

| Darg. **iniq*: cave, cavern: Ak. *iniq*.

Cf. also Ur. **iniq*: (with an unclear -), Tsud. *iniq*, Muir. *iniq*.

| Lezg. **riq* / **irq* (~ u) 1 hole, burrow 2 cave, cavern: Tab. *urq* 1. Rut. *raχan* 1; Tsakh. *wuqna* 2.

The Rut. and Tsakh. forms have a *-nV-suffix (which can either reflect the former oblique stem, or - through metathesis - the original root resonant).

| Khin. *nuqa* gutter.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of several common EC trisyllabic roots, which is clearly seen in PTs and PD reflexes; it may be connected with PEC **-HarqV* 'to dig', although the derivation model is not quite clear.

**qV* grape; fruit; fruit-garden, vineyard: Av.-And. **oqi*; Tsez. **oχ* (~ *h-); Lak. *aq*; Darg. **anq*.

| Av.-And. **oqi* 1 garden 2 sweet cherry 3 grape: Av. *aχ* 1; And. *oxi* 2 (*Tsertsvadze*); Akhv. *aqi* 3; Cham. *aχ* 3; Tind. *aχi* 3; Kar. *aχe* 1. Botl. *aχi* 1; Bagv. *ah* 1.

Av. paradigm B-C (gen. *aχi-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *aχi*, Cham. Gig. *aχi* 'grape, vineyard'. Av. *aχ* > And. *aχi* 'garden'.

| Tsez. **oχ* (~ *h-) grape: Khvarsh. *oh*; Inkh. *oh*.

PTsKh **oχ* (~ -h).

| Lak. *aq* garden.

Cf. gen. pl. *aq-urdil*.

| Darg. **anq* 1 garden 2 fruit(s): Ak. *anq* 1; Chir. *aq* 2.

Cf. also Ur. *anq* 'garden'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular, except for the excessive -n- in PD (all other languages reveal absolutely no trace of any medial resonant); it may have penetrated from an oblique base like **aq-nV*- (or, more probably be a result of contamination with another root: PEC **HēnqV* 'meadow, plot' q.v.).

**mkV* a k. of insect, worm: Av.-And. **unka* (~ ?*ink*^{a, o, m}); Lezg. **kamk*.

| Av.-And. **unka* (~ ?*ink*^{a, o, m}) 1 name of a vermin, harmful insect 2 beetle: Av. *nuka* 1; Akhv. **unka* 2.

Av. has a usual metathesis in Anlaut (*nuka* < **unka*).

| Lezg. **kamk* 1 worm 2 grub, larva 3 itch, mange: Lezg. *k^wak* 1; Tab. *kamk* 1;

Ag. *kabk* 3 (*TP*); Tsakh. *kok* 2; Kryz. *k^wak* 1.

Obl. base unknown (-r-stem in Lezg. and Tab.); 3d class in Kryz. and Tsakh.

[] An Av.-And-Lezg. isogloss. The PL form is reduplicated (because of the root's expressive nature).

**ikwVn* to eat: Av.-And. **ik^wVn*-; Tsez. **kək*- (~ -e-, -i-); Lak. -uka-; Darg. **i(r)k^wVn*-; Lezg. **ik^wVn*-.

| Av.-And. **ik^wVn*- to eat: Av. *k^wan*-; Chad. *k^w(Vn)*-; And. *ik^won*-. Akhv. *unkan*-; Cham. *ik^wn*-; Tind. *ek^wi*-; Kar. *ink^w*-; Botl. *ink^w*-. Bagv. *ek^wa*-; God. *ikū*-.

The Av. form reflects the Ablaut variant **k^wVn*-. In some of the Andian languages the final -n was duplicated in the stem (Akhv., Kar., Botl.). In Av. and And. the verb is both transitive and intransitive; in other Andian languages it is only intransitive.

| Tsez. **kək*- (~ -e-, -i-) 1 to eat 2 to feed: Tsez. *kik*- 1, 2; Gin. *kik-aj*- 2; Khvarsh. *kak*- 1; Inkh. *kok*- 1.

PTsKh **kək*- (an historical reduplication).

| Lak. -uka- eat.

G.pr. -u=*ku-nu*. Cf. Khosr. -uka-n, dur. *k^wana-n*.

| Darg. **i(r)k^wVn*- eat: Ak. *uk-es*; Chir. -erk^w- / -uk-.

Cf. also Ur. -irk^w(n)/-uk-.

| Lezg. **ik^wVn*- eat: Arch. *kum-mus*; Ud. *ukes*.

An important Arch.-Ud. isogloss (lost in all other languages; the Arch. root is *k^wan*-).

See Giginayshvili 1977, 80-81.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The verb has class prefixes only in Lak. and Darg. Several languages have an interesting opposition 'to eat (objectless)': 'to eat (smth.)': Av. Chad. *kuná-ji* : *k^wén-zi*; Darg. Chir. -erk^wVn- / -uk- : -uk- / -uk-; Arch. *kúm-mus* (dur. *kúkin*, term. *kúnni*) : *kum-mús* (dur. *k^wan*, term. *kunné*).

**ilēwi* nine: Nakh. **iss*; Av.-And. **ho(b)χ^wo*-; Tsez. **χ^we*-(no) A. Lak. *urč*; Darg. **určem*-; Lezg. **ilēwi*-; Khin. *joz*.

| Nakh. **iss* nine: Chech. *iss*; Ing. *ijs*; Bacb. *iss*.

-js- in Ing. is not quite clear (a special development of *-ss?).

| Av.-And. **ho(b)χ^wo*- nine: Av. *ilē-go*; Chad. *ilē-gu*; And. *hoč-o-gu*. Akhv. *apa-da*; Cham. *ača-da*; Tind. *hač^wa-ja*; Kar. *hača-da*; Botl. *hača-da*. Bagv. *hača-ra*; God. *hača-da*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *abča-da*, Ratl. *abč^wa* (in Northern Akhvakh there occurred a very unique development -bč^w- > -p-), Cham. Gig. *hača-da*, Kar. Tok. *hač^wa*, Bagv. Tlis. *hač^wa-da*, Tlond. *hač^wa-ra*.

| Tsez. **χ^we*-(no) A nine: Tsez. *očino*; Gin. **ačino*; Khvarsh. *ūčīn*. Inkh. *ōčēē*; Bezht. *ačēna*; Gunz. *uččin* (*Gunz.*).

PTsKh **ōčēe*-(no) (-a- in Gin. is irregular); PGB **χ^w[e]-n*(o) (labialised **χ^w*- must be reconstructed to account for labial u- instead of o in Gunz.). Geminat in Inkh. and Gunz. is emphatic (it is recorded only by MSU, and not

noticed by Bokaryov). Nasalisation here has the same pattern of distribution as in PTs *ʔɛ̃ɛ- 'ten'.

| Lak. *urɕ* nine.

Cf. Khosr. *urɕ=a*.

| Darg. *ʔurɕem- nine: Ak. *urɕem-al*; Chir. *arɕam-al*.

Cf. also Ur. *urɕim*, Kub. *uɕum*.

| Lezg. *ʔilɕi- nine: Lezg. *kū-d*; Tab. *urɕu-b*; Ag. *jairɕu-d*. Rut. *huɕu-d*; Tsakh. *jiɕu-lle / juɕu-*; Kryz. *jiɕi-d*; Bud. *wiɕi-d*; Arch. *uɕ*, *uɕa-tu*; Ud. *wuj*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *ɕu-d*, Tab. Düb. *hurɕu-w*, Ag. Bursh. *jerɕu-r*, Fit. *jerku-d*, Burk. *jerɕul-d*. The resonant -r- before the hushing ɕ in Tab. and Ag. points to PL *-l- (PL *-r- would have remained in all languages except Ud). Pharyngealization in Ag. (also in Tsakhur in the latest MSU recordings: *julɕu-lle*) may be archaic (a trace of the old laryngeal). Arch. *ɕi* 'ninety' < *ɕiwi < (with metathesis) *ʔilɕi-j.

| Khin. *joz* nine.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PL form contains a former class prefix *μ-; other subgroups have either lost it or reflect a prefixless form. The vocalic correspondences are irregular just as they are in *ʔenɕɛ 'ten' (q.v.). This is due to the mutual influence of these numerals in most subgroups: nevertheless, Lak, Avar and Dargwa reflect the opposition (*-i- in 'nine', *-e- in 'ten') very well.

One is tempted to compare the EC forms with PAT *zʔa 'nine' (as it was done by Trubetzkoy 1930, 275, Abdokov 1983, 156). PAT *zʔa, however, corresponds well to Ub. *bɕa* and PAK *bbʔa 'nine', allowing to reconstruct PWC *bɕʔa q.v. - and the comparison of *ʔilɕi and *bɕʔa meets serious phonetic obstacles.

*ʔilsV (~ -ɛ-, -ā-, -ā-) a bundle of sheaves: Nakh. *ʔes; Tsez. *ʔiz(:) (~ -s).

| Nakh. *ʔes 1 a bundle of 3 sheaves 2 a bundle of 4 sheaves: Chech. *os*. Ing. *es*.

4th class in both languages. Obl. base *ʔesu- (Chech. *osa*, Ing. *eso*); the vowel ɔ in the Chech. direct base is a result of later vowel levelling.

| Tsez. *ʔiz(:) (~ -s) a bundle of sheaves: Gunz. *iz*.

Attested only in Gunz., but having good Nakh parallels.

[] A Nakh-Tsez. isogloss.

*ʔilsV tower: Av.-And. *ʔisV; Tsez. *ʔiz(:); Lak. *isu*.

| Av.-And. *ʔisV tower: Av. *si*; Cham. *isa*.

Av. paradigm C (*siwú-l/si-l*, *sija-l*). The Av. form is a reduction of *ʔisi.

| Tsez. *ʔiz(:) tower: Tsez. *ez* (Radzhibov); Gunz. *iz*.

| Lak. *isu* boundary stone.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although not very widely spread (attested only in four languages), the root is no doubt archaic. Medial -l- is reconstructed on basis of PTs nasalisation, and is well confirmed by the HU parallel:

Hurr. *il3-iri* 'boundary mark of the universe (provided with a watch-tower)', see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 42).

*ʔilV to run, to leap: Nakh. *l-ɛlɕ-; Av.-And. *ʔi-r-/ʔi-V-b-; Tsez. *k-ɔl-; Darg. *ʔay-; Lezg. *ʔiɛ:a-.

| Nakh. *l-ɛlɕ- to jump: Chech. *lelɕ-*; Bacb. *letɕ-*.

With Ablaut and reduplication cf. also *ʔalɕV-: Chech. *ɕalɕa-dala*, Ing. *ɕalɕa-dala* 'to dance'.

| Av.-And. *ʔi-r-/ʔi-V-b- 1 to run 2 leap 3 to dance 4 dance (n.) 5 to roll: Av. *ɕi-r-d- 3*; Chad. *aɕ 4*; And. *ɕi-b-d- 3*; Akhv. *ɕi-r- 1*; Cham. *ɕi-r-id- 5*; Tind. *ɕi-a-b-d- 1*; Kar. *ɕi-e-b- 3*.

Most languages reflect stem 2 (*ʔi-V-) with different suffixes (cf. also Akhv. *ɕi-be* 'dance (n.)', Tlan. *ɕi-e-r-*, Ratl. *ɕi-b-* 'to dance', Tind. *ɕi-ar* 'dance (n.)', *ɕi-e-* 'to dance', *ɕi-ur-ij-* 'to spin'). Stem 1 (*ʔi-V-) is reflected only in the Av. (Chad.) derived noun *aɕ* 'dance'.

| Tsez. *k-ɔl- 1 run 2 jump: Tsez. *koɕ-* 2; Gin. *koɕ-* 2; Khvarsh. *koɕ-* 1. Inkh. *koɕ-* 1, 2.

PTsKh *koɕ-; k- is a historical preverb.

| Darg. *ʔay- to walk, to go: Chir. *ag-* / *arg-*.

Parallels in other Darg. dialects are not clear, but there are possible external correspondences.

| Lezg. *ʔiɛ:a- 1 to run 2 to drive, urge 3 to let: Tab. *uɕ-u=k:- 2*. Ag. *uk:- 1*; Rut. *hi=iga- 2*; Tsakh. *ba=jk:a- 3*.

Cf. also Rut. *si=iga-* 'to let'. Cf. the characteristic reflexes of *-ɕi- in Rutul dialects: Shin. *ji=ika-* 'to drive', Múkh. *jiqag:i-n* 'expelling, exile' (-g:- is also preserved in Luch. in the 1st class forms: aor. *hig:ir*, imper. *hiwig:i*). All forms reflect either *ʔiɛ:a- or the Ablaut grade *ʔoɕ:a-. In Agul the root is interacting in a complicated manner with another PL root, *ʔarke- q.v.: in Bursh. we have *q-ark:a-s* 'to drive' (with -r- under the influence of *q-arki-s* 'to go away') against *aki-s* 'to run' (with -ki- under the same influence; cf. also *arki-s* 'to get into, to reach').

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is not attested with class prefixes (only with laryngeal Anlaut or with preverbs).

*ʔilV to look: Nakh. *t-all- (~ -ɛlɕ-); Av.-And. *ʔi-V(n)-; Lezg. *liɛ:[a]; Khin. *l-ak-si* / *z-ak-si*.

| Nakh. *t-all- (~ -ɛlɕ-) 1 to explore, check; hunt 2 explorer, hunter: Chech. *tall-* 1; Ing. *tallar-ɕo* 2.

Cf. Chech. pret. *telli-ra* (for short *-a-). In Ingush only a derivate noun is attested.

| Av.-And. *ʔi-V(n)- to look: Cham. *ɕi-t-d-* (*Gig.*); Kar. *ɕi-on-* (*Tok.*).

The conjugation type is not clear.

| Lezg. *liɛ:[a] to look: Lezg. *ki-lig-*; Tab. *lig-*; Ag. *liwa-* (*Bursh.*).

Cf. Tab. Kand., Düb. *liy-* id. The initial *l- is either an old preverb or a remnant of *ʔil 'eye'.

| Khin. *l-ak-si* / *z-ak-si* to look.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**ima(n)*- to stay, to be: Lezg. **ima*; Khin. =*mä*.

| Lezg. **ima* to stay: Lezg. *ama*; Tab. *imi-di xuz*; Ag. *ame-xis* (Burk.). Rut. *ma=a*; Arch. *imm(a)-ex:as*.

An auxiliary verb with a defective paradigm (used either as auxiliary in present, or in compound verbs).

| Khin. =*mä* to be.

Used independently with class prefixes (*du-mä*, *dä-mä*, *z-mä*) or as a second part in compounds (*at-mä*, *qo-mä* etc.).

[] A Lezg.-Khin. isogloss. There are no traces of this archaic root in other EC languages, but there is a good HU parallel: Hurr. *mann-*, Ur. *man-* 'to be' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 21).

**irλwV* (~ -*ī-*) male: Nakh. **ārli*; Av.-And. **il:V-* / **ix^wV-*. Lak. *burxni-*.

| Nakh. **ārli* 1 ungelt 2 ram: Chech. *era* 1; Ing. *ār* 1; Bacb. *ajrλ* 2.

Cf. also PN **ūrλ* > Chech., Ing. *urh* 'testiculi'. **ūrλ* and **ārli* are probably historically parts of one paradigm: direct stem **ūrλ*, obl. stem (with regular Ablaut) **ārli-*.

| Av.-And. **il:V-* / **ix^wV-* 1 male 2 husband: Av. *bixín* 1; Chad. *bixína-b* 1; Akhv. *beλ:o* 1; Tind. *h^wan-hek^wa* 2.

Akhv. -*λ:*- reflects an early variant with delabialisation of **λ:*- > **λ:*-, whereas in Av. and Tind. **λ:*- regularly changed to -*x-* (Tind. *h^w*). The root was historically prefixless (cf. the Nakh data), so the Tindi form (*h^wan-* < **ix^wV-n-*) is probably the most archaic. Cf. also Av. Chad. *bexér* (gen. *boxró-l*) 'penis'.

Av. > Gin. *bikinaw* 'male', Bezht. *bikinab* 'male', *bikinči* 'male' (= Av. *bixín-či*).

| Lak. *burxni-* male.

Cf. Khosr. *burxni-čū* id. (= Av. *bixín-či*). The syllable-final position of -*x-* allows for both **-x-* and **-x:*- in Proto-Lak.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is prefixless in PN (traces of it are also seen in Andian languages), so probably the prefixed variant (with *b-*) in Av., Akhv. and Lak. is secondary.

**irλwVr* (~ -*ē-*) to kill, to slaughter: Av.-And. **λ:ar-* (~*-o-*). Lezg. **irλ:ar-*; Khin. =*uk-*.

| Av.-And. **λ:ar-* (~*-o-*) kill: Akhv. *λ:aru-ru-*.

Isolated in Akhv., but having good Lezghian parallels.

| Lezg. **irλ:ar-* to cut, slaughter (an animal): Lezg. *t-uk^wa-*; Tab. *u=k:*; Ag. *ruk:*; Rut. *u=g^wa-*; Kryz. *kur-*; Bud. *s-o=kr-*; Arch. *λ^wa-*.

See Trubetskoy 1922, 241; Leksika 1971, 242; Giginayshvili 1977, 110. In Arch. cf. also *λo-n-tol* 'finger-nail' (etymologically 'the part of the finger which is being cut').

| Khin. =*uk-* to slaughter.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Cf. also Hurr. *u/oll-* 'perish' (caus. 'to destroy'), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 51. The root may be ultimately related to **iwλē* 'to kill' (q.v.).

**irχwVr* to sew: Nakh. **urχal*; Av.-And. **aχ^(w)Vn-*; Lak. =*uruχ:a-*; Darg. **-arχVr-* / =*urχ-*; Lezg. **i(r)χ^wV(r)*; Khin. *miχez*.

| Nakh. **urχal* warp: Ing. *urχal*.

Attested only in Ing., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **aχ^(w)Vn-* (~ -*q-*) 1 to sew 2 to embroider: Av. *uhn-* 2. And. =*aχon-* 1.

The Av. verb has no class prefixes (begins with ?-); it is probable that class prefixes in Andian are here secondary.

| Lak. =*uruχ:a-* to sew.

G. pr. =*uruχ:u-nu*. Cf. Khosr. =*uruχ:a-n* id.

| Darg. **-arχVr-* / =*urχ-* to sew: Chir. =*arχVr-* / =*urχ-*.

Cf. also derivatives: Chir. *b-arχare* 'thread', (other dialects reflect also **b-i(r)χala* 'thread').

| Lezg. **i(r)χ^wV(r)* 1 to sew 2 thread, thin rope: Tab. =*irχ-* 1; Rut. *uχur* 2; Tsakh. *uχara* 2; Kryz. *χi* 2; Bud. *χiri* 2.

The verbal stem is preserved only in Tab. (cf. also Düb. =*i=χ-* id.). Other languages preserve the basic derivative **i(r)χ^wVra* 'thread' (with Anlaut reduction in Bud.). The Kryz. form is not quite clear: perhaps it is a reinterpretation of the form **χiri* (cf. Bud.) as plural (with a productive suffix -*ri*), with the back-formation > *χi* in singular. In Kryz. we also have *ruβ-* 'to sew', but this is rather a reflex of PL **irχ^wVr-* 'to knit, spin' (q.v.), reflecting a merger of two PL roots.

| Khin. *miχez* needle.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Reasons for the -*n*-conjugation in Av.-And. are not clear (as in a number of other cases); other languages do not have any traces of nasalisation. The root must originally have been prefixless: cf. the Av. form, and the identity of derivatives PL **i(r)χ^wVra* = PN **urχal* (< PEC **irχ^wVrV* / **irχ^wVIV*). Therefore class prefixation in most modern languages (as well as prefixation in PD derivatives **b-irχVla* / **b-arχVrV* and **d-irχVla*) should be regarded as secondary.

The Khin. form *miχez* is interesting: it may reflect an archaic derivative pattern with the instrumental prefix **m-* (< **m-irχ^wVrV* 'the instrument of sewing'); no other explanation of *m-* seems to be available in this case.

**irχwV* / **irχwV* to saw: Av.-And. **χ:i-* / **χ:iχ:ar-*; Tsez. **β:aru* (~ -*χ-*); Lak. *χ:ara-čani*; Darg. **χ:ur-ka*; Lezg. **irχ:ar^wV* / **χ:iχ:ar^wV*.

| Av.-And. **χ:i-* / **χ:iχ:ar-* to saw: Av. *q:uq:a-*; Chad. *quqa-* 1. And. *q:uq:an-*; Cham. *χ:uχ:an-*; Tind. *χ:ē-*, *χ:iχ:ar^wa-*.

The non-reduplicated stem II **χ:i-* is attested only in Tindi (*χ:ē* < **χ:i-di-*). All other forms are reduplicated, and in some of them (Av., And.) an irregular reflex *q:* is observed (probably due to the expressive character of the word). The Av. derivative *q:uq:adiro* 'saw' is borrowed in Akhv. *q:uq:adiro*, Cham. *Gig. q:og:adur* id.

• | Tsez. **ḥ:aru* (~ *χ-*) saw: Gunz. *həru*.

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *χ:ara-čani* saw.

Cf. Khosr. *χ:aračani* id. The second part (-čani) is not quite clear; for *χ:ara-* cf. also *χ:ara-čafa* 'metallic scraper'.

Lak. *χ:ara-* reflects the nominal derivate **VrχwVrV*; the original reduplicated stem **χirχwV-* is preserved in *χ:uχ:u-ti* 'file'.

It is interesting to note Tind. *čaraχ:un* 'saw' - which is very probably a later metathesis of a loanword from Lak. (*čaraχ:un* < **χ:aračVn*).

| Darg. **χ:ur-ka* rasp file: Ak. *χurka*.

Darg. **χ:urka* is the probable source of Lak. *χ:uku dan*, *χ:uku tun* 'to saw'.

| Lezg. **irχ:V* / **χ:irχ:V* 1 to saw 2 saw: Tab. *q-a=χl- l*; Ag. *d-irχ- l*. Rut. *darχilaq* 2; Tsakh. *ajχā* 2; Arch. *χ:uχ:u-bos l*.

In Tab. the root is used only with preverbs (*q-*, *ald-*); pharyngealization is probably secondary (expressive). The Lezghian languages reflect two main nominal derivatives from this root:

1) **t-irχ:V-l* / **t-irχ:V-n* (cf., besides Rut. *darχilaq*, also Tab. *durχin*, Ag. *duruxal*);

2) **arVχ:(V)-ra* > Tsakh. *ajχā* (Gelm. *ajχewa*).

Cf. also Arch. *χ:uχ:əti* 'saw' - which is obviously derived from *χ:uχ:u-* (although it may have been influenced also by the related Lak. *χ:uχ:u-ti* 'file').

[] An expressive root with many irregular changes. Nevertheless, at least two common EC derivatives can be reconstructed: a) **VrχwVrV* (with reduction **χ:VrV*) > Gunz. *həru*, Lak. *χ:ara-*, PL **arχ:(V)-ra*; b) **χirχwV* (coinciding with the reduplicated verbal stem).

A similar stem exists in Kartvelian: **χarχ-* 'to saw, saw' (see Klimov 1964, 257-258). From Kartvelian (Georg. *χerχ-* 'saw', Megr. *χorχ-* id.) it was borrowed into many NC languages: Chech., Ing., Bacb. *χerχ*, Inkh. *χereχ*, Tsez., Gin. *χiriχ*, Bezht. Tlad. *χorbo*, Khosh. *χorχo*, Abkh. *a-χarχ* (Bzyb. *a-χarχ*).

**ʔiʃV* (~ *-ē-*) to win; to be won, defeated: Nakh. **ʔeʃ-*; Av.-And. **iʃ(Vn)-*; Tsez. **iʃ(-)*.

| Nakh. **ʔeʃ-* to lose, be defeated; to be insufficient: Chech. *eʃ-*, Ing. *eʃ-*; Bacb. *eʃ-*.

| Av.-And. **iʃ(Vn)-* to win: Av. *-erh-in-*; And. *-iʃ-*; Akhv. *-iʃ-*. Cham. *-ih-*; Tind. *-ih-*; Kar. *-iʃan-*; Botl. *-iʃā-*; God. *-iʃā-*.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. *-ixV-* id. The nasal conjugation in Av., Kar., Botl. and God. is probably secondary.

| Tsez. **iʃ(-)* to win: Tsez. *-eʃ-* (*Radzhibov*); Gin. *-eʃ-*; Khvarsh. *-iʃ-*. Bezht. *-iʃ-* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *iʃ-*.

PTsKh **iʃ-*, PGB **iʃ-*. The root has no class prefixes in Gunzib, which may be an archaism (cf. PN).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The meanings 'to win' and 'to lose, be defeated' (= 'to be won') interchange very frequently in EC languages, thus the PN form can be safely compared with PA and PTs.

**ʔitārgū* (~ **ʔā-*) a bird of prey: Av.-And. **ʔitar[g]V*; Tsez. **ʔetaga-r*; Lak. *itargu*.

| Av.-And. **ʔitar[g]V* a k. of hawk: Av. *itārko*.

In Usl. notation *itārko*. In Av. -g- would be expected (cf. the Lak. and Inkh. forms); the final syllable must have been reinterpreted as a diminutive suffix (Av. -ko).

| Tsez. **ʔetaga-r* eagle: Inkh. *etakan*.

Isolated in Inkh., but with probable external parallels. Inkh. -k- presupposes PTs **-k-* or **-g-*; Inkh. -n - PTs **-r*, **-l* or **-n*.

| Lak. *itargu* kite.

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez.-Lak. isogloss.

**ʔiʒur-* to strain, filter, sift: Nakh. **ʔoʒ-* / **ʔebʒ-*; Av.-And. **Hirʒ:V-* / **ʕ:u(r)-*; Tsez. **-ic-* (~ *-t-*); Lak. *lic-*; Darg. **-erzVr-* (/ *-urz-*); Lezg. **(ʔi)ʕ:ur-*.

| Nakh. **ʔoʒ-* / **ʔebʒ-* 1 to milk 2 to pull; to sip, to smoke: Chech. *ōz-a*. Ing. *oz-a*; Bacb. *oc-ar*.

For the durative **ʔē-b-ʕ-* cf. Chech. *īz-a*, Ing. *uwz-a*, Bacb. *ebʕ-ar* / *epʕ-ar*.

| Av.-And. **Hirʒ:V-* / **ʕ:u(r)-* 1 to settle (of liquids) 2 to strain, filter, press: Av. *ʕ:u-* 2; And. *ʕ:ur-d-* 2; Tind. *hec-* 1; Kar. *erʕ-* 1. God. *c:ur-* 2.

The PA stem I **Hirʕ:V-* is intransitive, stem II **ʕ:u(r)-* - transitive. In Avar, besides *ʕ:u-* 'to strain', cf. also *ʕ:a-* 'to pull; to sip, to smoke' (and a frequentative form *ʕ:aʕ:ā-* id. = Chad. *ʕuʕū-* 'to suck') - which may be a contamination of this root and PA **ʕ:a-* 'to drink' q.v. Stem I is reflected in Av. as *-eʕ:-* 'to drip; be strained, filtered'.

The verbal root is the basis for several nominal derivatives:

1) PA **Hirʕ:i* 'whey' (*'settled, strained liquid'): Cham. *eʃ* (Gig. *heʕ:i*), Tind. *hec:a*, Kar. *erʕ:e*, Bagv. *erʕ:*, God. *erc:i* (not clear is the And. form *Gerʕ:i* - the first consonant is quite irregular);

2) **ʕ:urV* > Av. *ʕ:urā* 'filter'.

Cf., perhaps, also Av. *ʕ:ālk-* 'to sift' (Chad. *ʕak-*), *ʕ:ālkū* 'sieve' (Chad. *ʕakur*), which may be a further derivate with a -k-suffix (although there are phonetic problems with this hypothesis).

| Tsez. **-ic-* (~ *-t-*) 1 to press out, squeeze out 2 to be squeezed: Tsez. *cec-* 1; Khvarsh. *cec-* 1 (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *-ic-* 2.

The Tsez. stem is reduplicated (cf. Av. *ʕ:aʕ:ā-*); in Bezht. cf. also the causative *-ic-ol* 'to squeeze out' (perhaps also Bezht. Tlad. *coc-ā-* 'to suck', Tsez. *coco-liχ-* id.). For derivatives cf. perhaps Gin. *rociʕ-mu* 'sieve'.

| Lak. *liçi-* to settle (of liquid).

G. pr. *li=čunu*.

| Darg. **-erzVr-* (/ *-urz-*) to sift: Chir. *-erz-* / *-urz-*.

Cf. also Ur. *-irhVr-* / *-urh-* id. A PD derivate is **zula* (< **zurV-la*) 'sieve' > Ak. *ula*, Chir., Tsud., Sirg., Kait. *zula*.

| Lezg. *⁽ⁱ⁾ç:ur- to suck; to strain, filter: Arch. çur-bos 1; Ud. c:oro 2.

An Arch.-Ud. isogloss, therefore the first syllable is reconstructed only because of the general requirements of the verbal root structure.

An archaic derivate is Arch. çurala 'neck of zourna (flute)' < PL *ç:urVl(a) (this noun originally meant 'filter, sieve', as seen from external evidence).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is rather widely attested and has several nominal derivatives in several subgroups; one of them, *çurV-IV 'filter, sieve' (PL *ç:urVl(a), PD *zurla > *zula, Av. ç:urá) can be also reconstructed for PEC.

*⁽ⁱ⁾çwV(r) to lick; to smear, plaster: Av.-And. *zar- (~ -o-); Tsez. *-āč-; Lak. -uš:i-; Darg. *-iž- (~ -č:-); Lezg. *⁽ⁱ⁾č:wa(r).

| Av.-And. *zar- (~ -o-) 1 to smear 2 to paint: Av. zužā- 1; Akhv. zar- (Rats.) 2; Kar. zar- 2.

The Av. reflex is reduplicated.

| Tsez. *-āč- to lick: Bezht. -āč- (Tlad.); Gunz. -āč-.

PGB *-āč- (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. -āč-).

| Lak. -uš:i- to lick; to plaster.

G. pr. -u:s:u-nu. Cf. also Khosr. -uš:i-n 'to lick; to plaster'.

| Darg. *-iž- (~ -č:-) to lick: Ak. iž-es.

| Lezg. *⁽ⁱ⁾č:wa(r) 1 to lick 2 to suck: Tab. -ilž'- 1; Ag. d-užā- (Bursh.) 1; Rut. f-u=že- 2; Arch. ča- 1.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. -i=ž'- 'to lick'. Ag. and Rut. have expressive dental preverbs.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except for nasalisation in PTs, the source of which is not clear).

*⁽ⁱ⁾i this: Nakh. *⁽ⁱ⁾i; Tsez. *⁽ⁱ⁾i-/*ji-; Darg. *⁽ⁱ⁾i-; Lezg. *⁽ⁱ⁾i; W.-Cauc. *jA.

| Nakh. *⁽ⁱ⁾i demonstrative pronoun: Chech. i(-za); Ing. i-z; Bacb. e, i.

The stem *⁽ⁱ⁾i (with vacillation between i and e in Bacb.) is the normal pronoun for near deixis in Bacb.; in Chech./Ing. it designates the second degree of proximity and is also the standard 3d person pronoun.

| Tsez. *⁽ⁱ⁾i-/*ji- a demonstrative stem: Tsez. je-da, ji-si; Inkh. j-u, i-du.

PTsKh *⁽ⁱ⁾i-/*ji-, used for both near (Tsez. je-da, Inkh. i-du) and far (Tsez. ji-si, Inkh. j-u) deixis. It is possible that hi- in Gin. hi-ba-go 'that' also goes back to this root, but has been mixed with another deictic stem *ha-.

| Darg. *⁽ⁱ⁾i- demonstrative stem: Ak. i-s,i-l; Chir. i.

Used for near deixis in Chir., and generally in all demonstrative pronouns (joined to other deictic particles) in Ak. Cf. also Chir. j-aⁱ-ma 'here'.

| Lezg. *⁽ⁱ⁾i demonstrative pronoun: Lezg. i; Tsakh. i-n; Arch. ja-t, ja-mu.

The Arch. form (ja-) is probably a compound of pronoun stems *⁽ⁱ⁾i- and *⁽ⁱ⁾a-; cf. also a separate i- in i-si-k 'here', i-si-s 'from here'.

See Alekseyev 1985, 75.

| W.-Cauc. *jA a demonstrative stem: Abkh. ja-rā; Abaz. ja-ra. Ad. jā; Kab. ja, jej; Ub. jā.

In PAT used as the 3d p. pronoun *ja-ra 'he'; cf. also *jā (Abkh. j(a)-, Abaz. j(a)- the verbal prefix of the 3d person) and *jā within complex demonstrative stems (*a-nā-jā 'that', *a-rā-jā 'this' > Abkh., Abaz. ani, ari etc.).

In AK the root functions as the 3d p. possessive prefix (jā- 'his'), see Шагиров 1, 180.

In Ubykh jā- is the demonstrative pronoun expressing near deixis ('this'). the same morpheme is probably used as a personal prefix of the 3d p. pl.

[] A common NC demonstrative stem, in the majority of languages used for near deixis, thus the meaning 'this' may be safely reconstructed. See Abdokov 1983, 138.

*⁽ⁱ⁾rcV stick, wood: Nakh. *⁽ⁱ⁾rcV; Darg. *⁽ⁱ⁾urcul(i); W.-Cauc. *sə.

| Nakh. *⁽ⁱ⁾arcV 1 bar, bolt, cross-beam 2 purlin: Chech. orcxa 1; Ing. orc 2.

Chech. orcxa is a development < *⁽ⁱ⁾arcu-ka (with a variant *-ka of the PN diminutive suffix *-k). Length of vowel is determined on basis of Ing. orc (reflecting *⁽ⁱ⁾arcu - probably the original oblique base in the paradigm *⁽ⁱ⁾arc, *⁽ⁱ⁾arcu-). 6th class in both languages.

The same root is present in the PN compound *⁽ⁱ⁾duq-arc 'stick for locking the yoke (*⁽ⁱ⁾duq)' > Chech. duqarc, Ing. duqarc.

| Darg. *⁽ⁱ⁾urcu-l(i) wood, firewood: Ak. urculi.

Cf. also Ur. urcul, Kub. us:ul id.

| W.-Cauc. *sə wood, timber: Ub. sə.

Ub. def. ā-s. Further connections of this word within WC are not quite clear. Shagirov (1972, 137; 2, 60) and Abdokov (1983, 132) find a cognate in Abkh., Abaz. -s(s) 'suffix denoting material' (Abaz. qalpa 'hat', qalpa-s 'stuff for making hats' etc.) - on the analogy with a synonymous Adygh morpheme -pxa going back to a root meaning 'wood'.

A probable derivate in Ub. is sə-χə 'horizontal bar, bolt, pole' (from sə- 'wood' + -χə 'a possessive particle'). If this derivation is correct, we must admit an interesting fact of the further expansion of this term throughout the Caucasus: to Adygh languages (Ad. sax 'bolt', Kab. sax 'post, pole'), whence Abkh. a-sāk 'bolt', Abaz. (Ashkh.) sak 'a pole for locking the gate', and further - Osset. sāux 'post, pole' and Avar s:ak 'bridge support, abutment'. See Shagirov 2, 60.

[] The comparison seems rather probable. We should note, however, that the PWC form can equally well correspond to PEC *⁽ⁱ⁾hwālsā 'wood, stick' (q.v.), with which we compared PWC *⁽ⁱ⁾pəsV 'fir-tree' (in fact, such a comparison was made by Abdokov 1983, 132) - and vice versa. This is conditioned by the merger of *c and *s in PWC, as well as by the loss of resonants and laryngeals. Therefore, the final etymological solution is yet to be chosen.

*ʔleλā night: Av.-And. *riλo; Tsez. *hūL; Lak. x:u; Lezg. *ʔel:a. W.-Cauc. *λ:Vλ:V.

| Av.-And. *riλo 1 night 2 at night: Av. *rele-da* 2; And. *reλo* 1. Akhv. *raλa* 1; Cham. *jeλa* 1; Tind. *reλa* 1; Kar. *reλa* 1; Botl. *reha* 1. Bagv. *reλa* 1; God. *reλa* 1.

Cf. also Bagv. Kvan. *reha*, Tlond. *relha*, Akhv. Tseg. *raλe*, Cham. Gig. *reλa*. Tind. > Khv., Inkh. *reλa* id.

| Tsez. *hūL yesterday: Tsez. *hul*; Gin. *hul* / *wul*; Khvarsh. *hul-xo* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *huni-za*; Bezht. *hūl* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *hūl*.

PTsKh *hūL (Inkh. *huni* - < *hūli-); PGB *hūL (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *hul*).

| Lak. x:u night.

4th class. Obl. base x:u-ni-. Historically this is most probably a result of reduction < *IVx:u (*IVλ:u), cf. the archaic adverb *lax:u* 'yesterday'.

| Lezg. *ʔel:a 1 evening 2 late: Rut. *ixə* 2 (*Khniukh.*); Tsakh. *ex:a* 1. Arch. *λ:e-t:u-t* 2.

| W.-Cauc. *λ:Vλ:V night: Abkh. *á-çx*; Abaz. *çxə*; Ad. *časə*. Kab. *zas*; Ub. *səsə*.

PAT *cəxə / *çəxə (cf. also Bz. *á-cx*, Abaz. (Гонюв 1956) *cəxə*); origin of the glottalised variant is not quite clear (all the related languages show no trace of glottalisation in this root). PAK *č:as:ə (cf. Bzhed. *čas:ə*). Ub. def. *á-səs*.

In Ub. an assimilation has occurred: *səsə* < *čəsə. Otherwise the correspondences are quite regular and point to PWC laterals in both syllables.

[] The PTs form is a contraction of the deictic particle *ho- (q.v.) + the expected reflex *liL > *riL (*ho-liL > *hulL > *hūL). In PWC the specific cluster *ʔl- developed into *λ, with a regular strengthening before a long vowel; the resulting *λ:VλV (where -λ- regularly < *λ-) developed into *λ:Vλ:V through assimilation. Although superficially the EC and WC forms are very different, they are no doubt genetically related.

Trubetzkoy (1922, 239) incorrectly compares the PA root with Lezg. *jif* (which in reality goes back to PEC *hničwV q.v.).

*ʔnVhV (~ -f-) shame; fright: Nakh. *ʔeh; Lak. *nih*; Lezg. *nāh (~ -e-,h).

| Nakh. *ʔeh shame: Chech. *eh*; Ing. *ih*.

Obl. base *ʔehi- (Ing. *iho*); Chech. has generalized the vocalism of the direct base (cf. obl. base *eha*-), Ing. - the vocalism of the oblique base. 3d class in both languages.

| Lak. *nih* fright.

Cf. Khosr. *nih* id.

| Lezg. *nāh (~ -e-,h) vicious, sinful: Lezg. *neh*.

Attested only in Lezg., but having probable parallels in Lak. and PN.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is reflected only in four languages, thus the precise vocalic reconstruction is difficult; still its PEC antiquity is quite probable (no possible source of borrowing is known to us).

*ʔəbV(jV) father: Tsez. *ʔəbu A (/ʔəbiju); Lak. p:u; Darg. *ʔaba; Lezg. *ʔap:aj; Khin. *aba*; W.-Cauc. *(a)p:ə.

| Tsez. *ʔəbu A (/ʔəbiju) father: Tsez. *obiju*; Gin. *obu*; Khvarsh. *obu*. Inkh. *obu*; Bezht. *abo*; Gunz. *əbu*.

PTsKh *ʔəbu / *ʔəbiju, PGB *ʔəbu.

| Lak. p:u father.

Cf. gen. *bu-t:a-l* (= Khvarsh. *obu-ti*-, Inkh. *obu-di*-). In Khosr. *but:a* can be used also as a direct stem.

| Darg. *ʔaba father: Ak. *aba* (*Ur.*).

Cf. also Kub., Kharb. *aba*, Kait. *uba*.

| Lezg. *ʔap:aj 1 father 2 father-in-law 3 grandfather: Lezg. *ap:aj* 2. Tab. *aba* 3; Kryz. *bəj* 1; Arch. *ab-t:u* 1; Ud. *ap:e-r* 1.

Cf. also Tab. lit. *aba* 'father', Arch. *abaj* 'parents' (the second syllable is reduced before the adjunct. suffix -t:u in *abt:u*).

| Khin. *aba* grandfather.

| W.-Cauc. *(a)p:ə father: Abkh. *ab*; Abaz. *aba*; Ad. *tə*; Kab. *āda*. Ub. *tʷə*.

PAT *abV (cf. also Abkh. plur. *āba-cʷa*); PAK *at:a, *t:ə (cf. also Ad. /in compounds/ *āt(a)*). Ub. def. form *á-tʷ*.

The correspondences are regular, thus it seems reasonable to accept Deeters's etymology (Deeters 1963,39), pace Shagirov (1, 56-57). Cf. also Mészáros 1934,208 (Abkh.-Ub.).

[] A nursery word; however, its common NC ancestry can not be doubted. The palatalisation in PWC *p: can be explained by the influence of *j. See Abdokov 1983, 86 (although the PAK form (in view of its AT correlates) should be kept apart from PEC *dadājV 'father' (q.v.)).

In Lak. there occurred a reduction of the first vowel (cf. an analogous feature in Kryz.). Khin. has also a form *bij* 'father', but this is most likely an old Shakh-Dagh loanword.

*ʔolbVwA to think: Nakh. *ʔoHV-la (~ -ō-); Av.-And. *ʔurbV-; Darg. *ʔarbʷ- / *ʔirbʷ-; Lezg. *ʔalbV-; W.-Cauc. *bʷa.

| Nakh. *ʔoHV-la (~ -ō-) thought: Chech. *olja*; Ing. *ujla*.

Reconstruction of Inlaut uncertain because of the absence of Bacbi parallels (*-g- also possible). The word is an exact parallel to Av. *úrbe-l* 'thought'.

| Av.-And. *ʔurbV- think: Av. *urb-*; Tind. *urb-iji-*; Kar. *urb-*. God. *urbī-*.

Andian forms may be loaned from Av.; certainly an Av. loanword is Cham. *urbi-la* 'think'. Av. *úrbel* 'thought, anxiety' > Lak. *urbil* id.

| Darg. *ʔarbʷ- / *ʔirbʷ- 1 to hear 2 to understand: Ak. *arb-* / *irb-* 1,2. Chir. *č-arbʷ-* 2.

Cf. also Ur. *arb-/irb-* 'to hear'.

| Lezg. *ʔalbV- 1 to think 2 to understand: Tab. *šawri* 3- 2; Ag. *šəʔur-di* *arx-* 2; Arch. *arha-s*.

The Tab. and Ag. compound verbs contain the old deverbal noun from the stem *ʔilbV- > *bV- (with contraction). Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *šawur-di* *arki-s* 'to understand'.

| W.-Cauc. **ɣʷa* 1 to seem 2 to think, suppose: Abaz. **a-rá* 1; Ad. *gʷə-ɣa-n* 2; Kab. *gʷə-ɣa-n* 2; Ub. *ɣʷa*- 2.

Ub. *a-z-ɣʷa-n*. The Abaz. verb is used in expressions like *sgʷə* **it* "it seems to me" (lit. "my heart thinks"). The PAK form **gʷə-ɣa-* has a delabialised **ɣ* as a result of contamination with another PWC stem, **gʷə-Ga-* 'to hope' q.v. (PAK **gʷə-ɣa-* means both 'to think, suppose' and 'to hope'). See Shagirov 1, 115.

[] Semantically and phonetically all the listed forms match each other very well.

ʔəŋɕwə* door; window: Av.-And. **hinç*:u; Tsez. **ʔac*(u); Lak. *nuz*; Darg. **ʔunc*:a; Lezg. **ʔVnɕ(a).

| Av.-And. **hinç*:u door: Av. *nuç*:á; Chad. *nuçá*; And. *hinc*:u. Akhv. *ĩç*:o; Cham. *hũç*ː; Tind. *hinc*:u; Kar. *hinc*:u; Botl. *hinç*:u. Bagv. *hũç*ː; God. *hinc*:u.

Av. paradigm B (*nuç*:í-l, *nuç*:bí). Metathesis (*nuç*:a < **ʔunc*:a) is regular in Avar.

| Tsez. **ʔac*(u) door: Tsez. *ac*; Gin. *ac* / **ʔac*; Khvarsh. *ac* (*Khaidakov*). Inkh. *āc*; Bezht. *āc*; Gunz. *əcu*.

PTsKh **ʔac* (cf. also Tsez. (Imnaishvili) *ac* / **ʔac*); PGB **ʔacu* (not quite clear is *ə* in Gunz.).

| Lak. *nuz* door (one-folded).

| Darg. **ʔunc*:a door: Ak. *unza*; Chir. *unc*:a.

Cf. also Ur. *unza*, Kub. *uc*:a.

| Lezg. **ʔVnɕ**(a) window: Tab. *unɕ*ː.

Isolated in Tab., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Lak. and PD reflect a form with delabialisation (**ʔəŋɕwə* > **ʔúnɕə*); otherwise correspondences are regular.

**ʔə* that (demonstrative pronoun): Nakh. **ʔə*; Lezg. **ʔa*; W.-Cauc. **a*.

| Nakh. **ʔə* that: Bacb. *o*.

Isolated within Nakh, but obviously an archaic pronoun stem.

| Lezg. **ʔa* demonstrative pronoun: Lezg. *a*, *a-m*; Kryz. *ā-m*, *ā-d*. Bud. *ad*; Arch. *e-mi*ː.

This pronoun stem is normally used in compounds (in Arch. *e-mi-k* 'there', *e-mi-si* 'towards there' probably an assimilative vowel fronting < **ʔa-mi*ː), separate usage attested only in Lezg. *a* 'that'. Cf. also Rut. *a-r-baj*, Tsakh. *a-d* 'inside'. See Alekseyev 1985, 75.

| W.-Cauc. **a* a demonstrative stem: Abkh. *a*-; Abaz. *a*-; Ad. *ā*. Kab. *ā*; Ub. *a*-.

PAT **a*- 'definite article', **a*- in **a-rəjə* 'this', **a-nəjə* 'that' (Abkh., Abaz. *arl*, *antl*). In PAK the root was used independently (**a* 'that', 'this'); in Ub. it is also used as a definite article (as in PAT) and within complex pronoun stems (*a-j-da* 'that' etc.).

[] This demonstrative stem is mostly used for far deixis ("that") as opposed to **ha*- (q.v.) for near deixis or emphatic deixis. We must note, however,

that in many modern languages it is extremely complicated to make a clear-cut distinction between the reflexes of these two pronominal morphemes.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 274; Abdokov 1983, 140.

**ʔrānɬE* six: Nakh. **jalχ*; Av.-And. **ʔinɬ*:i; Tsez. **ʔēɬ*ː-(nɔ); Lak. *ralχ*-; Darg. **ʔurik*ː; Lezg. **riɬ*ː; Khin. *zāk*; W.-Cauc. **ɬ*ːV.

| Nakh. **jalχ* (~ -a-) six: Chech. *jalχ*; Ing. *jalχ*; Bacb. *jetχ*.

Vowel length is unknown. For Bacbi Imnaishvili writes *jatχ*, but Kadagidze, Matsiyev and Desheriyev write *jetχ*.

| Av.-And. **ʔinɬ*:i- six: Av. *ánɬ*ː-go; Chad. *ánɬ*ː-gu; And. *onɬ*ː-i-gu. Akhv. *ĩɬ*ː-i-da; Cham. *anɬ*ː-i-da; Tind. *inɬ*ː-i-ja; Kar. *inɬ*ː-i-da; Botl. *inɬ*ː-i-da. Bagv. *inɬ*ː-i-ra; God. *inɬ*ː-i-da.

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *inɬ*ː-i, Bagv. Tlis. *inɬ*ː-i-da. In some languages the vowel was modified under the influence of the numeral "seven": Av. *anɬ*ː- (cf. *anɬ*ː- 'seven'); And. *onɬ*ː-i- (cf. *hoɬ*ː-u- 'seven'); Cham. *anɬ*ː-i- (cf. *aɬ*ː-u- 'seven').

| Tsez. **ʔēɬ*ː-(nɔ) six: Tsez. *ilno*; Gin. *ilno*; Khvarsh. *ējɬa*. Inkh. *ĩɬ* / *ēɬ*; Bezht. *ilna*; Gunz. *ilno*.

PTsKh **ʔēɬ*ː-no; PGB **ʔil-n* / *ɔ* (with -i- on analogy with **li-nɔ* 'five').

| Lak. *ralχ*- six.

Cf. Khosr. *raχ*ː-l-a. The numeral has been certainly modified under the influence of *χ*ːu-l- 'five' (regularly a form like *rik*ː- or *rak*ː- would be expected).

| Darg. **ʔurek*ː six: Ak. *ureg*-al; Chir. *rek*ː-a-l.

Cf. also Ur. *uriχ*, Kub. *ək*.

| Lezg. **riɬ*ː- six: Lezg. *rugu*-d; Tab. *jirxu*-b; Ag. *jerxi*-d. Rut. *rix*ː-d; Tsakh. *jixi*-llā; Kryz. *rix*ː-d; Bud. *rix*ː-d; Arch. *diɬ*, *diɬ*ː-i-ju. Ud. *uql*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *rigi*-d, Ag. Bursh. *jerši*-r. Metathesis of **r*- into Inlaut in Tab. and Ag. was caused by analogy with the numeral "seven" (Tab. *urɣu*-b, Ag. *jeri*-d < **uɬrɬ*ː-i-). Arch. *diɬ* 'sixty' < **riɬ*ː-i-j.

| Khin. *zāk* six.

| W.-Cauc. **ɬ*ːV six: Abkh. *f*-ba; Abaz. *c*-ba; Ad. *xa*; Kab. *xa*. Ub. *fə*.

PAT **c*ː (accounting for the specific correspondence Abkh. *f* : Abaz. *c*). PAK **xa* (cf. also **xə* 'six times' > Ad., Kab. *xə*). The correspondence PAT **c*ː : PAK **x* : Ub. *f* points to the PWC lateral affricate **ɬ*ː.

[] Lak. and Darg. do not have the expected dental prothesis, characteristic for roots of this structure (HRVNCV; in Lak. we would expect **t*ːirik-ː, and in PD - **durik*ː-); this may be connected with old class prefixation or special syntactic features of numerals. Vocalism in PL, Lak., Av. and part of Andian languages (diverging from the normal reflexion of **ɬ*) is due to the influence of **erɬ*ː 'seven' (see below about its influence on the WC form, too).

In WC labialisation is obviously secondary (as in some other cases, it must be explained by former class prefixation: **uV*-*ɬV* > **ɬ*ːV). It is more difficult

to explain the lack of expected gemination in * λ : (the EC data point to the final long vowel); maybe this was caused by analogy with the following NC numeral, * $\text{er}\underline{\text{e}}$ 'seven' q.v. Still, the common origin of the EC and WC forms is beyond doubt.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 239, 242; 1930, 275; Abdokov 1983, 155-156.

* $\text{r}\acute{\text{e}}\text{g}\text{w}\acute{\text{E}}$ yoke: Nakh. * duq ; Av.-And. * $\text{ru}\lambda$:V; Lezg. * $\text{ar}\lambda$:; Khin. ing. W.-Cauc. * $\text{b}(\text{ə})\text{r}\acute{\text{e}}$.

| Nakh. * duq yoke: Chech. duq ; Ing. duq ; Bacb. duq .

3d class in all languages. Obl. base * duqa- (Chech. duqa- , Ing. duqo id.), the Ablaut stem * daq- is preserved in plural: Chech. daqqa- , Ing. dowqa- < * daq-bV- .

| Av.-And. * $\text{ru}\lambda$:V yoke: Av. $\text{ru}\lambda$; Chad. $\text{ru}\lambda$; And. $\text{ru}\lambda$:o; Akhv. $\text{ru}\lambda$:e. Cham. $\text{wu}\lambda$; Tind. $\text{ru}\lambda$:a; Kar. $\text{ru}\lambda$:e; Botl. $\text{ru}\lambda$:i; Bagv. $\text{ru}\lambda$:i. God. $\text{ru}\lambda$:i.

Av. paradigm C $\text{ru}\lambda$: al-zul , $\text{ru}\lambda$: a-l ; Chad. A: $\text{ru}\lambda$: i-l , $\text{ru}\lambda$: a-l . Cf. also Cham. Gig. $\text{ru}\lambda$:i. Because of irregular correspondence (* λ would be expected in Tsezian), Tsezian forms (Tsez. $\text{re}\lambda\text{u}$ / $\text{ra}\lambda\text{u}$, Gin. $\text{ro}\lambda$, Inkh. $\text{ri}\lambda\text{o}$, Bezht. $\text{ju}\lambda\text{o}$, Khosh., Tlad. $\text{ru}\lambda\text{o}$, Gunz. $\text{ru}\lambda\text{u}$ < PTs * $\text{r[u]}\lambda\text{u}$ B) are to be considered an old loan from Av.-And.

| Lezg. * $\text{ar}\lambda$: yoke: Lezg. wik ; Tab. jurk-i-ab ; Ag. $\text{k:ur-a}\chi$. Tsakh. ok (olk); Kryz. uk-ar ; Arch. $\text{o}\lambda$; Ud. oq:l .

Cf. also Lezg. erg. wik-ini , Khl. wek , wek:eni , Tab. Düb. $\text{jirk:a}\text{ba}$, Ag. Bursh. $\text{jark:w}\chi$, Burk. $\text{urk:a}\text{b}$ (the Tab. and Ag. forms go back to a suffixed * $\text{ar}\lambda$: $\text{w}\chi$). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. Obl. stem not clear (there is only the Tsakh. form oki- / oke- with variation).

| Khin. ing yoke.

| W.-Cauc. * $\text{b}(\text{ə})\text{r}\acute{\text{e}}$ yoke: Ad. $\text{b}\acute{\text{z}}\text{ə}$; Kab. $\text{b}\acute{\text{z}}\text{ə}$.

PAK * $\text{b}\acute{\text{z}}\text{ə}$. PAK * z goes back to PWC * z ; therefore, pace Shagirov 1,90 the PAK form can not correspond to Abaz. $\text{psan}\acute{\text{e}}$ 'yoke' (* z in Abaz. yields b).

| An interesting common NC cultural term. We should stress that Lak. ruk and PD * duk 'yoke', however similar, still belong to another root (see * rikwV) (although of course the root * $\text{r}\acute{\text{e}}\text{g}\text{w}\acute{\text{E}}$ could have influenced it). In PWC the root obtained a prefixed labial (a rather frequent development), with a usual in such cases delabialisation of the following consonant. See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241, Abdokov 1983, 131.

We will probably be right in separating the root * $\text{r}\acute{\text{e}}\text{g}\text{w}\acute{\text{E}}$ from a slightly similar cultural Wanderwort, present in many linguistic families of the Near East: IE * ieug- / * iug- , PK * $\text{u}\text{bel-}$, Sem. * $\text{b}\text{ull-}$, the source of which may be ultimately Indo-European (cf. IE * ieug- 'to bind'). See abundant discussion of this root in Illich-Svitych 1965, 334-335, Goniashvili 1940, 581, Klimov 1964, 186, Deeters 1957, 390. There are traces of this root in NC languages as well: cf. Abkh. $\text{a-wab}\text{w}$, Ub. $\text{baw}\acute{\text{e}}$ (possibly borrowed from Kartvelian, see Charaya 1912, 15; Illich-Svitych ibid.; Shagirov 1,90. however, a reconstruction like PWC * wVGwV is also possible, and the precise direction of loan is still to be determined), Tab. (Kand.) ubin 'yoke for one ox' (as opposed to $\text{jirk:a}\text{b}$ 'yoke for two oxen'). As we see, they are very

sparse, and probably represent a later loanword - at any rate, having nothing to do with PNC * $\text{r}\acute{\text{e}}\text{g}\text{w}\acute{\text{E}}$.

* $\text{r}\acute{\text{e}}\text{g}\text{w}\acute{\text{E}}$ hind, bottom: Nakh. * -ist ; Av.-And. * $\text{ris:}\text{w}$; Tsez. * ros: (* -l- , -s); Lezg. * ajs:a (* -s).

| Nakh. * -ist edge, end: Chech. -ist ; Ing. -ist ; Bacb. bist .

Bacb. bist in Matsiyev's notation (Kadagidze: bist). Vowel length unclear (because of the consonant cluster). One of the stems with changing class prefixes.

| Av.-And. * $\text{ris:}\text{w}$ 1 lower side 2 anus 3 behind, bottom 4 tail 5 vagina: Av. roc: 1,2; Chad. roc 5; And. rus:i 2,3; Akhv. ros:i 2; Cham. wos: 2,3. Tind. ros:i 2; Kar. ros:i 3; Botl. rus:i 3; Bagv. rus: 4; God. rus:i 3.

Av. Chad. paradigm A (rócu-l). Cf. also Cham. Gig. rus:i 'behind, bottom', Akhv. ros:o-q:e 'behind' (adv.). And. > Inkh. rus 'anus'.

| Tsez. * ros: (* -l- , -s) foundation: Tsez. ros ; Gin. ros .

PTsKh * Ros .

| Lezg. * ajs:a (* -s) 1 bottom 2 below 3 low, short: Lezg. as-kan 3. Tab. asi-q , asi-k : 2; Ag. ajs 1; Rut. $\text{sa-}^?1$.

The suffixless root is preserved in Agul; all other languages have derivatives with locative suffixes (Rut. $\text{sa-}^?$ is a reduction < * $\text{asa-}^?$ 'in the bottom'). In Tab. cf. also asi-na 'downwards', Düb. is-di 'below'. The attested forms do not allow to distinguish between PL * s : and * s (if Lezg. Khl. $\text{h}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ze}$ 'below' belongs here, it can indicate PL * s :).

| Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although in PN we have a stem with changing class prefixes, it is probably secondary: a result of treating * d- in PN * dist '(lower) end' (cf. Chech., Ing. dist) as a class prefix. All other data point to a protoform with the initial cluster * r- .

Cf. also Hurr. $\text{tawš-a}\text{yl}\text{ə}$ 'bottom, lower part' (with t- regularly < * r-), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 29.

* untV (* -) sickness; defect: Nakh. * ant ; Av.-And. * untV- .

| Nakh. * ant shortcoming, defect: Chech. ant .

Isolated in Nakh., but having an Av. parallel.

| Av.-And. * untV- sickness, ailment: Av. unt .

Cf. also unt-ize 'to be sick' (unti is formally a deverbative noun).

| An exclusive Chech.-Av. isogloss - thus not very reliable.

* ugwV (* $\text{-}\text{ö-}$) to drink: Tsez. * $\text{x:i-l}\text{w-}$; Lezg. * $\text{oq}\text{w}\text{a-}$.

| Tsez. * $\text{x}\text{t-l}\text{w-}$ to drink: Tsez. $\text{hal}\text{w-}$; Khvarsh. $\text{x}\text{t-l}$; Inkh. $\text{xu}\text{al-}$. Bezht. $\text{xu}\text{al-}$. Gunz. $\text{xu}\text{al-}$.

PTsKh * $\text{x}\text{t-l}\text{w-}$ (with an irregular development * x > h in Tsez.), PGB * $\text{xu}\text{al-}$. Historically a compound (the second part goes back to the verb 'to say'). Cf. in Bezht. xu-l 'to drink', xu-rah- 'to drink (often)', suggesting that the original form was * $\text{x}\text{t-l}$, with a later transfer of labialisation: * $\text{x}\text{t-l}$ > * $\text{x}\text{t-l}\text{w-}$.

| Lezg. *^oq^a- 1 to suck 2 to drink 3 to absorb, soak: Lezg. q^a- 1, 2. Tab. u=q- 1; Ag. uq- 1; Tsakh. g-o=qa- 1; Kryz. č-oq- 3; Arch. (mam) =uχa- 1.

See Giginayshvili 1977, 92.

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss (but cf. also *-VqV 'to suck' which is sometimes hard to keep distinct).

*^ou (~ *^{hu}) demonstrative pronoun (that): Av.-And. *^{hu}; Tsez. *^{wa}-; Lak. *wa*; Lezg. *^u- / *^uV-; Khin. *hu*; W.-Cauc. *^wV.

| Av.-And. *^{hu}- that: And. *hu-du*-; Akhv. *hu*-; Cham. *u-da*-. Tind. *o*-, *o-ja*-; Kar. *ho*-; Bagv. *o*-; God. *ho*-.

In Kar. besides *ho*- there exists a synonymous variant *wu*- (*wu-lu-b*, *wu-gu-b*, *wu-du-b*). The stem *^{hu}- 'that' is opposed to PA *^{ho}-/*^{hi}- 'this' (q.v.), although they sometimes get contaminated. It is often used in conjunction with another PA deictic root *^{dV}- q.v. Some languages reveal here (as also in the case of *^{ho}-/*^{hi}-) a loss of initial *^h-; it is possible that a combination of deictic (emphatic) *^{hV}- + deictic *^u- is reflected.

| Tsez. *^{wa}- deictic particle: Bezht. *wa*-.

Attested in Bezht. in *wā-λo*? 'here', *wa-hgi*? 'there' (a compound with *hugi*? id.). Cf. perhaps also -w- in Tsez. *ho-w-da*, *ho-w-du* 'this', *ho-w-si*, *ho-w-λa* 'that', Khvarsh. *a-w-d* 'this' etc.

| Lak. *wa* this.

Cf. also *wi-w*, Khosr. *wī* 'inside'.

| Lezg. *^u- / *^uV 1 that 2 above, there (above the speaker): Lezg. *wi-nel* 2; Kryz. *wa-rā* 2; Bud. *u-d* 1, *wo-rā-n* 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Kh. *wa-ne* 'there (above the speaker)'. Just as *ⁱ / *^{jV}- the root has variants *^u- (Bud. *u-d*) and *^{uV}- (other forms).

| Khin. *hu* that.

Cf. also the adverb *wa* 'there (above the speaker)'.

| W.-Cauc. *^wV that: Abkh. *wi*; Abaz. *awi*; Ad. *wə* (*Shaps.*). Ub. *wa*-.

PAT *^{wə}-*ja* (a compound with another deictic stem); PAK *^{wə} (cf. also Bzhd. *wə* id.).

[] This stem should be probably kept apart from PEC *^o 'demonstrative pronoun', since they are opposed in some languages; however, contaminations were certainly possible. In some Eastern languages (Lezg. and Khin.) the root tends to mean 'that (above the speaker)'. See Abdokov 1983, 139-140.

*^oŋgwV drop: Av.-And. *^oink:^wV; Tsez. *^oax:^u (~ -ā-).

| Av.-And. *^oink:^wV drop: And. *ink:u-l*; Akhv. *oxo*.

| Tsez. *^oax:^u (~ -ā-) drop, dripping thaw: Tsez. *axu*; Gin. *axu*. Bezht. *axo-tri* (Tlad.).

PTsKh *^oaxu (~ -ā-). The Bezht. word is provided with the expressive suffix *^u-(u), followed by a former plural suffix *-rV (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *axaŋro* id.).

[] An And-Tsez. isogloss.

*^oVkwV to kill: Av.-And. *^ok:^a-; W.-Cauc. *^ok:^a-.

| Av.-And. *^ok:^a- (~ -o-) 1 to kill 2 to hammer in, kill (with a gun): And. *k:^aab-d*- 1; Tind. *k:^aē*- 2; Kar. *k:^aab*- 1; God. *k:^aan*- 1.

All languages reflect "stem II" with different suffixes (*^ok:^a-d-, *^ok:^a-b- or *^ok:^a-m-; cf. also Kar. Tok. *k:um*-). The suffixless (but reduplicated) root is probably present in Tind. *k:^aak:^a-λa* 'to knock'. In And. the root is used only by women (as opposed to *žab*- q.v.).

| W.-Cauc. *^ok:^a- kill: Ad. *wəŋə-n*; Kab. *wəŋə-n*; Ub. *k:^aə*.

PAK *^owə-kə (with a transitivizing prefix *^owə-), Ub. 1st p. *a-s-k:^aə-n*. Despite a phonetic irregularity (loss of labialisation in PAK), it seems to us impossible to separate the AK and Ub. forms (which had been compared by Dumézil and Fähnrich 1972, 657). It is most probable that labialisation of *^ok was lost in PAK by dissimilation with the initial prefix *^owə-.

[] An And-WC isogloss (see Abdokov 1983, 171). The correspondence is not quite regular: with a tense phonation we would rather expect *^oq:^a- or *^oč:^a- in PWC. Perhaps we should reconstruct *-VkwV, regularly yielding PWC *^ok:^a- and acquiring a secondary (expressive) tenseness in PA? At any rate, it is hard to separate the PA and PWC forms.

*^oVlčEr to weed; weed: Nakh. *^oasor (~ -ss-); Av.-And. *^očVr-; Tsez. *^oūčVrV; Lak. =u=či-; Darg. *^o(=arč-) / =irč-; Lezg. *^oa(l)čV(r)-; W.-Cauc. *^opoča.

| Nakh. *^oasor (~ -ss-) weed; weeding: Chech. *asar*; Ing. *asar*.

3d class in Chech. and Ing.

| Av.-And. *^ohanč(-o-) / *^očVr- 1 to weed 2 weed: Av. *čarā*- 1, *čar* 2. Akhv. *ačare* 1; Cham. *hanč-eh*- 1; Tind. *hanč-ih*- 1; Kar. *hanč*- 1. God. *hančir* 2.

Av.-And. *^ohanč- (stem I), *^očVr- (stem II, reflected only in Av.). The common PA derivate is *^ohančVr (~ -o-) 'weed', cf., besides the above, also Akhv. Tseg. *ančara-b zumi* 'weed' (*zumi* 'grass'), Tlan. *ančara-b*, Kar. *hančar*, God. *hančir*. Avar has a more recent deverbative (with Anlaut reduction) *čar* (gen. *čarā-l*), whence Arch. *čar* id.

Note that in Tind. and Cham. the verb is actually a compound ('to do weeding'), not a simple verbal stem.

| Tsez. *^oūčVrV weed: Tsez. *ečuri*; Gin. *očili*; Khvarsh. *ičila* (*Radzhibov*). Inkh. *ačē*; Bezht. *icowa*; Gunz. *ičur* (*Gunz*).

PTsKh *^oūčVRe (but the Inkh. reflex is irregular: -ī- would be expected). PGB *^oičur(a) (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *ičerō*). The PTs vocalic reconstruction is not very certain.

| Lak. =u=či- to weed.

G. pr. =u=čunu. Cf. also dur. *ču-n* and the old deverbative *čalū* 'weed'.

| Darg. *^o(=arč-) / =irč- to weed: Ak. =irč-es.

Only the Ak. durative =irč- is attested. Cf. also the old derivate PD *^oarči 'weed' > Ur. *arči*, Kub. *ačē*.

| Lezg. *^oa(l)čV(r)- 1 to weed 2 weed 3 hay: Lezg. *eče*- 1, *ečel* 2. Tab. =u=č- 1 (*Khūr.*); Ag. *čal* 2; Arch. *čil* 3; Ud. *il* 2.

The verb itself is preserved only in Lezg. and Tab. dialects (therefore

the reconstruction is rather tentative: we can not establish whether there was or was no medial -l- and final -r). However, several languages reflect the old deverbative *ač-i-l (or, with reduction, *čal / *čil) 'weed': cf. (beside the listed forms) also Lezg. Khl. *hačal*, Tab. *ačal* (Kand. *ačil*, Düb. *čal*), Ag. Fit. *ačil* 'weed'.

See Талибов 1980, 302.

| W.-Cauc. *pəča to weed: Ad. *pəča*; Kab. *pəča*.

PAK *pəča-. The root is unknown outside the AK area (Klimov's comparison with Abkh. *a-bəa-ra* 'to mow' /see Klimov 1967, 299/ should be abandoned for phonetic reasons). Other etymological attempts (see Shagirov 2, 53 with literature) had also been unsuccessful.

[] A reliable common NC root; the correspondence is regular, both semantically and phonetically (the PWC form has a frequent labial prefix *pə-). The AK-EC comparison was first put forward by Balkarov (1964, 100).

Relatively few languages have preserved the verbal root; much more extensively reflected in EC languages is the derivate *alčVrV 'weed' (sometimes with reduction of the weak initial syllable).

*VIVdV (~ -r-) beer; whey: Av.-And. *rVdV; Tsez. *ʷɔɔdu (~ -r-).

| Av.-And. *rVdV whey: Av. *ridi*; Chad. *ridi*.

Av. paradigm B-C (gen. *rodō-l*).

| Tsez. *ʷɔɔdu (~ -r-) beer: Tsez. *orodu*.

Attested only in Tsez., but having a probable Av. parallel.

[] The semantic correlation "beer, alcoholic beverage" : "whey, sour milk product" is rather frequent (because some alcoholic drinks were made of milk or whey).

This Avar-Tsez isogloss is rather interesting, because it is certainly an old Iranian (Scythian) loanword, ultimately going back to a Germanic source (Proto-Germanic *aluð 'beer' < PIE *alut-). The root is still present in Osset. *ālūon*, and was also borrowed (probably from an early Ossetian source) into Georg. *ludi* (dial. *aludi*) 'beer' - see Abayev 1,130-131. Regardless of whether this loanword penetrated East Caucasian languages during the period of the Avaro-Ando-Tsezian unity or somewhat later, it must have been borrowed before the change *l > r occurred in Avaro-Andian (unfortunately, Tsez. -r- here is uninformative: it can go back to both PTs *-r- and -l-).

*VXV(r) to crawl, glide: Av.-And. *iX- / *X:Vr-; Tsez. *X:al-.

| Av.-And. *iX- / *X:Vr- 1 to rub (against smth.) 2 to glide 3 to crawl: Av. *X:uri*- 1; Chad. *X:urs*- 2; Akhv. *iX*- 1; Cham. *X:uX:a-d*- 1; Tind. *X:iX*- 1. Kar. *X:or*- 3.

Stem I (*iX-) is reflected only in Akhv.; other languages reflect either stem II *X:Vr- (cf. also Cham. Gig. *X:ur*- 'to crawl', Kar. Tok. *X:ol*- 'to rub, stroke') or a reduplicated stem (cf. also Av. *X:uX:a*- 'to rub'). Stem II *X:V-b- is reflected in Tind. *X:ab-d*- 'to crawl (on one side)'. Av. > Arch.

X:ur-bos 'to rub'. Cf. also similar roots for a) 'to scrape, scratch': Cham. *X:an*-, *X:aX:an*-, Gig. *X:am*-; b) 'to sweep': Av. *X*- in *X:ux*-, *X:uq:a*-, Chad. *X'a*-, And. *X:ar-d*-, Cham. *X:a-d*-, Tind. *X:ə*-, Kar. Tok. *X:al*-.

| Tsez. *X:al- to crawl: Gunz. *laXa-X*-.

Isolated in Gunz. (cf. perhaps also - with Ablaut - Bezht. Khosh. =aX- 'to rub').

[] An expressive (often reduplicated) Av.-And-Tsez. isogloss.

*VXV prince, master: Nakh. *ʷāli.

| Nakh. *ʷāli prince, master: Chech. *əla*; Ing. *əla*; Bacb. *alē*.

Cf. Bacb. in Matsiyev's notation: *ale* (also by Desheriyev: *al*), Ing. (Imn.) *əla*, Cheb. *əle*, Khild. *elē* etc.

[] Among modern languages the root is attested only within Nakh (an old borrowing from Nakh or some close language is probably Arch. *hal-lu* / *hal* 'master'). However, the root is no doubt archaic, because it has interesting parallels in HU: Hurr. *all-ae* 'princess, queen', **allae-γə* 'household' (borrowed in Arm. *atx* 'family, household'), *allae-xi-nnə* 'housewife' (> Arm. *ataxin* 'serving woman, female slave'); Urart. *al-ae* 'master, ruler', *al-awe* 'great'. See Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 50. The HU forms with the *-xə-suffix (voiced in Hurr. -γ-) are particularly interesting, because it seems that they were borrowed back into EC languages with the meaning 'slave': cf. Av., Cham. *laθ*, Darg. *laθ*, Lak. *laθ* (> Arch. (Mikailov) *laχ-t:u* 'obedient'), Tind. *laθa*, Akhv., Kar. *laθe*, God. *laθi* 'slave', PL **laθ* > Arch. *lo* (erg. *laha*) 'child'.

*VXwV last year: Av.-And. *ʷuX-i-; Tsez. *ʷiXe.

| Av.-And. *ʷuX-i- last year: Av. *uX-i-sa* (*Andal*).

Isolated in Southern Avar, but having good Tsezian parallels.

| Tsez. *ʷiXe last year: Tsez. *eX-i*; Gin. *eX-i*; Bezht. *iXe*.

PTsKh **iXe*.

[] An Av.-Tsez. isogloss (suggested by Y. Testelet).

*Vmswēlʔe (~ -tʔ-) wild turkey: Av.-And. *nus:inHV (/m-). Lak. *isu*; Darg. **s:ull(Vn)*-; Lezg. *Vms:ʷāla.

| Av.-And. *nus:inHV (/m-) wild turkey: And. *nucīʔo* (*Khaidakov*). Cham. *nus:iJa*; Tind. *nus:ej*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *mus:iJa*. The And. form (taken from Khaidakov 1973) is obviously misrecorded instead of **nus:iʔo* (there is no -c- in Andian). Theoretically a reconstruction **uns:inHV* (or **ums:inHV*) is also possible, since the reflexes of this root are attested only in three languages, it is hard to choose between **un*- and **nu*-.

| Lak. *isu* owl.

| Darg. **s:ull(Vn)*- wild turkey: Chir. *s:ullinʔ*.

Attested only in Chir.; -tʔ is a common expressive suffix.

| Lezg. *Vms:ʷāla wild turkey: Lezg. *sʷal* (*Khl*.); Tab. *ulusum*. Ag. *ulusun*;

Rut. *sʷal*; Tsakh. *sole*; Kryz. *sel*; Arch. *mus:al*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *ulisʷum*, Ag. Bursh. *ulus:um*. 3d class in all

class-distinguishing languages. Although the first vowel is hard to reconstruct (because of the reduction in the first syllable of a polysyllabic word), the general root structure and other phonemes are clear. In Tab. and Ag. there occurred a metathesis (*ulus:um* < **um(u)s:ul* < **Vms:āla*); in most languages the first weak syllable with a laryngeal was altogether lost.

See Khaidakov 1973, 15.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of the rare cases of an original trisyllabic root structure (which is clearly seen in PA and PL). In Lak. and Darg., as well as in some Lezghian languages, the first weak syllable with a laryngeal was lost, which makes the precise reconstruction of the first vowel impossible. The PA form **nus:inHV* (or **uns:inHV*) is probably a result of assimilation < **uns:ilHV* (~ -rH-). Lak has, besides *isu* 'owl', also (Khosr.) *s:uli* 'wild turkey'; because of the irregular reflex s:~, however, it must be considered a loan (from Darg. or from some Lezg. language).

In spite of phonetic difficulties (caused by the root's trisyllabic character), the overall reconstruction seems quite reliable.

**VnčV* rare: Av.-And. **anča-* (~ o); Darg. **ač-*.

| Av.-And. **anča-* (~ o) rare, few: Akhv. *āča-da-*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *ēče-da-* id. Isolated in Akhv., with a possible Darg. parallel.

| Darg. **ač-* rare: Ak. *ač-si*.

[] An And.-Darg. isogloss. Attested only in two languages, thus not very reliable.

**VnλV* left: Nakh. **arLi-n*; Av.-And. **anλ:V-* (~ -o-); Tsez. **ōλV-* (~ -ā-).

| Nakh. **arLi-n* left: Chech. *ārrū*; Ing. *ārda*; Bacb. *arli*.

Chech. *ārrū* < **arLi-w* (cf. *āttū* 'right' < **ātti-w*). Cf. also Chech. Shar., Itumk. *erhi*, *erha*, Bacb. (in Matsiyev's notation) *arliwχ* 'left' (Kadagidze: *arlex* 'to the left, leftwards').

| Av.-And. **anλ:V-* (~ -o-) left: Tind. *anλ:i-λ:a-s:a*.

Attested only in Tindi, but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. **ōλV-* (~ -ā-) left: Bezht. *ōλa-λas* (*Tlad.*).

Cf. also Khosh. *oλalos*. The word could be analysed as "(being) on the bottom", but this is certainly a folk etymology. This is obviously a genetic parallel for Tind. *anλ:i-λ:a-s:a* 'left', with secondary assimilation -λ- > -ā- before the following (locative) -λ-.

[] Correspondences are regular (although there is not enough data for precise vocalic reconstruction), and the root can be safely reconstructed for PEC.

**VrswV* a k. of vessel: Av.-And. **irsa*; Lak. *su*; Darg. **usi*.

| Av.-And. **irsa* trough; boat: Av. *rasā*; And. *irsa*; Akhv. *iša*. Kar. *esa* (*Gudava*).

Av. paradigm B (*rosó-l*, *rus-bī*). Av. *rasā* regularly < **arsā*.

| Lak. *su* granary.

| Darg. **usi* granary: Ak. *usi*.

Cf. Ur. *usi*, Tsud. *us:i* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (although there is not enough data to reconstruct the PEC vocalism); Lak. *su* is a reduction < **usu*.

**VrtV* to sting, stick into: Lak. *quti-*; Darg. **art-* / **irt-*; Lezg.

**irtV-*.

| Lak. *quti-* to stick into, pierce.

G. pr. *qu={u-nu}*.

| Darg. **art-* / **irt-* to sting: Ak. *art-/irt-* (*Ur.*).

| Lezg. **irtV-* to sting: Rut. *ji=ta/rija-*.

Attested only in Rut., but having probable parallels in Lak. and Darg.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is known only in the East Dagestan area (and reflected only in three languages, so the vocalism is not clear). In Lak. *q-* is a historical preverb.

**VwsVr* to turn round, spin: Av.-And. **s:Vr-*; Lak. *š:uru-*; Darg.

**šur-* (~ *š:-*); Lezg. **š:Vr(a)*.

| Av.-And. **s:Vr-* 1 to spin 2 to turn round: Av. *s:er-* 1,2; Chad. *s'er-* 1,2; And. *s:or-d-* 2; Cham. *s:a-d-* 1; Tind. *s:ar-d-* 2; Kar. *s:or-* 2.

| Lak. *š:uru-* to turn round, to fidget.

| Darg. **šur-* (~ *š:-*) to turn round, turn aside: Ak. *šuri-es*.

| Lezg. **š:Vr(a)* 1 spinning 2 running: Lezg. *z'ar* / *z'er* 1,2; Tab. *z'ar* 1.

Also used in a compound verb: Lezg. *z'eri-z* (*z'er iji-z*) 'to spin; to run'; Tab. *z'ar tuwu-z* 'to spin, turn round'. Lezg. > Khin. *zar-* in *zar-k'i* 'to spin, twist (a rope)'.

Phonetically a rather complicated case (aggravated by our ignorance of Lezg. and Tab. dialectal parallels for the root). The most obvious solution would be to reconstruct PL **zV-* or **zV-* (typical for expressive roots), but this contradicts the external evidence. PL **š:V* can, indeed, have voiced reflexes in Lezg. and Tab., but in the latter only in front of PL narrow vowels (*i, *i) which is not the case. We can only suppose secondary voicing of an original voiceless fricative in an expressive word, or voicing in Lezg. and borrowing from Lezg. into Tab.

[] Although the superficial resemblance is great, the PEC reconstruction for this root is rather difficult. Aside from the problems in PL reconstruction (see above), the correspondence would be normal if there were no labialised reflexes in Av. and PL (on the other hand, for PEC **swVrV-* we would expect *š:-* in Av., *š(ʷ)-* in Lak., **s:-* in PD and **sV-* in PL). The only possible solution is to reconstruct a verbal stem with a cluster **-ws-*, yielding independently labialised fricatives in daughter-languages.

Another possible solution would be to separate the PL form, which may be autonomously compared with PAK **za* "turn round" (Ad. *ba-za-n*, Kab.

*wəɬ(VH)V bow; loop, spring: Nakh. *wəɬ; Av.-And. *bVɬV; Lak. haɬ.

| Nakh. *wəɬ bow, spring; catapult: Chech. ^ɬad; Ing. ^ɬad; Bacb. ^ɬaɬq.

Obl. base *wəɬho-, cf. Chech. ^ɬoda-, Ing. ^ɬado. 3d class in Chech., Ing., 5th class in Bacb. Nakh > Av. ^ɬaɬ 'string, bow-string'.

| Av.-And. *bVɬV bow; spring: Av. buɬ; Chad. ɕór-buɬ.

Av. paradigm A (gen. búti-l). Av. ɕór-buɬ (the same in literary Av.) is a compound with ɕor 'arrow' q.v. Av. > And. ɕorbuɬi, Arch. ɕorbuɬ 'bow'.

| Lak. haɬ knot, loop.

Cf. Khosr. haɬ id. Cf. also Lak. haɬ-int 'leathern fetters for tamed birds of prey'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The word has a specific phonetic structure (probably *HVCVHV, cf. the cluster in PN).

*wəɬwV bottom, lower part; behind: Nakh. *wəɬ; Av.-And. *iɬV; Tsez. *eɬV; Lezg. *ɬaɬ:(a) (~ -ɬ-).

| Nakh. *wəɬ 1 downwards 2 lower part: Chech. oha- 1; Ing. ^ɬo- 1. Bacb. aho 2.

Ing. ^ɬo- < *wəɬ- with a secondary transfer of the emphatic laryngeal into Anlaut. In Chech. and Ing. the root is basically used as a preverb (it is also used as such in Bacb.); but cf. also Chech. oħara 'lower', oħane '(place of) descent'.

| Av.-And. *iɬV behind, in the back: And. eɬu-du; Tind. ɬe-ri.

| Tsez. *eɬV 1 bottom 2 knees: Tsez. wahu 1 (Kid.); Bezht. bebe 2.

One of the roots with former class prefixes (w- in Tsez., b- in Bezht.), cf. also Bezht. Khosh., Tlad. beβ 'groin'. The meaning 'knees, groin' is obviously secondary (< *lower part of body).

In Tsez. the word is also used as an adverb ('below'), and is sometimes provided with the locative ending -ɬ: wah-ɬ > waɬɬ. Probably the same root (with initial reduction) was used in PTsKh to denote 'behind': PTsKh *ɬ[e]-zV- (Tsez. ɬizáz, Gin. hezo-); cf. an analogous reduction in PA *ɬi- > Tind. ɬe-ri 'behind'.

| Lezg. *ɬaɬ:(a) (~ -ɬ-) foundation; Arch. jaɬ.

Isolated in Arch., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root has no class prefixes in PN, and their traces in PTs are probably secondary (initial *w reinterpreted as the animated class marker). Medial *ɬ- in PTs is not quite regular (we would rather expect -ɬ:- or -ɬ:-); this is possibly due to contamination with another EC root, *inGwɬ 'heel, back' (q.v.).

The root is sometimes hard to distinguish from *əɬA 'below' (q.v.), but they are opposed at least in PN and PA and should be kept separate.

*wəɬrəw skin; colour: Nakh. *hərcu; Av.-And. *ɬi(r)ɕi; Lezg. *wəɬ(r)ɕi; W.-Cauc. *cʷa.

| Nakh. *hərcu 1 anxiety, alarm 2 help in danger 3 raid, foray: Chech.

orca 1,2; Ing. ɔrc 2; Bacb. ^ɬarcō 3.

3d class in all languages. Cf. also Cheb. arcu, Ved. orcu etc.

| Av.-And. *ɬi(r)ɕi 1 anger 2 worry, anxiety: Av. aɕú 1; Cham. esi 2.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. iɕi. Data are not enough to determine whether the Inlaut resonant had been there or not.

| Lezg. *wəɬ(r)ɕ skin (of cattle): Kryz. ^ɬiɕ; Bud. ^ɬiɕ.

Bud. ^ɬiɕ is the MSU recording (Meilanova writes hiɕ which is probably wrong). A Shakhdağh isogloss (but with good external correspondences). The PL paradigm may be reconstructed as *wəɬ(r)ɕ, *ɬi(r)ɕV-. The oblique base with -i became dominating both in Kryz. and Bud., but the former direct base is preserved in Kryz. as a separate word ^ɬuɕ meaning 'colour' (PL *wəɬ(r)ɕ obviously had meant both 'skin' and 'surface, colour' - as is clear from the external evidence).

| W.-Cauc. *cʷa 1 skin 2 bark 3 exterior, colour: Abkh. a-ɕʷá 1,2. Abaz. ɕʷa 1,2; Ad. sʷa 1,3; Kab. fa 1,3; Ub. cʷa 1.

PAT *cʷa, PAK *sʷa. In AK and Ub. the root is also used for 'bark', but in compounds (Ad. pɬā-sʷa, Kab. pɬā-fa /pɬa 'tree', Ub. cʷa-2ʷá; second component not quite clear).

[] Cf. also Hurr. ašxi 'skin' (regularly < *arci, see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 47). An interesting common NC root. The original meaning is obviously "skin" > "surface, exterior, color" > (change of color =) "anger, anxiety". The whole spectre of meanings is present both in EC and in WC languages.

See Abdokov 1983, 76 (Shakhdağh-WC; all other EC forms cited by the author do not belong here).

*wəɬrəV (~ -ə-, -ɬ-) nut: Nakh. *bəɬr(ə)ɬ; Av.-And. *ɕulV-bVɬV. Tsez. *heɬe A; W.-Cauc. *la.

| Nakh. *bəɬr(ə)ɬ a nut: Chech. bʰara; Ing. bʰar.

3d class in both languages. Cf. also Chech. bʰállang, Ing. bʰáring (*bəɬr(ə)ɬ-li-nVɬ) 'nut-tree'.

| Av.-And. *ɕulV-bVɬV nut, walnut: Av. ɕuláɬ:o; Chad. ɕonóɬ-honó. Cham. ɕulibeɬ:a (Gig); Tind. ɕulaɬ:a; Kar. ɕulaɬ:i (Archo.).

The word is an old compound *ɕulV 'tree, wood' (q.v.) + *bVɬV 'nut', as it is clearly seen from the Cham. form (ɕulibeɬ:a in Bokaryov's notation). Kar. (prop.) ɕulaɬ:o is probably a loan from Av. The Av. Chad. form is a secondary compound (with honó 'egg'); -n- is a result of dissimilation (< *ɕoloɬ).

| Tsez. *heɬe A nut, walnut: Tsez. hiɬo-ri; Gin. hiɬa-βru; Khvarsh. heɬe. Bezht. heɬe; Gunz. heɬe.

PTsKh *heɬe (cf. also Tsez. hiɬi "nut core"); PGB *heɬe. The forms: Tsez. hiɬori, Gin. hiɬaβru (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. heɬarbo "nut") reflect a PTs compound with a not quite clear second part.

| W.-Cauc. *la nut, walnut: Abkh. a-ra; Abaz. ra-sa; Ad. da. Kab. da; Ub. La-ɕá.

PAT *ra (the Abaz. word means properly "nut-tree", cf. Abkh. a-rasá, Bz. a-rasá 'nut-tree'); PAK *da. Meaning of the component -ɕa in Ub. is not clear. The correspondence PAT *r : PAK *d : Ub. L points to PWC *l.

See Schmidt 1950, 19, Kuipers 1963, 59, Shagirov 1, 145.

[] Correspondences are regular. A possible vestige of this root in PL and PD see under **χāwxwV*.

**ʔwēλV* a k. of grass: Nakh. **ʔjōl*; Lak. *hukū*; Lezg. **ʔIʷeλ*.

[Nakh. **ʔjōl* hay: Chech. *jol*; Ing. *jol*; Bacb. *jol*.

Obl. base **ʔāli-* (cf. Chech. *ēla-*, Ing. *ālo*, Bacb. *ali-*). 4th class in all languages.

[Lak. *hukū* panicked wormwood, absinth.

[Lezg. **ʔIʷeλ* 1 grass 2 meadow 3 haying plot 4 summer pasture: Lezg. *weq* 1; Tab. *uk* 1; Ag. *uk* / *uk* 1; Rut. *uq* 1; Tsakh. *ok* 1; Kryz. *huq* 2 (*Al.*). Bud. *wuq* 3; Arch. *joki* 4; Ud. *o* / *oj* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *wāqI*, Tab. Düb. *uku*, Ag. Bursh. *jikʷ*, Tsakh. Gelm. *oq* 'grass'. Obl. base **ʔIʷeλe-*, cf. Lezg. *weqi-*, Ag. *uki-*, Rut. *ūku-*, Tsakh. *oka-*. 4th class in Rut., Kryz., Bud. and Arch., but 3d class in Tsakh. See Bokarev 1961, 73, 74; Leksika 1971, 168; Giginayshvili 1977, 104.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**ʔwēni* (~ -u) air movement; cold, rheumatism: Nakh. **ʔān*; Av.-And. **ʔVnV*; Lezg. **ʔʷen*.

[Nakh. **ʔān* rheumatic pain, rheumatism: Chech. *ān*; Ing. *a*; Bacb. *ā*.

Obl. base **ʔāne-*, cf. Chech. *ēna-*, Ing. *ano*, Bacb. *ani-*. 3d class in all languages.

[Av.-And. **ʔVnV* rheumatism: Av. *onō-d* (*dial.*).

The Av. form reflects a former plural in -d. If we take into account the original meaning 'movement of air' (> 'sound'), we could compare also the Tind. verbal root *un-* 'to talk, speak' (otherwise isolated).

[Lezg. **ʔʷen* sound: Lezg. *wan*; Ag. *un*; Rut. *un*; Tsakh. *on*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *on* id. In several languages (Ag., Lezg., Rut.) serves as a base for the compound verb 'to hear'. Belongs to the 4th class in Rut. and Tsakh.; oblique base unknown.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The phonetic match between the PL form, on one side, and the PN and Av., on the other, is perfect. As for the semantic side, we must postulate the original meaning "movement of air" (> a) "sound"; b) "wind" > "cold, rheumatism"; both changes are rather frequent typologically).

**ʔwērxi* a k. of foliage tree: Nakh. **hēχ*; Lezg. **ʔʷerλ* (~w-); Khin. *wisā*.

[Nakh. **hēχ* lime-tree, linden: Chech. *hēχ*; Ing. *hēχ*.

Obl. base **hēχa-*, cf. Chech. *hēχa-*, Ing. *hēχo* (but also **hēχu-*, which is reflected in Chech. *hēχa-n* 'made of lime-tree'). 3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing.

[Lezg. **ʔʷerλ* (~w-) 1 asp 2 maple: Lezg. *werx* 1; Tab. *wers* 2.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *urs* 'poplar'. Obl. base **ʔʷerλe-* (~werλe-), cf. Lezg. *werxi-*, Tab. Düb. *ursi-*.

[Khin. *wisā* tree.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**ʔwāIV* hole: Nakh. **ʔur(-ik)*; Av.-And. **ʔVrV*; Darg. **ʔula*; Lezg.

**ʔuʔul* / **ʔuʔul-t*.

[Nakh. **ʔur(-ik)* hole: Chech. *ʔurg*; Ing. *ʔurg*; Bacb. *ʔur* (*Matsiyev*).

3d class in Chech., Ing., 4th class in Bacb. The Chech.-Ing. form contains a diminutive *-ik.

[Av.-And. **ʔVrV* ditch: Av. *or*.

Av. paradigm A or C (pl. *ōra-l*).

[Darg. **ʔula* window: Ak. *ula* (*Gapsh.*).

The word is used in *urqlu ula* 'window' (for the first part cf. Ak. *ulqlaj* 'window').

[Lezg. **ʔuʔul* / **ʔuʔul-t*: 1 hole 2 window: Tab. *ulz* 1,2; Ag. *uʔul* 1.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *uldu* 'window, hole' (lit. *ulz* reflects **ʔuld* with a palatalisation before the front vowel of the oblique base); Ag. Fit. *ulud* 'burrow', Burk. *ul-am* 'cavern'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PL form is reduplicated (with the reduplication well preserved in Ag.). PN has a regular -r- before the diminutive *-ik; -r in Bacb. *ʔur* is probably an analogical back-formation (or a result of merger with PN **ōr* 'pit', see below). The Avar word may be alternatively compared with PN **ōr* 'pit' (Chech. *or*, obl. *ōra-*, Ing. *or*); a borrowing Nakh < Avar is also not excluded. However, Abayev (1989, 95) is certainly wrong in supposing that Chech., Av. *or* is borrowed from Osset. *wārm* 'pit, cellar' (a word of Iranian origin, borrowed in Georg. *ormo*).

**ʔw(i)nŕcĒ* a k. of insect, moth: Nakh. **naci*; Av.-And. **risV*; Lak. *nuwca*; Darg. **ems*; Lezg. **ʔIʷins* / **ʔIʷirs*; W.-Cauc. **ʔʒə*.

[Nakh. **naci* moth: Chech. *neca*; Ing. *neca*.

Cf. also Cheb. *nace*, Shar. *naca*, Khild. *neci* etc. 6th class in Chech., Ing.

[Av.-And. **risV* moth: Av. *ic*; Chad. *iš*; And. *resi*; Akhv. *reša* / *reše*. Cham. *jes*, *jesila*; Tind. *resi*; Kar. *resa*; Botl. *resa*; Bagv. *resa*. God. *resa*.

Av. paradigm B or C (erg. *ici-c:a*); but Chad. A (gen. *iši-l*). This is one of the few cases of the correspondence Av. c : PA *s (reflecting earlier labialisation). The MSU recordings have -s- in Tind. and Cham., which is obviously a mistake (to judge from external evidence). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *resi*, *resila* (misspelled in the MSU recordings as *reszi*, *resila*).

[Lak. *nuwca* moth.

Cf. Khosr. *nuc* id. An old Lak. loanword is Arch. *nibsu* 'moth'.

[Darg. **ems*: moth: Ak. *ʔems*.

Cf. also Ur. *ims* id.

[Lezg. **ʔIʷins* / **ʔIʷirs* 1 moth 2 bug, bed-bug: Tab. *sur* 1; Ag. *urs* (Fit.) 1; Rut. *jis* 1; Tsakh. *sus* 1; Arch. *winisi* 2.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *sur*, Ag. Bursh. *sūr* (reflecting a metathesis < **ʔIʷirs*, cf. the Fit. form *urs*). The Tsakh. form is reduplicated. We can suspect that the Shakhdag languages (now having a loanword from Azer.: Kryz *giwā*, Bud. *gūwā*)

once also had a reduplicated form **sus* (< **s^wirs*), that was borrowed and remains in Khin. *sus* 'moth'. 3d class in Rut., Tsakh. Oblique base **I^winse-* (**I^wirse-*), cf. Tab. *sūri-* (/surā-), Düb. *sura-*, Ag. Fit. *ursu-*, Bursh. *sūri-*.

See Leksika 1971, 156.

| W.-Cauc. **ʒə* 1 flea 2 bee: Abkh. *ā-ʒ* 1; Ad. *bʒə-ʒa* 1; Kab. *bʒə-ʒa* 1; Ub. *ʒaʒ* 2.

PAT **ʒə* (cf. Bz. *ā-ʒ*); PAK **bʒə-ʒa* (etymology of **bʒə* see under PNC **belʒwi*). The Ub. form is reduplicated.

See Rogava 1956, 13 (listing, however, also Kab. *bāʒa* 'fly' which has nothing to do with this root); Shagirov 1, 91.

[] A very complicated case. All languages of Daghestan explicitly reflect the labialised **cw* (correspondence Av. *c* : PA **s* : Lak *c^w*) : PD **s* : PL **-s*). The Nakh and PWC forms, however, reflect a simple **c* (otherwise PN would have **č*, and PWC - **š^w*). The reason is obviously a secondary labialisation in EC, due to the labialising influence of **w* (labialisation is also indirectly reflected in PD -*m*-, assimilated from -*n*-). The root must have contained both a nasal (cf. forms like PN **nace*, Lak. *nawca*, PD **ems*-, Arch. *winisi*) and a liquid resonant (cf. PA **risV* and most Lezghian forms). However, a disyllabic protoform **wnircE* or **wrincE* would give quite different reflexes in most languages (see phonetic tables). We must, therefore, suppose a protoform like **winircE* to account for all the complexity of development. The trisyllabic Archi form *winisi* thus appears to be an archaism, directly reflecting the PNC root structure. The root as such is not reflected in PTs (we should expect something like **rizV* or **rizV*). There exists, however, a PTs root **ricV(nV)* (Tsez. *recenjo*, Gin. *recen* 'ant', Bezht. *rica*, Gunz. *rica* 'tick'). It can be an indirect reflex of the same EC root, modified under the influence of other insect names like PTs **nəca* 'louse' or **hucV* 'ant'.

wilgi* (~-i,-u) lamb: Av.-And. **borg^wV*; Lezg. **wilk*: (~u*-).

| Av.-And. **borg^wV* a spring-time (lean) lamb: Cham. *barg^w*.

Attested only in Cham., thus the reconstruction is tentative (*-a- is also possible; the Auslaut may be *-g^wV or *-gu).

| Lezg. **wilk*: (~**u*-) 1 lamb (less than 1 year old) 2 1-year-old sheep: Ag. *urg* 1; Rut. *urg* 2; Tsakh. *urg* 1.

Obl. base **wilk-i-* or **wilk-e-* (cf. Ag. *urgu-*, Rut. *urgu-*). In Inlaut *-i- is reconstructed on basis of Rut. and Tsakh. evidence (*-r- would be lost).

[] Reconstructed for PEC. The evidence is rather scanty, but the Cham. form shows good resemblance to PL both phonetically and semantically.

wincV* spring, source: Nakh. **hast* (~-i-); Av.-And. **inc*i. Darg. **in(i)c*;; Lezg. **I^wi(n)c* (~-w,-s); Khin. *mic*.

| Nakh. **hast* (~-i-) spring: Chech. *hast*; Ing. *hast*.

Obl. base **hastu-* (cf. Chech. *hosta-*; in Ing. *hasto* with vowel levelling). 3d class in Chech., 6th class in Ing. For vowel length cf. the Pharch. form *hast*.

| Av.-And. **inc*i** spring: Av. *ic*;; Chad. **ic*; And. *inc*i**. Akhv. *īc*i**; Cham. *inc^w*; Tind. *hinc*i**; Kar. *inc*i**; Botl. *inc*i**. Bagv. *ins*..

Av. paradigm C (*ūc*ū*-l*, *īc*a*-l*; but Chad. A: **īcu-l*, **īca-l*).

| Darg. **in(i)c*: spring: Ak. **iniz*; Chir. **inc*..

| Lezg. **I^wi(n)c(a)* spring: Ag. *ec* (Bursh.); Bud. *wis*.

3d class in Bud.

| Khin. *mic* spring, source.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. Cf. also HU: Urart. *içə* 'basin' (or 'canal'), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 34.

**wirqV(-nV)* sack; shirt: Av.-And. **iqan* (~-χ-); Tsez. **ex*:en; Lak. *huqa*; Lezg. **u(r)χun* (~-χ-).

| Av.-And. **iqan* (~-χ-) sack, pillow: Tind. *exan*.

Attested only in Tindi; a loan from Tsezian languages is not excluded.

| Tsez. **ex*:en 1 sack 2 pillow: Tsez. *ixin* 1; Khvarsh. *exen* 1,2. Inkh. *exen* 1,2.

PTsKh **exen*.

| Lak. *huqa* shirt.

Cf. Khosr. *huqa* id.

| Lezg. **u(r)χun* (~-χ-) shirt: Rut. *uxun*.

Isolated in Rut., with possible external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The medial resonant must be reconstructed because of the PTs reflex *-χ- (otherwise *-χ- or *-b- would be expected); other languages do not contradict it.

**wi-(rV)* front, in front: Nakh. **ha-lχa* (~-ā-); Tsez. **ar-dV-*; Lezg. **wir*.

| Nakh. **ha-lχa* (~-ā-) in front, before: Chech. *halχa*; Ing. *halχa*. Bacb. *hatχ(ē)*.

| Tsez. **ar-dV-* in front, before: Tsez. *adā-z*; Gin. *aldo-ʒo*; Khvarsh. *adbol* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *adb^wal*; Bezht. *araddā* (*Tlad*.); Gunz. *arjo*, *arjodo*.

PTsKh **ar-dV* (Tsez. *adāz* < **ar-dā-z*; Inkh. *adb^wal*, Khvarsh. *adbol* is a metathesis < **aldb^wa* = Gin. *aldoʒo*); PGB **ar-Vd-* / **ar-Vt-*.

| Lezg. **wir* front, in front: Lezg. *wili-k*; Tab. *uli-x*; Ag. *udi-h*. Rut. *uli-x-ta*; Tsakh. *hi-d*; Kryz. **urā-k*, **urā*; Bud. **ura*; Arch. *hara-k*.

In some languages the stem **wire-* 'in front' was confused with **wile-* 'eye' (q.v.), so that the adverbs meaning 'in front' are now perceived as locative forms of 'eye'. Several forms, however, clearly show that this is a folk etymology. Cf. especially Kryz. **ur-*, Bud. **ura*, Arch. *hara-k*; we should add also dialectal forms: Rut. Khnov. *wira-sur* 'front side', Ag. Burk. *uri-h* 'in front' (Rich. *udi-h* < **ur-di*). Tsakh. *hi-d* is probably a contraction < **ha-wire-t:V* (with the emphatic particle **ha-* q.v.; Tsakh. *h-* can hardly reflect PL **w-*).

Not quite clear is Ud. *be-sI* 'in front': we would rather expect voiceless *p-* (*pe-sI*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. We must note that the morphemes *w- and *cw-, both meaning 'in front', are in complementary distribution in EC: the former is reflected in PN, PTs and PL, and the latter - in PA and PD.

*wōngū (~ -l-) spindle, part of a spindle: Nakh. *āg(V); Av.-And. *ming'a; Tsez. *āg a; Darg. *arg.

[Nakh. *āg(V) 1 woof, cross thread 2 threads for hand-made cloth: Ing. ā l; Bacb. āg 2 (Desheriyev).

[Av.-And. *ming'a spindle: Av. mergō; Chad. mergu; And. mig'a. Akhv. mag'a; Cham. minna; Tind. muga; Kar. ming'a; Botl. murg'a (Leksika). Bagv. ming'a; God. ming'a.

Av. paradigm B (mergi-l, mergā-l; but Chad. A: mergi-l, mergi-jal). Cf. also Cham. Gig. mirga.

[Tsez. *āg a 1 spindle 2 spindle ring 3 bracelet: Tsez. aka 3. Gin. aka 3; Khvarsh. aku 1 (Radzhibov); Inkh. āka 1,3; Bezht. āga 2,3. Gunz. āga 3.

PTsKh *āka; PGB *āga.

[Darg. *arg spindle and its parts: Chir. arγ.

The correspondence of Chir. arγ to Ak. ar 'handle' et al. (see PD *arγ) is due to a secondary merger of two historically different roots (see *ul'wi).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Proto-Av.-And. form reflects an early nasalisation: *ming'a < *bing'a < *bilg'a (where b- is a regular reflex of the PEC labialised *w-).

*wVrkV pit; deep: Nakh. *khōk; Darg. *urk-; Lezg. *u[rk (~ -l-, -o-).

[Nakh. *khōk pit: Chech. kag; Ing. kəg; Bacb. k'ok.

The obl. stem *khaku- (> Chech. kōga-, Ing. kəgo) influenced the direct base both in Chech. and Ing. (otherwise one would expect kog in both languages). 6th class in all languages.

The same root is present in the PN derivate *khāk-ru-n 'deep' > Chech. korga (with preservation of the suffixless stem in karg-dan 'to deepen'), Ing. kərga, Bacb. (with vowel levelling) k'okrū.

[Darg. *urk- deep: Chir. urk-ze.

[Lezg. *u[rk (~ -l-, -o-) 1 pit 2 hearth 3 depth: Tab. ukj-ar 2 (Düb.). Ag. urk 1; Rut. ark-un 3 (Shin.).

Not quite clear is a- in the Rut. form (*a/o Ablaut?); however, its belonging here is rather probable, cf. semantically the Ag. derivate: ūrke-f 'deep'. With metathesis we should probably relate here also Tsakh. kora-n 'deep'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PN form reflects an expressive partial reduplication.

*xwɪrɪ bridle, reins: Nakh. *urχ (~ -ū-); Av.-And. *(ro)lir (~ ra-, ɔ); Lak. x:uri; Darg. *ur-x:ir; Lezg. *λ:irV-m (/-n); W.-Cauc. *x'a.

[Nakh. *urχ (~ -ū-) reins: Chech. urχ; Ing. urχ; Bacb. urχ (Imnaishvili).

3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing. Obl. base *urχe- (~ -ū-), cf. Chech. urχa-, Ing. urχo (the Ablaut grade *arχV- is also present in Chech. pl. arχas).

[Av.-And. *(ro)lir (~ ra-, ɔ) 1 reins 2 bridle 3 halter: Av. k'eλ 1,2. Cham. ralir 3 (Gig.).

The Av. form is a contraction < *k'e-rλ < *k'e-λ(V)rV, where k'e- is the component meaning 'hand'. The Cham. forms are interesting: the Gig. dialect has ralir which can be analyzed either as a form with suffixed -r, or as a form with a former class marker r-: the latter hypothesis is most probable, because in the U.-Gakv. dialect the word for 'bridle, halter' is balɪ < *ba-lir.

[Lak. x:uri bridle.

Cf. Khosr. x:uri id.

[Darg. *ur-x:ir bridle: Ak. urhur; Chir. urx:ur.

Cf. also Kub. ux:uj, Ur. hurhur id.

[Lezg. *λ:irV-m (/-n) 1 bridle 2 leather rope: Tab. furin 1; Ag. mufur 2; Rut. nixrā-b 1; Arch. duλ:ur 1.

4th class in Rut. and Arch. Cf. also Tab. Düb. furu, Ag. Bursh. muf:ur, Rut. Ikhr. rixnā. The most simple and archaic root structure is preserved in Tab. Düb. furu. Most other languages reflect a form with suffixed *-n or *-m and multiple metatheses (*λ:irV-n > Tab. furin, with metathesis > Rut. nixrā-b (-b is a recently added plural suffix), Ikhr. rixnā; *λ:irV-m > *miλ:Vr > Ag. mufur, Bursh. muf:ur). A special case is Arch. duλ:ur: it either reflects *λ:irV with suffixed (plural) -r - *λ:irV-r > (with metathesis) *riλ:Vr > duλ:ur, or - which is more probable in view of the external evidence - reflects the stem *λ:irV with a prefixed *rV- (*rV-λ:ir > duλ:ur), cf. PD *ur-x:ir, Cham. ralir.

The Agul word certainly belongs here; however, its aberrant meaning 'leather rope' may be due to a contamination with another PEC root (see *Hxəmv 'leather rope'), which should have yielded *lamV(-r) in PL, but is not attested.

[W.-Cauc. *x'a bridle: Ad. sx'a; Kab. sx'a.

PAK *č-x'a (a compound with PAK *čə 'horse' q.v.).

[] An interesting common NC cultural term. Correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems quite satisfactory.

*χōmV autumn (or spring) rain; harvest: Av.-And. *Hiχ:V; Lezg. *χomV-; Khin. miχ.

[Av.-And. *Hiχ:V spring: Av. iχ:; Chad. iχ.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. oχ:ō-l, secondarily iχ:dalil).

[Lezg. *χomV- (~ -u-) 1 drizzle 2 autumn: Lezg. χumu-l (dial.) 1. Tab. χumu-l 1; Rut. χumu-χ-ud 2; Kryz. jemχ-iž (?) 2.

All forms contain productive suffixes. The reason for metathesis in Kryz. is not quite clear.

[Khin. miχ summer.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**anλV* (~ -ō-, -ū-) a detail of a spindle: Tsez. **anλ* B; Lezg. **harλ-VI* (~-l-, -k-).

| Tsez. **anλ* B spindle: Tsez. **oλ*; Gin. *iλ*; Khvarsh. *iλ* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *aλ*; Gunz. *aλ*.

PTsKh **oλ*; PGB **anλ* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *anλ*, Gunz. Nakh. *anλ*). The root is a full homonym of PTs **anλ* B 'handle' (q.v.) - but this is probably due to a secondary merger, because external parallels for both roots are different.

| Lezg. **harλ-VI* (~-l-, -k-) pivot of a spindle: Ag. *harkil* (*Bursh.*).

Attested only in Agul, but having probable parallels in PTs.

[] The PTs and Agul forms are no doubt related. We should note, however, that PTs **anλ* means both 'spindle' and 'handle', the latter certainly going back to PEC **anλwi* 'handle' (q.v.). If we assume that the Agul form also goes back to **anλwi* (with an irregular development of **λw* in a tense word - -k;- would be regularly expected), the reconstruction **anλV* should be abandoned.

apalqwē* (~ **h-*) burdock; leaf: Av.-And. **HabukV*; Tsez. **emuq(a)*; Darg. **hequl(i)*; Lezg. **palqI*; W.-Cauc. **p:əGə* (~b-*).

| Av.-And. **HabukV* burdock: Av. **abuk*.

Av. paradigm C (**abki-l*, **abka-l*).

| Tsez. **emuq(a)* burdock: Tsez. *himuqa*; Bezht. *emuq*; Gunz. *emuq*.

PGB **emuq*. In Tsez. one would rather expect **em*; reasons for devoicing the laryngeal are not quite clear.

| Darg. **hequl(i)* burdock: Ak. *haqule*; Chir. *hequl*.

| Lezg. **palqI* burdock: Lezg. *penq*; Tab. *parqI*; Ag. *parqI*; Rut. *paqI* (*Khnov.*); Tsakh. *panqIale* (*Gelm.*); Bud. *peq*.

Cf. also Tab. Kand. *palqi* 'young burdock', Düb. *pilqi* - these forms clearly demonstrate the original quality of the Inlaut resonant. The Rut. and Tsakh. forms reveal a partial contamination with PL **parq:ul*: q.v. 3d class in Rut., Tsakh. and Bud.

| W.-Cauc. **p:əGə* (~**b-*) 1 leaf 2 to open (of leaves): Abkh. *a-bḡá l*; Abaz. *bḡá l*; Ub. *bḡá-2*.

PAT **bəḡá*; Ub. 3d sing. *a-bḡá-n*.

[] In Av. the voiced -b- is obviously secondary (a normal result of *-p- > *-p- /before a glottalised stop/ > -b-). Otherwise the correspondences are regular (*-t- disappearing in cluster in Av. and yielding nasalisation in PTs). The PD form probably comes from **hepql(i)* with reduction of the medial vowel and cluster simplification.

There are some doubts whether the WC form belongs here (in this case a usual delabialisation *-G- > *-G- after a labial should be assumed) or to another root (**panGVlHV* 'leaf; bark' q.v.) - both possibilities should be considered.

**arswi* strap, leather rope: Nakh. **asso*; Av.-And. **as:i* (~ -o-);

W.-Cauc. **s:a*.

| Nakh. **asso* strap, belt; stripe: Chech. *asa*; Ing. *asa*; Bacb. *assō*.

4th class in all languages (but 6th class in Ing. with the meaning 'stripe'). Obl. stem **asi-* (Ing. *aso*, Bacb. pl. *ase-rē*). In Bacb. *assō* is the record of Imnaishvili; Matsiyev and Kadagidze have -s- (probably a misspelling). Cf. also Cheb. *aso*, Shar. *oso*, Khild. *oso*, Ved., Itumk. *asa*.

| Av.-And. **as:i* (~ -o-) leather rope: Av. **ars:*; Chad. **a(r)s*; Tind. *as:i*; Kar. *as:e* (*Anch.*).

Av. paradigm A (erg. **ars:i-c:a*, pl. **ars:a-l*; but Chad. C - **arsi-l*, **arsa-l*). Medial -r- in Avar is secondary (in Chadakolob it may be omitted).

| W.-Cauc. **s:a* rope: Abkh. *a-sá*, *a-sá-xa*; Abaz. *saqa*; Ub. (n)d^u *a-sa*.

PAT **sa*, **sa-qa* (with an unclear component -qa). PAT **sa* and Ub. -sa correspond regularly and go back to **s:a*; there is, however, some uncertainty, because the meaning of the first component in Ub. is not clear.

[] Correspondences are regular. See Dumézil 1933, 21, Abdokov 1983, 132. The latter also adds PAK **sabá* (Ad., Kab. *saba*) 'braid, lace' - which, however, has an obscure morphological structure and does not correspond phonetically to other WC forms.

**amcō* apple; medlar: Nakh. **hamc* (~ -ā-); Av.-And. **imči*; Tsez. **es*; A; Lak. *hiwč*; Darg. **hinc*; Lezg. **hāmč*; Khin. *mič*; W.-Cauc. **bVc:V*.

| Nakh. **hamc* (~ -ā-) medlar: Chech. *hamc*; Ing. *hamisk*.

Ing. *hamisk* < **hamc-Vk* (with a diminutive suffix). 6th class in Chech., 4th class in Ing. PN > Av. *hanc* "medlar".

| Av.-And. **imči* apple: Av. **ec*; Chad. **ic*; And. *inči*; Akhv. **eče*; Cham. *es*; Tind. *eci*; Kar. **eče*; Botl. *inču*; Bagv. **ec*; God. *iču*.

Av. paradigm A (gen. **ecul*; but Chad. C: **ocō-l*, **ica-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *eče*, Cham. Gig. *miči* (< **imči* - the form pointing unambiguously to PA *-m-), Kar. Tok. **eci*.

| Tsez. **es*: A apple: Tsez. *heneš*; Gin. *iši* / **iši*; Khvarsh. *hījos*; Inkh. *ēs*; Bezht. *ēs* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *ēs*.

PTsKh **es*; PGB **es* (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *es*). The aberrant Tsez. and Khvarsh. forms (*heneš* and *hījos*) go back to a PTsKh compound **hī+es* ("pear"+"apple", see PTs **hī* 'pear').

| Lak. *hiwč* apple.

Obl. base *hiwču-*; cf. also Khosr. *hič*, obl. *hiču-*.

| Darg. **hinc* apple: Ak. **inc*; Chir. **inc*.

Cf. also Kub. *hinze*, Ur. **inc*, Sirg., Kait. *hinci*, Tsud. *hinc*.

| Lezg. **hāmč* apple: Lezg. *ič*; Tab. *wič*; Ag. *hač*; Rut. *áč*; Tsakh. *ec*; Kryz. *ječ*; Bud. *ječ*; Arch. *aInš*; Ud. *elš*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *ič*, Tab. Düb. *walč*, Ag. Bursh. *heč*, Fit. *hič*, Burk. *hāč*, Arch. pl. *aInš-um*. 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. Obl. stem in *-a can be reconstructed on basis of Tsakh. *eče*; on the other hand, Rut. obl. stem *ičtr-* points to the PL Ablaut *-ā-/*-i-. Thus, the original PL

obl. stem can be reconstructed as **himča-*. Medial *-m- is reconstructed by comparing the Arch. -n- with labialisation in Tab. (*wič* < **hāwč* < **hāmč*); in other languages the medial *-m- was lost (regularly) without trace.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 84; Bokarev 1961, 72; Leksika 1971, 168; Giginayshvili 1977, 91.

| Khin. *mič* apple.

| W.-Cauc. **bVc*:*V* medlar: Abkh. *a-bāc**; Ad. *nā-pca* (Shaps.); Ub. *brēc*.

The Abkh. form is probably most archaic; not quite clear is the origin of *nā*- in Shaps. and -r- in Ub. (cf. also Abkh. Bzyb. *a-brāc**). It is also possible that all the WC forms reflect an original form like **bVnc*:*V* or **bVmc*:*V* with exceptional preservation of the old medial nasal (cf. external evidence); in this case the Ad. form should be treated as a metathesis (< **banca*), and the forms with -r- as a result of denasalisation (-n- > -r-). In any case, the coincidence in Adyghe between *nāpca* 'medlar' and *nāpca* 'eye-brow' is, of course, purely fortuitous.

[| Cf. also Hurr. *χinz-urā* 'apple' (borrowed in Arm. as *χnzor*), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 24. A very widely spread common NC root. The PWC form has a frequent prefixed **b(V)*-. The original meaning could have been not 'apple', but 'medlar' (cf. the semantic correspondence between PN and PWC), with later semantic change (medlars look very much like small apples). Note that PN **a3* 'apple' should be quite definitely kept apart (PN **3* can not be derived from **č* in any possible way); see **HV3wE*. Despite Abdokov 1983, 110 the PEC forms can not be related to PWC **m1a* 'apple'.

**ōlqV* (~ **w-*) sweat: Tsez. **ōb*:(-b: **ōdō*); Lak. *huq*.

| Tsez. **ōb*:(-b: **ōdō*) sweat: Tsez. *eḡedi*; Gin. *eḡada*; Khvarsh. *aḡuda* (Radzhibov); Ink. *oḡbodo*; Bezht. *had*; Gunz. *hōd*.

A complicated case. The PTsKh form may be reconstructed as **ōb-8Vda*, where the second component is most likely equal to **8Vda* 'rain' (cf. analogous compounds 'sweat'+ 'water' or 'sweat'+ 'liquid' in PWC, see **hāmā*). In this case, the PGB form, reconstructed as **hōd*, must also be a contraction < **ōhōd(V)* < **ōb:8Vda* (the second component normally reflected in PGB as **wāda* q.v.), thus suggesting nasalisation of the first component **ōb*.

| Lak. *huq* sweat.

Cf. Khosr. *huq*, gen. *huqa-l* id.

[| A Lak-Tsez isogloss; interesting, but not very reliable because of the compound nature of the PTs parallel.

**ūl1wī* (~ -ō, -ō) handle: Nakh. **hiḡ* (~ -i-, -k); Av.-And. **HVr1V*; Tsez. **ō1* B; Darg. **ary*.

| Nakh. **hiḡ* (~ -i-, -k) axe-handle: Bacb. *hiḡ*.

Attested only in Bacb., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **HVr1V* handle: Av. **or1*; Chad. **o1*.

Av. paradigm A (**or1-i-l*, **or1-a-l*), but Chad. B (**o1ō-l*, **a1ā-l* / **o1-b1*).

| Tsez. **ō1* B 1 handle 2 axe-handle 3 hammer-handle: Tsez. **o1* 2;

Khvarsh. **1* (Radzhibov); Ink. **ē1* 3; Bezht. **ā1* 1 (Tlad.); Gunz. **a1* 1.

PTsKh **ō1* (NB: Bokarev cites Ink. *e1* 'handle' - which must be the same word as the MSU recording *ē1* 'hammer-handle'); PGB **ō1* (the Gunz. form is not quite regular: PGB **ō1* and Gunz. **ō1* would be regularly expected - one wonders if the Gunz. form is not a borrowing from Bezht., cf. Bezht. Khosh. *a1* id.).

| Darg. **ary* handle: Ak. *ar*.

Cf. also Ur. *ar*?, Meg. *ar* 'handle'.

[| Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241.

**swamhV* hyena; wolf: Av.-And. **VnV* (~m-); Lezg. **1am*.

| Av.-And. **VnV* (~m-) hyena: Av. **an-gūr*.

The Av. word is a compound where the second part (-gur) goes back to PEC **gwerdV* 'bird or beast of prey' (q.v.).

| Lezg. **1am*: wolf: Rut. *ubul*; Tsakh. *umul*; Kryz. *eb*; Bud. *eb*; Arch. *jam*; Ud. *ul*.

Several forms (Rut., Tsakh., Ud.) go back to a suffixed form **1am:u-l* (or **1um:u-l* with assimilation/Ablaut); the suffixless stem is preserved in Shakhdag languages and Arch. 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages.

[| An Av.-Lezg. isogloss; since the PL form has a very archaic shape, the PEC reconstruction seems reliable.

It seems very probable that the same root serves as part of an old (PEC) compound which can be reconstructed as **dVHV-1wamhV*. It means some small wild animal and can be traced in following languages:

a) PN **d1a2am* 'badger', reflected in Chech. *da1am* (RCD *d1ama*), Lev. *da1am*, Itumk. *d1am*, Ved. *d1a1am*, Shar. *d1am*.

b) Av. **ondō-1*: 'weasel' = PA **handa-ri1u* (Akhv. Ratl. *hindare1u*, And. (Khaid.) *hanaro1i*, Tind. *handare1u*, Cham. *annara1* (Gig. *hannare1u*), God. **andiru1i*. This is a further compound with **ri1u* 'weasel, squirrel' q.v. We must note here also a quite aberrant form Akhv. *šida-re1u* (all other Andian languages point uniformly to *h-), which is probably a result of further contamination with *šide*- (obl. stem) 'bear'.

c) PTsKh **madu-1a* 'weasel' q.v. (< **madu-rV1a* = PA **handa-ri1u*, Av. **ondō1*).

It is hard to guess the original meaning of the first component **dVHV-* (since it is very distorted phonetically in all daughter-languages); however, it can be (with deglottalisation) = PEC **tiHwV-* 'small'; thus, the whole compound would mean something like 'small wolf'.

**swān1V* ear: Av.-And. **handi*; Tsez. **āḡa*; Darg. **an-č(a)*; Lezg.

**1am*.

| Av.-And. **handi* ear: Av. **in*; Chad. **in*; And. *hanṭika*; Akhv. *hāde*; Cham. *anna*; Tind. *hanṭiṭa*; Kar. *hanṭika*; Botl. *hanṭuka*; Bagv. *hakṭiṭa*.

Av. paradigm A (**in-zul*, **in-dul*; Chad. **in-dul*, **ina-l*). In PA we have a suffixed form **han-di* (reflected directly in Akhv. and Cham.); other languages, however, reflect the further diminutive suffixation **handi-ka* (cf. Kar. Tok. *handika*) with assimilation **-d* > **-t* in most languages.

With a privative suffix the root is present in a derivate *han-q:V- / *handi-q:V- 'deaf': Av. *ṣinq:a-*, Chad. *ṣinq:a-*, Cham. Gig. *hāq:u-l*, Akhv. *hādeloq:e-*, Tind. *handiq:u-*. Av. > Bezht. Tlad., Gunz. *ṣenqab*, Bezht. Khosh. *enqab*, perhaps also Arch. *eInk-du* (although the Archi velar is rather strange). Finally, the same root is present in the compound Av. *ṣen-ék:-* = And. *an-č:i-*, Tind. *an-ix:-* 'to listen' ('ear' + 'catch, hold'); Cham. Gig. *ṣenax-id-* id. should be rather regarded as borrowed from Avar, as well as Bezht. Tlad. *ṣenekzi =aq-* id.).

| Tsez. **āḡa* ear: Tsez. *ahja*; Gin. *aḡḡa*; Khvarsh. *āhū*; Inkh. *aṭha*; Bezht. *āḡa*; Gunz. *āḡa*.

PTsKh **āḡija*, PGB **āḡa*. Historical analysis shows that *-ḡa must be a suffix (plural?).

| Darg. **an-ç(a)* deaf: Ak. *ṣaInça*.

Cf. also Ur. *ṣanç*, Kub. *hunç*.

| Lezg. **Iam*: ear: Lezg. *jab*; Tab. *ib*; Ag. *ibur*; Rut. *ubur*; Kryz. *ibir*; Bud. *ibir*; Arch. *oj*; Ud. *imux*.

The Rut., Kryz., Bud. and Ud. forms are historical plurals (with -Vr and -ux). The Archi form is also a result of a secondary reinterpretation of the form **jam* (< **Iam*;) as a plural; a new singular form **ja* had been built and later yielded (quite regularly) Arch. *oj*. Note that an analogous thing happened also in Udi, where there exists a noun *i* 'hearing' (and the verb *i-baksun* 'to hear'). The old "plural" form (but already refigured according to the singular) is preserved in Arch. *ojom* 'ears'.

See Leksika 1971, 126; Giginayshvili 1977, 116; Талибов 1980, 274.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In Darg. the root is preserved only within the derivate **an-ç(a)* 'deaf' (= "earless", with the privative suffix -ç(a)). In PA and PTs the root obtained suffixes (resp. *-di and *-ḡa); although their meaning is not quite clear, there is no doubt that the roots are comparable.

**wārḡV* mountain pass; hollow, cavern: Nakh. **hēḡ*; Tsez. **juḡ(:)u* (~ -ḡ); Lak. *rah*; Darg. **arḡI*; Lezg. **I(ṣ)arḡ(a)*.

| Nakh. **hēḡ* grotto, cavern: Chech. *heḡ*; Ing. *haḡar* / *haḡar*; Bacb. *heḡ*.

Obl. base **hāḡe-rV-* (Chech. *heḡara-*; in Ing. the obl. base became direct). Reasons for sporadic voicing -ḡ- > -b- in Ing. are not clear (cf. an analogous process in **heḡ* > *hab* 'mountain goat'). 4th class in all languages.

| Tsez. **juḡ(:)u* (~ -ḡ) precipice: Gin. *juḡu*.

Attested only in Gin., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *rah* hollow.

| Darg. **arḡI* hollow: Chir. *alrḡI*.

| Lezg. **I(ṣ)arḡ(a)* mountain pass: Tab. *arḡ-hajis*; Arch. *jarḡli*.

4th class in Archi. The Tab. word is a compound, meaning literally 'the place, where a mountain pass (arḡ) is'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Lak. *rah* < **arḡ* (it is clear, because original **r-* > Lak. *d-*, as well as from comparing the Lak. and Darg. forms); otherwise correspondences are quite regular.

ṣwēnVqwe* hen: Av.-And. **HinkV; Lak. *alnaki*; Darg. **arḡI**a.

| Av.-And. **Hink**V hen: Av. *ṣānku*; Chad. *ṣānku*; Akhv. *ṭku*.

Av. paradigm A (*ṣānku-dul*, *ṣānka-bi*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *ṣinko*, Ratl. *ṣenko*.

| Lak. *alnaki* hen.

Cf. Khosr. *alnaki* id.

| Darg. **arḡI**a hen: Ak. *ṣalrṣal*; Chir. *ṣalrṣal*.

The archaic form (with *q) is preserved in Kait. *arḡa*; all other dialects reflect a form with the shift -ḡI- > -ṣ(ṣ)-, cf. also Ur. *urṣa*, Kub. *ṣalṣal*, Sirg. *ṣalrṣal*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The original form was trisyllabic (as is clearly seen from Lak. and Av. dialectal evidence). The medial vowel was lost in Akhv. and in PD (where *-n- regularly > -r- in a cluster with uvular).

ṣwmārçō* a k. of foliage tree or shrub: Nakh. **datta* (~ -ā-); Av.-And. **himç:u*; Tsez. **ṣcə* B; Lezg. **wānc; W.-Cauc. **Pṣz**a (~ **məz**a).

| Nakh. **datta* (~ -ā-) rowan tree: Chech. *datta*; Bacb. *tatt*.

The Chech. word is quoted from the Russ.-Chech. dictionary, thus class, obl. stem and vowel length are unknown. Bacb. *tatt* is probably a result of assimilation (< **datt*).

| Av.-And. **himç:u* willow: Av. *riç*; Chad. *nuçl-l* *ḡeṭ*; And. *hinç:u*; Akhv. *muç:o-l:i* *ruṣa*; Cham. *hṣu-l*: *woha*; Tind. *mic:u-l* *roha*.

Av. paradigm A (*riç:l-l*), but Chad. B-C (*nuçl-l*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *hinç:ur* id. Already for PAA a form like **hrimç:V* should be reconstructed (to account for Av. *riç*).

| Tsez. **ṣcə* B willow: Tsez. *ici* (*Radzhibov*); Khvarsh. *ṭca* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *ēco*; Bezht. *āco* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *ṣcə* (*Nakh.*).

PTsKh **ṣcə*; PGB **ṣcə* (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *aco*).

| Lezg. **wānc** 1 bird-cherry 2 raspberry 3 rowan: Lezg. *març:ar* 1; Ag. *merz** 2; Rut. *mez* (*Khniukh.*) 3; Arch. *bac* 3.

3d class in Rut. and Arch. In Lezg., Ag. and Rut. there occurred a metathesis of nasalisation (medial -n-, having lost nasalisation, changed to -r- which was regularly lost in Rut.).

| W.-Cauc. **Pṣz**a (~ **məz**a) mulberry tree: Abkh. *a-mz**a.

PAT **məz**a (cf. also Bzyb. *a-mz**a).

[] PN **datta* < **ramç:a* (a regular reflex of the structure **HMVRCV*). The precise meaning of the root in PNC is hard to determine, but it must have been a foliage tree or shrub bearing berries.

*²adV naked; bare, empty: Av.-And. *HVdV-rV; Tsez. *²adV-ru; Darg. *t:alt:a-š-.

| Av.-And. *HVdV-rV empty: Av. *hodōra-b*.

The Avar word was borrowed in several Andian languages: Akhv. Tlan. *hodola-b*, Kar. (Leksika), Botl. (Leksika) *hodoru-b*, Bagv. (Leksika) *horolu-b*, Tind. (Leksika) *hojru-b*.

| Tsez. *²adV-ru naked, bare: Tsez. *adoru*; Gin. *adaru*.

PTsKh *²adV-ru.

| Darg. *t:alt:a-š- naked: Chir. t:alt:al-š-ze.

The word contains an expressive suffix -š-.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The stem *HādV- (reduplicated in Darg.) may be somehow related to *HāfV-, reflected in Akhv. *ate-da* and, possibly, PGB *s-at- / *z-at- (with expressive prefixes) 'naked' (Bezht. Tlad. *sāttō*, Khosh. *sātiyo*, Gunz. *zaṭṭu*).

*²alχV wool: Nakh. *²āχ-ni; Lezg. *²alχl (~χ:l).

| Nakh. *²āχ-ni woollen thread, yarn: Chech. *əχang*; Ing. *əχing*; Bacb. *ajχni*.

Bacb. reflects the form *²āχ-ni (with an old *-ni suffix); Chech. and Ing. reflect the further suffixation *²āχ-ni-k (with diminutive *-k). 3d class in Chech., Ing., 5th class in Bacb.

| Lezg. *²alχl (~χ:l) 1 spring wool 2 autumn wool: Rut. *arχl l*; Tsakh. *arχl* 2.

Obl. base *²alχla- or *²alχle- (Rut. *arχli-*, Tsakh. *arχla-*). 4th class in Rut., but 3d class in Tsakh. Medial -r- before a uvular in Rut. and Tsakh. goes back only to PL *-l-.

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss with good phonetic and semantic correspondences.

*²atV branch: Av.-And. *hala (~o); Tsez. *²alV.

| Av.-And. *hala (~o) branch: Akhv. *hala*; Cham. *hala*; Tind. *hala*; Kar. *hala*; God. *hala*.

| Tsez. *²alV branch: Tsez. *ara*; Gin. *ali*; Khvarsh. *ala*; Inkh. *ala*; Bezht. *ale* (Khosh.); Gunz. *ale*.

PTsKh *²aRa; PGB *²ale.

[] An And.-Tsez. isogloss. There are no certain parallels in other languages. However, there is an interesting possibility of comparing PL *²ala 'weed', possibly represented in Tsakh. *ala* id. The Tsakh. word seems to be, at first sight (together with Kryz. *alaḥ* and Khin. *alaḥ* id.) an Azer. loan (Azer. *alaG* 'weed'; however, within Turkic the root is purely Azeri (it is not attested even in Turkish), so it may itself be a Caucasian loanword.

*²amqV burdock, weed: Nakh. *²heq-ur-; Darg. *²amqa; Lezg.

*²amq:IV-IVj.

| Nakh. *²heq-ur- burdock: Chech. *hōqurg*.

The Chech. form is a diminutive < *²heq-ur-ik. Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *²amqa weed: Chir. *amqla*.

| Lezg. *²amq:IV-IVj old burdock; burdock's stalk: Tab. *anḡili*.

Attested only in Tab. (Kand., Lit.), but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although attested only in three languages (Chech., Darg. and Tab.), the correspondences are regular and the reconstruction seems reliable.

*²amsa (~-a,-i) sky, cloud; soul, breath; god: Nakh. *²as-ar;

Av.-And. *²as:V (~-o-); Tsez. *²has; Lak. as(:); Lezg. *²ams; W.-Cauc. *²pasA.

| Nakh. *²as-ar inspiration: Chech. *asar*.

Isolated within Nakh, but with reliable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *²as:V (~-o-) 1 breath 2 prestige, dignity: Av. *as*: 2; Akhv. *as:i l*.

In Av. a secondary meaning development (*spirit > moral, dignity); note that this root has moral/religious connotations also in other languages.

| Tsez. *²has: sky, cloud, fog: Tsez. *as*; Gin. *as*; Khvarsh. *as*; Inkh. *as*; Bezht. *has*; Gunz. *has*.

PTsKh *²as, PGB *²has. Used also in compound with PTs *²mus: A 'smoke, fog' q.v.

| Lak. as(:) nobility, conscience; a heathen deity.

3d class. Intensity of s unclear (gen. *as-li-l* with neutralization).

| Lezg. *²ams: 1 raincloud 2 cloud: Tab. *ams l*; Ag. *ams-ar 2* (Fit.); Rut. *asij 2* (Khniukh); Ud. *haso 2*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *ams:a*, Khür. *ams*; Ud. Nidzh. *asoj* (in Rut. and Ud. there is a *-j suffix). 4th class in Rut.

| W.-Cauc. *²pasA soul, spirit: Abkh. *a-psə*; Abaz. *psə*; Ad. *psa*; Kab. *psa*; Ub. *psa*.

Cf. also Bz. *a-psə*, Ub. def. *a-psə*. In PAK the derivative adjective **psə-wə* 'alive, healthy' had acquired also the meaning 'whole, all' (see Shagirov 2, 14), although later these meanings became phonetically slightly differentiated - probably due to different syntactic accentuation (Ad. *psaw* 'alive', *psaw* 'whole', *psaw* 'all' /with a not quite clear -t-, Kab. *psaw* 'alive', *psow* 'whole', *psow* 'all').

[] An important common NC root, basically meaning 'sky' but with original religious and mystic connotations. Cf. also HU parallels: Hurr. *eza*, Urart. *eša* 'sky' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 24). There are no nominal reflexes in PD, but since the meanings 'breath, to breathe' and 'to get tired' often interchange, it seems tempting to compare also Darg. Ur. =*amsVr* / =*ums-* 'to be tired, get tired'.

**anqV* thigh; knee-bone, knee-cap: Nakh. **hāqu-m* (~ **hōqa-m*); Av.-And. **anq;u*; Lezg. **aq*:

| Nakh. **hāqu-m* (~ **hōqa-m*) knee-cap: Chech. *hōqam*.

Attested only in Chech., but with probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **anq;u* 1 thigh 2 knee-bone: And. *aq;u* 1 (*Khaidakov*); Tind. *anq;u* 2.

| Lezg. **aq*: 1 hind leg of an animal 2 thigh 3 leg, foot: Tab. *ab* 1,2; Ag. *ab* 1; Arch. *aq* 1,3.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *aq;a*: 4th class in Arch.; oblique stem **aq;e-* or **aq;i-* (cf. Ag. Rich., Tp. *abi-*, Burk. *ab*, *abu-*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**awqV* mountain slope: Nakh. **habχV*; Lak. *jaq*; Lezg. **awχ;(a)*.

| Nakh. **habχV* shady slope of a mountain: Chech. *hawχe*; Ing. *howχe*.

The Chech.-Ing. form contains a locative suffix -*ē*.

| Lak. *jaq* mountain slope.

Gen. pl. *jaq-urdil*. Cf. also Khosr. *jaq* 'heap, mound'. Lak. > Darg. Chir. *jaq* 'heap'.

| Lezg. **awχ;(a)* 1 gutter 2 ditch, drain 3 slope; breast: Ag. *aχ* 1; Rut. *waχ* 2 (*Khniukh.*); Arch. *χ;a*; Ud. *aql* 3.

The Arch. form *χ;a* means 'part of the mountain bordered with growth'. Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *aχ* 'wood, forest'. All the different meanings in Lezg. languages can be explained by the original meaning "mountain slope" > a) "woody place, wood, forest"; b) "slope > drain, ditch". The Arch. form probably reflects a former locative (in *-*a*?) with initial reduction.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**adV* thing; interrogative pronoun: Av.-And. *[h]idV; Tsez. **hədV* (-*h*-, -*a*-); Khin. *de-l*; W.-Cauc. **t*:V.

| Av.-And. *[h]idV 1 thing 2 what (interrog. pronoun): Cham. *ed* 2; Tind. *eja* 1, *e-la* 2; Kar. *hede-la* 1, *hed* 2.

Cf. also a tabooistic use in Tind. *eja* 'penis'. The semantic correlation 'thing' - 'what' (interrog. pronoun) is also observed elsewhere, cf. e.g. PN **fu-(n)* 'what' - **fu-ma* 'thing' etc.

Other Andian languages reflect a similar stem: PA **dan(HV)* 'thing' - which may be actually a later contraction < **Hida-nV* (with a frequent nasal suffix). Cf. And. *dan*, Cham. *dā*, Kar. Tok. *da* (plur. *dan-dibi*), God. *dāji* 'thing'.

| Tsez. **hədV* (~ *h*-, -*a*-) instrument, tool: Bezht. *hada*.

Since this root is used in Andian languages both to denote 'thing' and the interrogative pronoun 'what', it seems quite probable that it was also used by the Tsez. language (in a reduplicated shape) for some of its interrogative pronouns: Tsez. *didi* 'which', *didu-r* 'how'.

| Khin. *de-l* where.

Kibrik-Kodzasov-Olovyannikova 1972 have a notation *t:e-l* (one wonders whether the form *tā-killi* 'from where' is not a misspelling for **da-killi*).

| W.-Cauc. **t*:V an interrogative stem: Abkh. -*da*; Abaz. -*da*; Ad. *ā-r*. Kab. *da-r*; Ub. *da-*, *dā-*.

PAT *-*da* (an interrogative suffix meaning 'who' in verbal forms; an alternative treatment of PAT *-*da* see under PNC **hi*); PAK **t:a-* - an interrogative stem, used in several pronouns (Ad. *ta-da*, *tā-da* 'where', *tā-r* 'which', Kab. *da-na* 'where', *da-pā* 'how much', *dar* 'which'); Ub. *da-*, *dā-* - an interrogative prefix ('how', 'in which way').

[] Cf. also HU: Hurr. *edā* 'body, thing', Urart. *edi-* 'thing' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 26). It is not quite clear which meaning is original - 'thing' or 'what', because both are rather widely reflected.

We should also mention a quite isolated form: Lak. *ta* 'when', which has an irregular devoiced *t-*, but possibly reflects the same EC root.

**ejzwe* goat, she-goat: Nakh. **abst* (-*h*-, -*t*-); Darg. **ec̣:a*; W.-Cauc.

**ac̣:a*.

| Nakh. **abst* (-*h*-, -*t*-) goat (about 1 y. old): Chech. *awst*; Ing. *osta*. 4th class in both languages.

| Darg. **ec̣:a* goat: Ak. **eẓa*; Chir. **ac̣:a*.

Cf. also Kub. *ič̣:a*, Tsud. **ac̣:a*, Kharb., Sirg. **ec̣:a*, Muir. *ič̣:a*.

| W.-Cauc. **ac̣:a* he-goat, billy-goat: Ad. *āca*; Kab. *āza*.

PAK **ac̣:a*.

[] The comparison seems quite plausible both phonetically and semantically. Medial *-*j-* is postulated to account for the development **-j-* > *-*st-* in PN, while *-*w-* is reflected as *-*b-* in PN and as labialisation in PWC.

**ēnc̣ē* ten: Nakh. **iŋt*; Av.-And. **hoço-*; Tsez. **ōnc̣ə(-nə)* A; Lak. *aç*; Darg. **weç-*; Lezg. **uiçi-*; Khin. *jāʕiz*; W.-Cauc. **b-č̣'a*.

| Nakh. **iŋt* ten: Chech. *itt*; Ing. *itt*; Bacb. *itt*.

| Av.-And. **hoço-* ten: Av. *ānc̣ə-go*; Chad. *ānc̣ə-gu*; And. *hoço-gu*; Akhv. *aça-da*; Cham. *aça-da*; Tind. *haça-ja*; Kar. *haça-da*.

In Cham. the numeral can be also pronounced emphatically: *açça-da*; cf. also Gig. *hazza-da*.

| Tsez. **ōnc̣ə(-nə)* A ten: Tsez. *oçino*; Gin. *oçeno*; Khvarsh. *ūçin*; Inkh. *ōçço*; Bezht. *açona*; Gunz. *oççon*.

PTsKh **oçə(-no)*; PGB **oçə-n(ə)* (for Gunzib Bokaryov has recorded *oçən*: the correct form is probably *oçən* or *oççən* with emphatic gemination). Most languages have not preserved nasalisation of the first vowel (lost by dissimilation to the nasal suffix -*nə*); the Khvarsh. and Inkh. form, however, speak strongly in favour of nasalised **ō* in PTs.

| Lak. *aç* ten.

Cf. Khosr. *aç=a*.

| Darg. **weç-* ten: Ak. *weç-al*; Chir. *weç-al*.

Cf. also Ur., Kub. *wiç*.

| Lezg. **uiçi-* ten: Lezg. *çu-d*; Tab. *jiçu-b*; Ag. *iču-d*; Rut. *jiçi-d*; Tsakh. *jiçi-lla*; Kryz. *jiçi-d*; Bud. *jiçi-d*; Arch. *wiç*; Ud. *wic̣*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *çi-d*, Ag. Bursh. *jiçu-r*. Some forms (especially Rut. and Bud.) rather go back to PL **jiçi-* (with another class prefix); some forms can go back to both **uiçi-* and **jiçi-* (with neutralisation of **μ-* and **j-* before *-*i*).

PL **uiçi-* has lost the Inlaut resonant *-n-, possibly under the influence of **uĩĩ* 'nine'. The original form **uĩĩçi-*, however, is reflected in the Archi form *moçor* - a modification of the numeral 'ten' used in compounds (*moçor s:ejju* 'eleven', *moçor qĩl'etu* 'twelve' etc.).

See Bokarev 1961, 70.

| Khin. *jãĩiz* ten.

| W.-Cauc. **b-çwə* ten: Abkh. *z'a-bā*; Abaz. *z'w-a-ba*; Ad. *pšə*; Kab. *pšə*; Ub. *z'wə*.

PAT **z'wə* (cf. also Bzyb. *z'a-bā*); PAK **pčə*.

A complicated case. PAK **pčə* can only go back to PWC **P-çwə* (a form which obviously corresponds to EC, see Trubetzkoy 1930, 82). The Ubykh form can go back to a voiced variant **z'wə*; but the PAT form needs a more complicated explanation, if it belongs here at all: it may also reflect a secondarily voiced PWC variant *(*b*)-*z'wə* > PAT **z'a*, with labialisation under the influence of PAT **z'wə* 'nine' (**z'a* > **z'wə*).

The hypothesis of uniting all three forms (PAT, PAK and Ub.) belongs to Abdokov (1973, 66). One can either accept it (with the complicated explanation presented above), or else separate the Ub. and Abkh. forms under a distinct protoform, PWC **z'wə* (since **z'* regularly gives PAT **z'* and Ub. *z'*). However, Shagirov's attempt to unite Abkh. *z'-ba* 'nine' and *z'a-ba* 'ten' (Shagirov 1, 80-81) is certainly untenable: in the Bzyb. dialect they are opposed as *z'-ba* vs. *z'-ba* and go back to different PAT forms (**z'wə* and **z'wə* respectively).

[] A common NC numeral (in WC it is reflected at least in Adyghe languages, with less certainty - also in other subgroups). Reflexes in several EC subgroups reflect class prefixation (**u-* or **j-*); in PWC the initial labial also goes back to a class prefix (with assimilatory labialisation of the following affricate, as in a number of other cases). See Trubetzkoy 1930, 275; Abdokov 1983, 156.

In PEC the same root was also used in a contracted shape *-*çə-* as part of names of tens, cf.:

PL **çV-* > Tab. *-çu-r* (*simi-çu-r* 'thirty'), Rut. *-çi-r* (*xib-çi-r* id.), Tsakh. *-ça-l* (*xeb-ça-l* id.);

PD **ça-li* > Ak. *-ça-li* (*halb-ça-li* 'thirty'), Chir. *çalb-ça-le* id..

Lak. *-ça-l* (*muq-ça-l* 'fourty' etc.);

PA **çə-* > And. *-çə-l* (*lob-çə-l-gu* 'thirty'), Cham. *-ça-* (*la-la-ça-da* id.), Tind. *-ça-* (*la-ba-ça-ja* id.), Kar. *-ça-da* (*la-ba-ça-da* id.), Botl. *-ça-li-* (*habu-ça-li-da* id.), Bagv. *-ça* (*haba-ça* id.), God. *-ça-li* (*labu-ça-li* id.).

Hurrian has replaced the numeral 'ten' by the word *eman* (of unknown origin), but has retained the root in *ki-zi* 'thirty' (*ki-* 'three'); names of other tens are unknown. See Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 46.

**çərLĩ* seven: Nakh. **worλ*; Av.-And. **hoλ:u-*; Tsez. **çəλ-(nə)* A; Lak. *arul*; Darg. **warβl-* (/ **warχl-*); Lezg. **uĩrλ:i-*; Khin. *jik*; W.-Cauc. **bəLə*.

| Nakh. **worλ* seven: Chech. *worh*; Ing. *worh*; Bacb. *worλ*.

| Av.-And. **hoλ:u-* seven: Av. *anλ:go*; Chad. *anλ-gu*; And. *hoλ:u-gu*; Akhv. *aλ:u-da*; Cham. *aλ:u-da*; Tind. *haλ:u-ja*; Kar. *haλ:u-da*; Botl. *haλ:u-da*; Bagv. *haλ:u-da*; God. *haλ:u-da*.

In Avar -n- is secondary (due to the influence of *anλ:go* 'six'). Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *aλ:u*, Cham. *Gig. haλ:u-da*.

| Tsez. **çəλ-(nə)* A seven: Tsez. *çəλno*; Gin. *oλno*; Khvarsh. *oλa*; Inkh. *oλ*; Bezht. *aλna*; Gunz. *oλno*.

PTsKh **çəλ-(no)*; PGB **çəλ-n[ə]*.

| Lak. *arul* seven.

Khosr. *arul=a*.

| Darg. **warβl-* (/ **warχl-*) seven: Ak. *werh-el*; Chir. *βl'ar-al*.

Cf. also Ur. *werh*, Kub. *wə*.

| Lezg. **uĩrλ:i-* seven: Lezg. *iri-d*; Tab. *uryu-b*; Ag. *jeri-d*; Rut. *jiwi-d*; Tsakh. *jiyi-lle*; Kryz. *jiyi-d*; Bud. *jiji-d*; Arch. *wiλ*, *wiλa-ju*; Ud. *wuβl*.

Cf. also Arch. *λ'ĩ* 'seventy' (with metathesis < **λiwi* < **uĩrλ:i-j*).

| Khin. *jik* seven.

| W.-Cauc. **bəLə* seven: Abkh. *βl-ba*; Abaz. *bəλ-ba*; Ad. *bLə*; Kab. *bLə*; Ub. *bLə*.

PAT **bəLə*; PAK **bLə*. See Trubetzkoy 1922, 236.

[] A very stable common NC numeral. It is also attested in HU: although the normal Hurr. word for 'seven' is *sitta-* (a Semitic loanword), the old root may be discovered in Hurr. *fāirə* (< **wa(H)er-*) "the seven stars, the Pleiades" (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 20). In most NC subgroups (including HU) this numeral reveals a reflex of the old class marker **μ-* (**μ²ərLĩ*); labial **b-* in PWC is also a trace of the class prefix. Special phonetic comments: in Lak. *arul* < **arλ-* (insertion of a parasitic vowel between two liquids); the uvular reflex in PD is due to the lost laryngeal; in PWC palatalisation of **L* is secondary (there does not exist a non-palatalised **L* in PWC). Otherwise all correspondences are regular. See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241, 243; 1930, 275; Abdokov 1983, 152.

**çəmdV* joint, bone: Av.-And. **hidi* (~h-); Darg. **h(I)and* (~t-); Lezg.

**a(m)t:*.

| Av.-And. **hidi* (~h-) 1 spine, backbone 2 joint, articulation: Av. *hod 1*; Chad. *hod 2*; Kar. *hidi* (*Tok.*) 1.

Av. paradigm A (gen. *hōdi-l*). Borrowed from Av. are Gunz., Bezht. *hod* 'joint, articulation'.

| Darg. **h(I)and* (~t-) knee: Ak. *çalnd*.

| Lezg. **a(m)t:* 1 shin, shank 2 tubular bone: Ag. *ad 1*; Tsakh. *ad 2* (*Khaidakov*).

The data available do not allow to establish whether there was a **m-* in PL (suggested by the external evidence) or not.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**ĩlχU* (~-λ-, -ĩ-) sheep, lamb: Nakh. **əχV-r*; Av.-And. **ĩnoχ*; W.-Cauc. **χwə*.

| Nakh. *²aχV-r lamb: Chech. ²aχar; Ing. ²aχar; Bacb. ²aχr-ob.

PN -r is probably a former plural suffix (cf. the second plural affix added in the Bacb. form). 6th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *²inχo sheep, ewe: And. iχo; Akhv. iχa; Cham. iχa.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan., Ratl. iχa.

| W.-Cauc. *χ² sheep: Ad. χ²; Kab. χ².

Attested only within compounds: PAK *χ²-bɬa 'sheep' (q.v.), *χ²-rɬ-s²a 'sheepskin' (Ad. χ²-rɬ-s², Kab. χ²-rɬ-s²). Cf. also Kab. χ²-rɬ 'an exclamation for urging sheep'. The verbal root *χ² 'to graze, breed' (despite Shagirov 2) is to be kept apart.

Since only the PAK form is attested, for PWC *χ², *χ² or *χ²l² can be reconstructed.

[] Quality of the initial laryngeal is reconstructed tentatively (PN and PA do not provide the best evidence). *-l- (and not *-n-) is reconstructed on PA evidence (- in case of the nasal *-n- we would expect strong *-χ- in PA). The comparison seems to be reliable both phonetically and semantically.

*²inGwV̄ (~ -ǎ-) heel; ankle, ankle-bone: Nakh. *haqV; Av.-And. *²V(n)ɬV; Lak. niq:a (< *²inq:a).

| Nakh. *haqV ankle, ankle-bone: Chech. haqolq; Ing. haqing.

4th class in both languages. Without suffix cf. Chech. Pharch. haqo id.

| Av.-And. *²V(n)ɬV heel: Av. eḫē; Chad. eḫēl.

Av. paradigm C (aḫā-lzul, ūḫ-dul; Chad. eḫēl-dul, ūḫla-l). The Chad. form has a suffixed -l. A derivative of the same root is probably the stem oḫo- in Av. oḫo-k²er, oḫo-q:at 'palm (of hand)', Chad. oḫo-b 'span (between the thumb and fore-finger)'.
| Lak. niq:a (< *²inq:a) heel.

[] Reconstructed for the EC level. Correspondences are regular.

*²V(n)ɬV good: Tsez. *hōze (~-z:-); Lezg. *²ič:V-.

| Tsez. *hōze (~-z:-) well, all right: Gunz. hōze.

Attested only in Gunz., with possible Lezg. parallels.

| Lezg. *²ič:V- good: Tab. užu; Ag. iže-f.

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss; attested only in three languages, thus the reconstruction is not very certain.

*²werV look, sight: Nakh. *b²ar; Av.-And. *²harV (- -o-); Lak. -uru-g²a-; Darg. *²her; Lezg. *²wVr-.

| Nakh. *b²ar (~ -ā-) 1 look, sight 2 to meet, look, stare: Chech. b²ar 1; Ing. b²ar haža 2; Bacb. b²ar-daχar 2.

The root is very close phonetically to PN *b²a 'eye' (q.v.), but external parallels show that it must be kept distinct. For the short vowel in PN cf. Chech. obl. stem b²ara- (also used in b²ara hēza 'to stare' = Ing. b²ar-haža).

| Av.-And. *²harV (~ -o-) to see, look: Akhv. hari-gu-.

An archaic compound, preserved only in Akhv. Within Andian it could be analyzed as "eye"+"see" (etymology of the compound -gu- see under *-agwV);

however a precise equation Akhv. hari-gu- = Lak. -uru-g²a- 'to look' makes us think that hari- here represents a different root.

| Lak. -uru-g²a- to look.

Ger. pr. =uru-gu-n. Etymology of the second part (-g²a-) see under k:²ak:²a- (PEC *²-agwV).

| Darg. *²her look, sight: Ak. her.

| Lezg. *²wVr- to glance, peep; to visit: Arch. hara-kes.

An archaic stem - isolated in Arch., but having good external parallels. An old derivative is also Arch. hara-k-ut 'window'.

[] Cf. also Hurr. fūr- (< HU *wūr-) 'to look, see', see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 64. An archaic root; not widely represented, probably because in most languages it merged with *²wil²i 'eye'.

*²wǎhri (~ -e) troops, army: Nakh. *b²o; Av.-And. *²in-h²a; Tsez. *hɔz:² B; Lak. aIra-l; W.-Cauc. *²rə.

| Nakh. *b²o troops, army: Chech. b²o; Ing. b²u; Bacb. b²o (Matsiyev).

5th class in Chech., 5/6th class in Ing., 6th class in Bacb. Obl. base *b²a- (cf. Chech. dat. b²a-na, Ing. erg. b²e-wo). Cf. also a suffixed form in Bacb.: Bacb. buh (< *b²o-hu) 'war, quarrel'.

| Av.-And. *²in-h²a army, troops: Av. bo; Chad. bo; And. iha; Akhv. iho; Cham. iha; Tind. iha.

Av. paradigm A (bo-l / bō-dul, bō-jal). The detailed meaning in Avar is "people; community (from several villages); army, troops". The PA form has a prefixed *²in- (as in some other cases of laryngeal Anlaut).

| Tsez. *hɔz:² B troops, army: Tsez. oz; Gin. uz; Khvarsh. ez²; Inkh. ez; Bezht. haz; Gunz. haz.

PTsKh *²ɔz²; PGB *haz (*-a- is not quite regular here: one would expect PGB *hɔz and Gunz. hɔz). The PTs form is originally an oblique base *hɔ(r)-z:²V-, early reinterpreted as the direct one (cf. analogous cases in words for 'eye' and 'bone' - all of the direct bases ending in PTs *-r).

| Lak. aIra-l army, troops.

An old plural form. The original suffixless form is reflected in Arch. aIri 'army', an old Lak loanword.

| W.-Cauc. *²rə army, troops: Abkh. ā-r; Abaz. rə; Ad. 3a; Kab. 3a; Ub. La.

PAT *²rə; PAK *3a; Ub. def. ā-La. The correspondence PAT *²r : PAK *3 : Ub. *L points to palatalized *²r in PWC. Because of this reconstruction, Charaya's (1912) comparison of the WC forms with Georg. eri 'people, nation' seems possible (despite Shagirov 1).

[] An interesting cultural term, securely reconstructed for PNC. There exist also HU parallels: Hurr. χūr-adā, Urart. χur-adā, χūr-adā 'warrior' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 63-64).

*²wil²ā (~ -ē-, -ō-, -i) wheel: Av.-And. *²h(w)Vr(H)V; Tsez. *²or (~ -ō-); Lak. ja; Darg. *²hula.

| Av.-And. *²h(w)Vr(H)V wheel: Av. ber; Chad. ber.

Av. paradigm A (bēr-zul, bēra-l).

| Tsez. *²or (~ -ə-) wheel: Bezht. *orra*.

In Bokarev's notation - *orra*. The Bezht. form is a former plural in -ra from *²or.

| Lak. *ja* wheel.

| Darg. **hula* wheel: Ak. *hula*; Chir. *ʕula*.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. *hula*, Kub. *ule* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is very close phonetically to *²wilʔi 'eye', and in Lak. and Avar the two words are indeed homonymous. However, reflexes differ in PD and Bezht., thus the homonymy is most probably accidental.

It is interesting to note an analogous homonymy in Georgian (*twali* means both 'eye' and 'wheel') - this could be due to an influence of EC languages, where the two words coincided by chance.

*²wilʔi eye: Nakh. **bʔa*; Av.-And. **harHi*; Tsez. **hore* B; Lak. *ja*; Darg. **huli*; Lezg. **ʔʷil*; Khin. *pil*; W.-Cauc. **b-la*.

| Nakh. **bʔa* eye: Chech. *bʔarg*; Ing. *bʔarg*; Bacb. *bʔark*.

The PN paradigm was **bʔa*, **bʔare-*, with a diminutive form **bʔare-k*, which was preserved in all languages. The form **bʔa* survives as *bʔa* (somewhat archaic) in Chech. and Ing. The word vacillates between 5th and 6th classes in Chech. and Ing.; 7th class in Bacb.

| Av.-And. **harHi* eye: Av. *ber*; Chad. *ber*; And. *harku*; Akhv. *keha*; Cham. *hača*; Tind. *hača*; Kar. *harka*; Botl. *haj*; Bagv. *hača*; God. *haj*.

Av. paradigm A (*bér-zul*, *búr-dul*); cf. also the locative stem *bá-di*. Within Andian some forms (Botl., God.; cf. also Cham. Gig. *haj*) go back to the simple root **harHi*, but most forms reflect the diminutive derivative **har(Hi)-kV*. In Akhvakh there occurred a metathesis: *keha* < **heka* < **harHi-kV*.

| Tsez. **hore* B eye: Tsez. *ozuri*; Gin. *uzej*; Khvarsh. *ezal*; Inkh. *ezol*; Bezht. *hare*; Gunz. *hare*.

Two oblique bases are reconstructable for PTs: **h>* (cf. PGB **ha-*, Bezht. *hā-*, Gunz. *ha-*) and **h>Zʷe-* (cf. PTsKh **ʔozʷe-*, Gin. pl. *uže-be*, Inkh. *eza-*). The direct base PTsKh **ʔozʷəR* is obviously a contamination of a former direct base **ʔəR* (= PGB **hare*) and oblique **ʔozʷe-*.

| Lak. *ja* eye.

3d class, obl. base *ja-ni-*. The old oblique base, however, had been *i-t:a-*, and it is preserved in adverbial forms like *it:a-w* 'into eyes', *it:a-lu* 'under eyes' etc., as well as in some old compounds.

| Darg. **huli* eye: Ak. *huli*; Chir. *ʕule*.

Cf. also Ur. *huli*, Kub. *ule* etc.

| Lezg. **ʔʷil* eye: Lezg. *wil*; Tab. *ul*; Ag. *ul*; Rut. *ul*; Tsakh. *ulʔ*; Kryz. *ʕul*; Bud. *ʕul*; Arch. *lur*; Ud. *pul*.

Obl. base PL **ʔʷile-*, cf. Lezg. *wili*, Tab. *uli-*, Ag. *ult-*, Rut. *uli-*, Tsakh. *ul'e-*. 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. The Archi form is originally plural (*ʔʷil-Vr*).

See Leksika 1971, 196; Giginayshvili 1977, 69.

| Khin. *pil* eye.

| W.-Cauc. **b-la* eye: Abkh. *á-la*; Abaz. *la*; Ad. *na*; Kab. *na*; Ub. *bLa*.

PAT *(*bə*)*la* (in Abkh. dialect variations: *á-bla* and *á-la*). Certain problems are connected with the PAK form **na* : it is certainly related to PAT and Ub. forms (even several identical compounds with the component 'eye' may be observed in AK and other languages), but reasons for nasalisation are not clear (regularly **da* would be expected; note that in this case the root would be homonymous with **da* < */A 'ear' q.v.).

[] One of the most widely spread NC roots. Correspondences are regular. See Trubetzkoy 1930, 277.

*²wilGV fumes, stink: Nakh. **qah*; Lak. *uInqu*; Lezg. **ʔʷiq*.

| Nakh. **qah* 1 fumes, stink, stuffy air 2 heat: Chech. *qah* 1; Ing. *qah* 2.

Obl. base **qaho-*, cf. Chech. *qoha-*, Ing. *qaho*. 4th class in both languages.

| Lak. *uInqu* fumes, stink.

| Lezg. **ʔʷiq*: smoke: Arch. *huq*.

Isolated within Lezgian, but having reliable external correspondences. The strong **q*: is seen in Arch. in forms like *huq:u* 'and smoke'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for metathesis in PN, correspondences are regular.

*a / -i to be (an auxiliary verb): Nakh. *u / -a; Av.-And. *i; Tsez. *-i; Lak. -u- / -i-; Darg. *u; Lezg. *a / ?i.

| Nakh. *-u / -a to be, is (an auxiliary verb): Chech. =u; Ing. =a; Bacb. =a. The auxiliary verb "to be", used only in the present tense. The -u-vocalism in Chech. is probably secondary (*u-i > *w-u in the first class, whereas *-i > -a in other classes).

| Av.-And. *i to be (auxiliary verb): And. i; Akhv. g-i-di; Cham. i-da; Tind. i-ja; Botl. i-ra; Bagv. i-da.

In most Andian languages this auxiliary verb is prefixless; the only exception is Akhvakh, where class markers are inserted between g- and the root (1st cl. *gudi*, 2d class *gidi* etc.).

| Tsez. *-i to be (auxiliary verb): Bezht. -i / -j.

Enclitic auxiliary, used only in present and lost everywhere except Bezht.

| Lak. -u- / -i- to be (auxiliary verb).

The form -u- is used in present tense (*u-i-r > ur, with a further transfer of the -u-vocalism to other forms); -i- (=ija) is used in the past tense.

| Darg. *u to be (auxiliary verb): Chir. =u.

Used only in the present tense.

| Lezg. *a / ?i to be (an auxiliary verb): Lezg. ja; Tab. wu, a; Ag. i, a; Rut. -i?, a; Tsakh. wo-, a-; Kryz. =i, ?a-; Bud. wi, -e?; Arch. =i, e-; Ud. b-u.

In Lezg. the root -a is also used with preverbs (*aw-a*, *al-a*, *gal-a*, *g-a* etc.). The two stems (*a and *i; *i sometimes changes to u due to the labialising influence of some class prefixes) are opposed in most languages, but it is difficult to separate them from each other. In some cases they are opposed in tense/aspect (e.g. in Archil), but in most cases *a tends to mean 'to be (available), to have', while *i is a simple verb of existence. The original difference must have been aspectual, and the two stems were probably connected by a usual Ablaut *a / *i.

[| Reconstructed for the PEC level. The stems *a and *i probably demonstrate the aspectual Ablaut *a/*i.

*acE(n) to catch, take: Nakh. *ec-; Av.-And. *icVn- (~ -s-); Tsez. *es(:) (~i-, -ə-); Lak. =aci-; Darg. *uc-; Lezg. *aca(n)-; W.-Cauc. *c:ə.

| Nakh. *ec- to take: Chech. ec-; Ing. ec-; Bacb. ec-.

Cf. also with a preverb: PN *i-ac- 'to take, catch, hold' (Chech. *lāc-*, Ing. *lac-*, Bacb. *lac-*).

| Av.-And. *icVn- (~ -s-) to find: And. =ison-; Cham. =isa-; Tind. =isī-; Kar. =isan-.

| Tsez. *es(:) (~i-, -ə-) to take: Tsez. =is-; Khvarsh. =as-.

PTsKh *as-.

| Lak. =aci- to steal.

G. pr. =a-cu-nu. Cf. Khosr. =aci-n id. With old Ablaut cf. also =uci-n (=u-cu-nu) 'to lead, deliver', Khosr. =uci-n 'to bring'.

| Darg. *uc- 1 to take 2 to catch: Ak. =urc- 1; Chir. =uc- / =urc- 2.

Cf. also Ur. =uc- / =urc- 'to take'.

| Lezg. *aca(n)- 1 to catch 2 to nurse: Tab. k: a-c- 2; Ag. f-ac- 1; Arch. sa- 1.

Cf. Ag. Tp. f-acan- 'to catch' (pointing to *-n-conjugation in PL). Arch. sa- reflects the Ablaut grade *ica(n)-. In Kryz. cf. also 'acn- 'to put inside' (the stem -(a)cn- in Kryz. is used only as durative - in pres. and prohib.). There may have existed a similar root *aca- 'to put on (clothes)'; Ag. q-ac-, Tp. q-aca- (with -0-conjugation, opposed to f-acan- with -n-conjugation), Arch. a-sa-.

| W.-Cauc. *c:ə to steal: Ub. wə-c(ə)-.

Ub. sə-wə-cə-n, plur. ka-c(ə)-. On a possible PAT parallel (*ja-) see under PWC *jV-.

[| A rather well represented common NC root. PA *icVn- and PL *acan- point to *-n-conjugation, which has been lost in PD for some unclear reason. The vowel must be reconstructed as *-a-, with an Ablaut reflex in PA (*-i-); -u- in PD is not quite clear.

*-āčĀn to go, to lead: Nakh. *q-āč-; Av.-And. =ičVn- / =ačVn-; Lak. =ači-; W.-Cauc. *ča (~*č-).

| Nakh. *q-āč- to arrive: Chech. qāč-; Ing. qac-; Bacb. qac-.

q- is an old preverb.

| Av.-And. =ičVn- / =ačVn- to lead: Av. =āč-ine; Cham. =ači-; God. =ečī-.

| Lak. =ači- to go, be heading (somewhere).

G. pr. =a-ču-nu. Cf. Khosr. =a-či-n id.

| W.-Cauc. *ča (~*č-) to go, walk: Abkh. a-ca-rā; Abaz. ca-ra.

PAT *ča (cf. also Bz. a-ča-rā). The verb can also be used with a causative meaning (Abkh. a-t-ca-rā, Bzyb. a-t-ča-rā 'to drive out, expel' etc.). It is somewhat suspicious that the causative form does not have the usual causative prefix -(r)ə- in Abkh.: this could mean that we deal here in fact with a different verbal root, which could be compared to PEC *VčV 'to drive' (q.v.).

[| Correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems reliable.

*-āčwV to take, carry: Av.-And. *ač- (~ -o-); Tsez. *aš(:); Darg. *uč-; Lezg. *ačw-i-; W.-Cauc. *čwV.

| Av.-And. *ač- (~ -o-) to carry: Av. =ač-; Cham. =ač-id-.

A case of the correspondence Av. č: : PA *č (from PEC *čw in tense words).

| Tsez. *aš(:)- to find: Gin. =aš-.

Attested only in Gin., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *uč- 1 to gather, collect 2 to take: Ak. =uč- 1; Chir. ha=ač-/=ulč- 2.

Cf. also Ur. **uč-* / **urč-* 'to gather, collect', Chir. *čark=alč-* / **ulč-* 'to take off, take away'. -l- in the Chir. form is not clear.

| Lezg. **ʔačʷi-* 1 to take 2 to take away 3 to bring: Lezg. *q:-aču-* 1; Tsakh. *sa=če-* 2; Ud. *eč-sun* 3.

Cf. Lezg. pret. *q:aču-na*. The Lezg. form (in -u-) points to labialisation of **čʷ*, which was early lost in the PL **-i*-conjugation. We should also compare (with **a/*i* Ablaut) the Shakhdag verb of motion: Kryz. pres. *čä-ri*, imper. *-ič-* 'to go', Bud. imper. *w-ič* id.; cf. also the Tab. imperative *ša=č* (Düb. *q:a=č*) 'come!' (formally quite close to Lezg. *q:aču-*), perhaps also Ag. *ača-* in *ača-bal-s*, *ača-dis* (compound verbs) 'to enter'.

| W.-Cauc. **čʷV* to take, carry: Ad. *ša-n*; Kab. *ša-n*.

PAK **čä-* (also **čä-* with some preverbs). See Shagirov 2, 137-138. The PWC reconstruction is tentative (because of the absence of AA and Ub. cognates); PAK **č* can go back to PWC **čʷ*, **č* or **č̣*.

[| The PEC-PWC comparison belongs to Trubetzkoy (1930, 278; see also comments on p. 460; see further Abdokov 1983, 169), and seems quite satisfactory.

**-adV̄* (~ -ə-) to butt, beat: Lak. *-a=t:a-*; Lezg. **ʔat:a*; Khin. *l-at:i-r-*; W.-Cauc. **wə-t:a-*.

| Lak. *-a=t:a-* to beat.

G. pr. *-a=t:u-nu*. Cf. Khosr. *-a=t:a-n* id.

| Lezg. **ʔat:a* 1 to stick into, pierce 2 to butt: Lezg. *aq-ad-ar-* 1; Arch. *-at:a-* 2.

Arch. dur. *a=t:a-r*. The Lezg. verb is formally derived from a noun **aqad*, which must be itself a verbal derivative.

| Khin. *l-at:i-r-* to beat, to hit.

| W.-Cauc. **wə-t:a-* to pound, beat: Ad. *wəta-n*; Kab. *wəda-n*.

PAK **wət:a-*.

[| See Abdokov 1983, 166.

**-äGÄr* to hold, take: Tsez. **-eq-* / *-aq-*; Darg. **-ač-* / *-irč-*; Lezg. **ʔaq:är-*; W.-Cauc. **čä-* (~ **G-*).

| Tsez. **-eq-* / *-aq-* to grab, take: Tsez. *-iq-*; Khvarsh. *aq-* (*Radzhibov*).

PTsKh **-eq-* / **-aq-* (reflecting old Ablaut?).

| Darg. **-ač-* / *-irč-* to find: Chir. *-ač-* / *-irč-*.

Cf. also *čas=ač-* / *čas=irč-* 'to reach'.

| Lezg. **ʔaq:är-* 1 to take, hold 2 to leave, put: Lezg. *qa-* 1; Tab. *šad-a=č-* 1; Ag. *aq:a-* (*Bursh.*) 1; Rut. *h-a=q:a-* 1; Tsakh. *a=q:a-* 1; Kryz. *i=q-r-* 1; Bud. *s-u=rqu* 1; Arch. *-aq:a-s* 2; Ud. *aq:-sun* 1.

-č- in lit. Tab. is obviously secondary, due to assimilation with the preverb (cf. Düb. *ā-q:-us* 'to take out, extract', *d-a=q:-us* 'to take away, carry away'). Cf. also Tsakh. dur. (with reduplication) *a-q:āq:a*, Bud. dur. *s-ūqūr-ži*; Ag. Bursh. *h-aq:a-* 'to buy' (= Rut. *h-a=q:a-*), *uq:-aq:a-* 'to take away', *ʔaqI-aq:a-* 'to choose', Tab. *kad-a=č-* 'to choose', Düb. *q:ā=q:-* id.; Arch. *gʷ-a=q:a-* 'to gather' (cf. *gʷejʷ* 'all', lit. 'to put all').

See Khaidakov 1973, 124.

| W.-Cauc. **čä-* (~ **G-*) 1 hold 2 have: Ad. *ʔä-čä-* 1; Kab. *ʔä-čä-* 1; Ub. *qa-čä-* 2.

PAK **ʔä-čä-*; Ub. 1st p. *a-s-qä-č*. The 1st part of the compound is probably PWC **qʷIa* 'hand' q.v. (see Shagirov 2, 162). A derivative of this verb stem in Ub. is probably *qabš* 'many, much' (= 'all which is had').

[| Correspondences are regular.

**-aGwV(n)* to lose, be defeated: Nakh. **-Vč-*; Av.-And. **-ič(Vn)-*; Tsez. **-ičʷ-* (~ *-i-*); Lezg. **ʔaq:(ʷ)V(n)-*.

| Nakh. **-Vč-* to be unwell, indisposed: Chech. *həč-*.

The verb is attested only in Chech. and is probably a compound of the verb -Vč- with the noun *hə* 'indisposition' (*hə* + -Vč-).

| Av.-And. **-ič(Vn)-* to lose, be defeated: And. *-ičan-*; Cham. *-ičā-*; Kar. *-eč-*.

| Tsez. **-ičʷ-* (~ *-i-*) to lose, be defeated: Tsez. *-ečʷ-*; Khvarsh. *ičʷ-* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *-ūw-* (*Tlad.*);

PTsKh **-ičʷ-*. Cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *-ūw-*.

| Lezg. **ʔaq:(ʷ)V(n)-* to lose, be defeated: Tab. *k:-a=č-*.

Attested only in Tab. (with the preverb *k:-*), but having probable external parallels.

[| Reconstructed for the PEC level. The verb demonstrates the PEC Ablaut **a/*i*.

**-agwV* to see: Nakh. **gu-* / **-ag-*; Av.-And. **-Vg-*; Tsez. **-e]gʷ-* A; Lak. *k:ʷa=k:ʷa-*; Darg. **gʷ-* / **-irgʷ-*; Lezg. **ʔak:ʷä-*.

| Nakh. **gu-* / **-ag-* see: Chech. *g-*; Ing. *g-*; Bacb. *gu,-ag-*.

The PN paradigm (term. **-ag-*, dur. **gu-*) has been preserved in Bacb.; Chech. and Ing. lost the terminative stem (because of the development **-g- > -0-*).

| Av.-And. **-Vg-* see: Akhv. *hari-gu-*.

An important Akhv. archaism (not preserved in other languages). The word is probably a compound of *hari-* (see under **ʔwerV*) 'look' + **-Vg-* 'to see'.

| Tsez. **-e]gʷ-* A see: Tsez. *-ikʷ-*; Gin. *-uk-*; Khvarsh. *-akʷ-*; Inkh. *-akʷ-*; Bezht. *-egä-*.

PTsKh **-e]kʷ* (unclear is -a- in Khvarsh. and Inkh.).

| Lak. *k:ʷa=k:ʷa-* to see, meet, experience.

A reduplicated stem (pr. praet. *k:a=k:-un*). In a non-reduplicated form the root can be discovered in *-ur-ugʷa-* 'to look' (with **ʔwerV* 'look' in the first part), *lug-la-n* (Khosr. *luga-n*) 'to search'. Lak. *-ur-ugʷa-* (< **-ur-igʷa-*) was probably borrowed in Arch. *rig a=a-s* 'to find'.

| Darg. **gʷ-* / **-irgʷ-* to look: Chir. *ʔul=irg-*.

In Chir. a compound with *ʔul-* 'eye'. Cf. also Ur. *gʷ-* 'to see'.

| Lezg. **ʔak:ʷä-* 1 to see 2 to search 3 to show: Lezg. *ak:ʷa-* 1; Tab. *a=g-* 2; Ag. *agʷ-* 1; Rut. *h-a=gʷa-* 1; Tsakh. *h-a=gʷa-* 3; Arch. *-ak:u-*; Ud. *ak:-sun*.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *uga-* / *agʷa-* 'to search'. Belongs to the weak verb class. Reconstruction of **-ā* is conditioned by Lezg. (*akʷa-*, praet. *ak:u-na*), Rut. (*-a-gʷa-*, plur. *-a-gʷe-s*) and Arch. (*-u-s*) forms. With a preverb cf. Rut. *aq-a-gʷa-* 'to find'.

See Bokarev 1961, 63; Leksika 1971, 243; Giginayshvili 1977, 78.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An Ablaut grade **-igwV* can also be reconstructed (represented in PD **-irgʷ*), PL: Tab. *i-g-*; in a prefixless form it lost the initial syllable and is reflected as PN **gu-*, PD **gʷ-*.

**-aḅV* to drive, send: Av.-And. **-uḅ-* / **ḅV-*; Darg. **ḅaḅ-* / **ḅḅ-*; Lezg. **ḅaḅV*.

[] Av.-And. **-uḅ-* / **ḅV-* 1 to drive; to pursue 2 to send: Av. *ḅe-* 1; Cham. *-uḅ-* 2; Tind. *-uḅ-* 2.

Andian languages reflect stem I, Avar - stem II.

[] Darg. **ḅaḅ-* / **ḅḅ-* to send; to drive: Chir. *aḅ-* / *iḅ-*.

Cf. also Ur. *aʔ-* / *iʔ-*, Kub. *aḅ-* / *iḅ-* 'to send, lead'.

[] Lezg. **ḅaḅV* to drive, send (away): Kryz. *q:-ā-ḅ-*; Bud. *q:-a-ḅ-*.

-ḅ- in Kryz. is not quite clear: it may reflect pharyngealisation (although external data do not support this view), or may be a result of contamination with the root *-āʔ-* 'to throw' (see PL **ḷahi*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The vowel **-u-* in PA is probably due to Ablaut.

**-āḅwV* to smear, rub: Av.-And. **ḅa-b-* / **ḅa-n-* (*~o-*); Tsez. **-aḅ-*; Lak. *-u=ḅa-*; Darg. **ḅ-aḅ-*; Lezg. **ḅaḅwV*.

[] Av.-And. **ḅa-b-* / **ḅa-n-* (*~o-*) 1 to scratch, scrape 2 to comb: Cham. *ḅan-* 1, 2; Kar. *ḅab-* 1.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *ḅam-* 'to scratch; to comb'. Only stem II (**ḅV-*) is represented.

[] Tsez. **-aḅ-* to rub: Tsez. *-aḅ-*.

Attested only in Tsez., but having probable external parallels.

[] Lak. *-u=ḅa-* to smear.

G. pr. *-u=ḅu-n*. Cf. Khosr. *-u=ḅa-n* id.

[] Darg. **ḅ-aḅ-* to bleach, whiten: Chir. *ḅaḅ-* / *ḅejḅ-*.

The same verb means in Chir. also 'to close, shut'; this should be probably explained by an original meaning like 'to paint over, to seal up'. Cf. also (with the Ablaut grade *i*) Chir. *-irḅ-* / *-iḅ-* 'to scrape, scratch'.

[] Lezg. **ḅaḅwV* 1 to smear, rub 2 to comb: Rut. *k-a-ḅʷa-* 2; Tsakh. *q-a-ḅʷa-* 1.

Cf. also Tsakh. *h-a-ḅʷa-* 'to pull, drag', *g-a-ḅʷa-* 'to comb'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**-āḅV* small, little: Nakh. **-awi-n* (*~ -ā-*); Av.-And. **daha-* (*~ o-*); Tsez. **-ihV*.

[] Nakh. **-awi-n* (*~ -ā-*) 1 light (in weight) 2 cheap: Chech. *-aj-n* 1, 2; Ing. *-aj* 1; Bacb. *-awī* 1.

[] Av.-And. **daha-* (*~ o-*) 1 small 2 few: Av. *dāha-b* 2; Chad. *dāha-b* 1, 2; Cham. *dah* 2; Tind. *dahar* 2.

Avar > Tsez. *dahaw*, Gin. *dah* 'few', Bezht., Gunz. *dahab* id.

[] Tsez. **-ihV* small, little: Gin. *ehe-nnu*; Bezht. *=ūwerō* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *=ijeru*.

PGB **-iʔV-ru*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In Av.-And. *d-* is a historical prefix. Cf. also Hurr. *ḫai-anna* 'little' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 62).

**-āhwV(r)* to do: Nakh. **-a-*; Av.-And. **-ih-*; Tsez. **-Vw-*; Lak. *-a-*; Darg. **0/-i-r-*; Lezg. **ḷaʔa(r)-*; Khin. *=ar*; W.-Cauc. **wə*.

[] Nakh. **-a-* to do, to make, to give birth: Chech. *=a-n*; Ing. *=e*; Bacb. *=a-r*.

A "rootless" verb (because of the loss of original laryngeal consonant) with vocalic alternations (cf. Chech. *=a-n*, pres. *=o*, Ing. *=e*, pres. *=u* etc.).

[] Av.-And. **-ih-* to do, to make: Av. *ha=i-*; Chad. *hubu-*; And. *ih-*; Akhv. *g-u-*; Cham. *ih-*; Tind. *ih-*; Kar. *g-ah-*; God. *ṭh-*.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. *g-ih-*. Av. reflects stem II (**hV-*); Andian languages - stem I (**ḷih-*, sometimes with a preverb **g-*). In Akhvakh the root consonant was regularly lost (*g-u-r-uḷa* < **g-ih-ur-uḷa*).

The same stem with changing class prefixes is used in Av.-Andian languages to denote 'to become; to be(come) able': cf. Av. *=eh-* 'to be(come) possible', Chad. *=eh-* 'to become; to be able', And. *=hi-l-d-* 'to be able', Cham. *=ehi-d-*, Tind. *=eh-*, Kar. *g-ijV-* (Tok. *g-ṭh-*) id.

[] Tsez. **-Vw-* to do, to make: Tsez. *=o-d-*; Gin. *=uw-*; Khvarsh. *=uw-*; Inkh. *=ij-*; Bezht. *=ow-* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *=uw*.

PTsKh **-Vw-* (with secondary *-j-* in Inkh.; *-d-* in Tsez. is a frequentative suffix); PGB **-Vw-*. The root vowel is hard to reconstruct because of the influence of *-w-* and Ablaut.

[] Lak. *-a-* to do, to make.

G. pr. *=u=nu*. In Khosr., besides *=a-n*, a variant *=uwa-n* is also attested.

[] Darg. **0/-i-r-* to be done, to become: Ak. *=ir-es*.

Cf. also Ur. *=i-s* / *=ir-i-s* id. (with zero root because of the loss of original root laryngeal).

[] Lezg. **ḷaʔa(r)-* to do, to make: Lezg. *iji-*; Tab. *ap-*; Rut. *=aʔa-*; Tsakh. *h-aʔa-* / *h-a-*; Kryz. *je-r-*; Bud. *siʔi-r-*; Arch. *a=a-*; Ud. *be-s*, *be-sun*.

Cf. also Lezg. pret. *awu-na*, Rut. pres. *=iʔi-r* (< *=iʔi-r*). The root demonstrates the Ablaut **a/*i* (besides Lezg. *iji-*, Rut. *=iʔi-* cf. also Tab. Düb. dur. *ipu-r-*). Tab. *-ḷ-* is a result of cohesion (class marker *-b-* + the root laryngeal *-ʔ-*).

In Ag. the general word for 'do, make' is *aqa-s* (see **ḷaqa-*). It seems possible, however, to derive from PL **ḷaʔa(r)-* the Ag. (Rich.) word for 'to put through', *q-uf-* (< **q-V-p-ʔ-*); cf. Ag. Bursh. *q-arqa-* (from the root **ḷaqa-*), Tab. *q-ap-* 'to put through'.

The Shakhdaghdagh data speak strongly in favour of the original **-r-* conjugation, although the reasons for loss of *-r-* in Tsakhur (which usually preserves it well) are not clear.

| Khin. =a-(r) to become.

The stem is used only in imperative (*h-ar, s-ar, f-ar*).

| W.-Cauc. *wə to do, to make: Abkh. *a-w-rá*; Ad. *wə*; Kab. *wə*; Ub. *w(ə)*.

In PAK (*wə-) and Ub. the root is used as a verbal prefix or first part in verbal compounds meaning 'to do, to make'. Cf. also nominal compounds: Ub. *sʷə-wə* 'deed, thing', PAT *wə-sə (Abkh. *a-wəs*, Abaz. *wəs*) id.

[] A widely spread common NC verb with a laryngeal root consonant. The final -r was regularly lost in most subgroups, but is preserved in the Eastern area (Darg., Lezg., Khin.); cf. also HU: Urart. *u/or-* 'to make, to work', *ur-is(i)ḫə* 'instrument' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 63). The root demonstrates the Ablaut *a/i.

*-āfhwV edge, point; face: Nakh. *uh; Av.-And. *aʷV; Tsez. *r-iʷV (~i-); Lak. =ajil-l-; Darg. *ah; Lezg. *hV-rV-.

| Nakh. *uh 1 face 2 edge, blade 3 end 4 beginning: Chech. *juh 1,3*; Ing. *juh 1, duh 4*; Bacb. *juh 1, duh 2*.

In Chech. cf. also -uh-ig 'end' (with changing class prefixes). In Bacb. the root is present also in the compound *joh-košō, doh-košō* 'face' and in adverbs -ujh-leḫ (with changing class prefixes) 'face down', *dujhrē* 'at first' and *juhal* 'on the other side (of a river, ravine)'.

The same root served as stem in the derivate *hū-ri-n (< *uHi-ri-n) 'sharp' > Chech., Ing. *ira*, Bacb. *irī*.

| Av.-And. *aʷV 1 face 2 edge 3 sharp: Av. *beʷ 1, raʷ-āl 2*; Chad. *raʷ-āl 2*; And. *lel 2*; Akhv. =aʷa-da-be 3; Cham. *baj 1*; Tind. *bā 1*; Kar. *baʷa 1, reʷil 2*; Botl. *baj 2*; Bagv. *baʷa 1*.

One of the roots with (historically) changing class prefixes. Note that the formation with the inanimate prefix *r- is usually accompanied by the suffix *Vl (*r-aʷV-l > Av. *raʷāl*, And. *lel* (< *r-aʷil), Kar. *reʷil* (but cf. also Kar. Anch. *raʷa-ḷa* id.). The Andi word also means 'mountain'.

The same root serves as stem for the adjective "sharp" *aʷV(-rV) > Av. -eʷera-, And. -ari-, Akhv. -aʷa-da-be (Tseg., Tlan. -aʷa-, Ratl. -eʷa-da-). Av. *raʷal* > And. *rahal*, Bezht. (Khosh., Tlad.) *rāʷāl*, Gunz. *raʷal* 'edge'.

| Tsez. *r-iʷV (~i-) blade (of axe, knife): Bezht. *jīʷo*.

Attested only in Bezht. (cf. also Tlad. =iʷo-ro "sharp"), but having good external parallels.

| Lak. =ajil-l- pointed, sharp.

Lak. must have possessed also the noun =aj 'edge, beginning', which is preserved within a compound verb =aj=iši-n 'to begin' (= "to put a beginning"), as well as in an old Archi loanword *bej* 'somebody's turn'. From Lak. the compound expression "to begin" was borrowed into Archi (*bej-eḷ:as*) and Avar (*bajbixi-zē*) whence - into Andian languages (Tind., Cham. *bajbix-* etc.). Darg. =eh=ix-es 'to begin' should be regarded as a loan-translation.

| Darg. *ah face: Ak. =alh; Chir. *dal*.

Cf. also Ur. =alh, Kub. =atl, Tsud. =alh 'face'. It is hard to separate from this root several other words (probably we deal with not very accurate

recordings or old interdialectal borrowings): Ak. *beḥ* 'edge', *balh* 'edge, blade; slope', Ur. *bah* 'sharp edge', Chir. *baʷ* id., *baʷ* 'summit'.

| Lezg. *hV-rV- sharp: Ag. *ha-re-f*.

Isolated in Ag., but having probable external parallels.

[] One of several PEC nouns with changing class prefixes. It also served as the root of PEC *-āʷwV- (often with suffixes *-āʷwV-rV- or *-āʷwV-lV-) 'sharp' (> PN *ʷi-ri-, Av. -eʷera-, PA *aʷV(-rV-), Lak. =ajil-l-, PL *hV-rV-).

Cf. also HU: Hurr. *awə, ajə* 'face, front', Urart. *ajə* 'before' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 64; we must add that the HU root can actually reflect a merger of PEC *-āʷwV 'face' and *ʷi- 'before, in front' q.v.).

*-ākē to tremble, shake: Nakh. *ek-; Tsez. *kik- (~-i-); Darg. *kVrk-; Lezg. *akV (/ʷakakV); W.-Cauc. *kV(-3V).

| Nakh. *ek- to tremble, shake: Chech. =eg-; Ing. =eg-; Bacb. =ek-dar.

| Tsez. *kik- (~-i-) to shake: Tsez. *kek-*.

Attested only in Tsez., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *kVrk- to tremble: Chir. *kurkur uči*.

| Lezg. *akV (/ʷakakV) to shake, tremble: Tab. *l-akak-* (Düb.); Ag. *akak-*.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *kaḱaj xis*, Tab. Kand. *kuk-ni suz* id.

| W.-Cauc. *kV(-3V) to tremble: Abkh. *a-kəz-kəz-ra*; Ad. *čazazə-n*; Kab. *čazazə-n*; Ub. *ka-da-*.

PAK *kazəzə- (Kab. > Abaz. *kazəz-ra* id.); Ub. *a-ka-da-n*. The second part of the stem *kV-3V probably goes back to a separate root *(p)-3V3V 'to tremble' q.v.

[] An expressive root, often reduplicated; however, its NC antiquity seems rather probable.

*-akūr (~-əḱ-, -ōḱ-) to roll, rotate: Av.-And. *korV (~-a-); Tsez. *kōri-jō; Lak. =a-ḱi-; Lezg. *akVr-; Khin. *kaḱ*; W.-Cauc. *kʷəra.

| Av.-And. *korV (~-a-) 1 ball 2 dumpling: Kar. *karu* (Anch.) 1; God. *kari 2*.

| Tsez. *kōri-jō ring, finger-ring: Bezht. *kōrijä* (Khosh.); Gunz. *korjo*.

PGB *kōrijo (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *kojra* id.). The original verbal root is also preserved in PGB *kar-λ- 'to turn round, to spin round' (Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *kārλ-*, Gunz. *karλ-*).

| Lak. =a-ḱi- to full, felt (wool).

G. pr. =a-ku-nu.

| Lezg. *akVr- 1 to roll (dough) 2 to wrap 3 to roll, turn round: Tab. *a-ḱ-uz 1*; Rut. *i-rḱ-as 2* (Khnlukh.); Tsakh. *al-i-kar-as 3*.

In Tab. cf. also *ilḱ-i-ḱ-* (Düb. *ilḱ-i-ḱ-*) 'to roll' (with an expressive preverb). The Tab. and Tsakh. forms reflect the PL Ablaut *a/*i; -i- in Rut. is not quite clear.

| Khin. *kaḱ* egg.

Originally 'round object' (cf. the external evidence).

| W.-Cauc. *kʷəra 1 to roll 2 to fall, roll down 3 to slip: Abkh. *a-kʷəra-ra 1*;

Ad. *wə-kʷara-jə-n* 2; Kab. *wə-kʷərə-jə-n* 2; Ub. *kʷərə* 3.

PAK **kʷərə* / **kʷara*; Ub. *a-s-kʷərə-n*.

[] A common NC verbal stem; the Andian, Tsezian languages and Khinalug have preserved only a nominal derivative.

**=ālcŭm* to measure, weigh: Nakh. **=ust-* (~ -ū-); Av.-And. **=acVn*; Tsez. **=ās-*; Lak. *=uci-*; Darg. **?umcVn-*; Lezg. **?alcʷan*; W.-Cauc. **sʷa*.

| Nakh. **=ust-* (~ -ū-) to measure: Chech. *=ust-*; Ing. *=ist-*; Bacb. *=ust-*.

Ing. -i- reflects Umlaut from u (in forms like Chech. *=usti-ra*, *=usti-na* = Ing. *=ista-d*).

| Av.-And. **=acVn* to measure: Av. *=orcn-*; Chad. *=oršn-*; And. *=asin-*; Akhv. *=acun-*; Cham. *=asVn-*; Tind. *=asī-*; Kar. *=asan-*; Botl. *=asVn-*; Bagv. *=asā-*; God. *=asā-*.

| Tsez. **=ās-* to measure, to weigh: Tsez. *asa-d* (*Radzhibov*); Gin. *=asā-*; Khvarsh. *n-as-* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *=ās-ah-* (*Tlad*); Gunz. *=ās-*.

PTsKh **=ās-*; PGB **=ās-*.

| Lak. *=uci-* to measure, weigh.

G. pr. *=u-cu-nu*. Cf. also Khosr. *=uci-n* id.

| Darg. **?umcVn-* to measure, weigh: Ak. *umc-es*; Chir. *uncVn-* / *unc-*.

Cf. also Kub. *ums-* id.

| Lezg. **?alcʷan* to measure, weigh: Lezg. *alcum-*; Tab. *je=c-*; Ag. *alc-*; Rut. *h-a-cʷa-*; Kryz. *w-a-sn-*; Bud. *so=sn-*; Arch. *a=sin-*; Ud. *us-k:-sun*.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *alcan-*, Tab. Düb. *ji=c-* id. The suffix -k:- in Udi is not clear.

See Leksika 1971, 250-251; Giginayshvili 1977, 90.

| W.-Cauc. **sʷa* to measure: Abkh. *a-sʷa-rá*; Abaz. *sʷa-ra*; Ub. *sʷa-*.

PAT **sʷa* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-sʷa-rá*); Ub. *a-sə-sʷa-n*.

[] A very widely represented common NC root. Correspondences are regular. See Abdokov 1983, 168.

**=algwĀn* to speak: Av.-And. **gʷVl-*; Lak. *=uk:-i-*; Darg. **=[a]lgwVn*; Lezg. **?alga(n)*; W.-Cauc. **ga*.

| Av.-And. **gʷVl-* to speak, talk: Av. *gal-*; Cham. *gull-*; Kar. *gal-*; God. *gul-at-*. The Kar. form may be borrowed from Avar. All languages reflect stem II **gʷVl-*, but stem I **=agʷ-* is probably present in And. *=agʷ-* 'to count'.

| Lak. *=uk:-i-* to count; to read.

G. pr. *=u=k:-u-nu*, dur. *k:-a-la-n*. Cf. Khosr. *=uk:-i-n*, *k:-āla-n* id.

| Darg. **=[a]lgwVn* 1 to ask 2 to count, to read: Ak. *=alɣʷVn-* (*Ur*); Chir. *=elgʷVn-* / *lug-* 2.

Ur. dur. *=ulɣ*.

| Lezg. **?alga(n)* 1 to talk, speak 2 song: Rut. *=alga-* 1; Arch. *lagum* 2.

The Archi form is a deverbative noun with a petrified plural suffix (-um).

| W.-Cauc. **ga* 1 to call 2 to be heard (of sound, voice): Abkh. *a-ga-rá* 2; Abaz. *ga-ra* 2; Ad. *ǰa-n* 1; Kab. *ǰa-n* 1.

PAT **ga*; PAK **ga* (the objective form **ja-ga-* means also 'to read, learn, study'). See Shagirov 1, 161.

[] Cf. also Hurr. *kul-* 'to say, to pronounce solemnly', see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 54. The EC-WC comparison seems satisfactory both semantically and phonetically (although the reason for loss of labialisation in PWC is not quite clear: perhaps it is the other way round, and we should reconstruct **=agĀl* with secondary labialisation in PEC - e.g., under the influence of the 1st class marker **u-*). Shagirov (1,161) is of course right in refuting Balkarov's comparison of the Adygh form with Akhv. *z-* (*zab-*) 'to read' (Balkarov 1964, 100).

**=alkV* to limp, lame: Lak. *w-alka*; Darg. **=alka*; Lezg. **?alkā-*.

| Lak. *w-alka* to reel, stagger.

| Darg. **=alka* lame: Ak. *=alka*.

| Lezg. **?alkā-* 1 to limp 2 to waddle 3 lame: Tab. *lak xuz* 2; Rut. *a-rka-s* 1; Tsakh. *kā-na* 3; Ud. *k:ala* 3 (*Vari*).

Cf. also Rut. (derived) *a-lka-d* 'lame', Tsakh. *Gelm. kawa-na* id. The Tsakh. and Ud. forms are metathesized.

Vinogradova-Klimov 1979 proposed to regard the Tsakh. and Ud. forms as loans from Armenian (Arm. *kał* 'lame'); but the Armenian word has no secure IE etymology and should rather itself be regarded as one of the numerous Caucasian loanwords.

[] The root is characteristic for the Eastern Daghestan area (Lak., Darg., Lezg.); its relationship to PEC **HlakV* (**HalkV*) is not quite clear. Note also several forms with -n-: Chech. *länka* 'lame person', Lak. *link* 'lame person', Arch. *lank* 'to limp, hobble' which may be borrowed from Pers. *lang* 'lame' (but for the verbal root **=alkV* this is hardly the case).

**=ālwVn* to resemble, similar: Av.-And. **=aλ:(ʷ)Vn-*; Tsez. **=ēλ:-* B (~ -λ-); Lak. *la=s:a-*; Darg. **mixV* (~ -š-); Lezg. **?iλ:ʷVn-*.

| Av.-And. **=aλ:(ʷ)Vn-* 1 to be similar, resemble 2 similar: Av. *reλ:-in-* 1; Chad. *reλa-ra-b* 2; And. *a=λ:in* 2; Akhv. *ēλ:e-da* 2; Cham. *=aλ:una-b* 2; Tind. *=aλ:ū-b* 2; Kar. *=aλ:an-* 1.

Av. > Bezht. Khosh. *=ēlarab*, Gunz. *reλarab* (this is either a loan from an Avar dialect with the change λ: > λ, or else a mixture of Av. *reλ:arab* 'similar' with the genuine **=ēler-u* q.v.).

| Tsez. **=ēλ:-* B (~ -λ-) similar, alike: Tsez. *=iλa-si*; Gin. *=eλ-iš*; Khvarsh. *=aλ*; Inkh. *=aλa-qu*; Bezht. *=ēle-rō* (*Tlad*).

PTsKh **=əλ(a)-* (in Inkh. *-aλa-* instead of *-oλa-* through vocalic assimilation).

| Lak. *la=s:a-* to be similar, look alike.

G. pr. *la=x:u-nu*. Cf. also Khosr. *la=x:u-s:a* 'similar'.

| Darg. **mixV* (~ -š-) similar, alike: Ak. *mešu-si*; Chir. *miši-ze*.

Cf. also Kait. *mešu-*, Tsud. *miši-* id. Lack of the Kubachi reflex does not allow to distinguish between reflexes of **-x-* and **-š-*; external data favour the former. PD **mixV* < **b-ixV* < **b-ixVn-*.

| Lezg. **?iλ:ʷVn-* similar: Arch. *λ:āna-t:u-*.

Attested only in Archi, but having good external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. Most forms reflect the Ablaut grade *-a-; grade *-i- can be seen in PD *mixV- and probably in Arch. λ:āna- < PL *?iā:Vn- (with reduction).

*-āmçĒ to know, to see: Nakh. *-abç-; Av.-And. *çin- / *-açVn-(~o-); Tsez. *-āç-; Darg. *-umç-; Lezg. *?aça-; W.-Cauc. *çA-.

| Nakh. *-abç- 1 to know 2 to get to know: Chech. =ovz- 2; Ing. =ovz- 2; Bacb. =abç- 1, 2.

| Av.-And. *çin- / *-açVn-(~o-) 1 to know 2 to look: And. çin- 1; Cham. =ačn- 2.

The Cham. form reflects stem 1, the And. - stem 2.

| Tsez. *-āç- 1 to see 2 to look: Bezht. gow-aç- 2 (Khosh.); Gunz. =āç- 1. PGB *-āç-.

| Darg. *-umç- to search: Ak. umç-es.

| Lezg. *?aca- 1 to know 2 to be able, can: Rut. =aca- 1; Tsakh. =aça- 1; Kryz. =āç- 1; Bud. ha=ç- 1; Arch. b-eça- 2; Ud. a-ba baksun 1.

Cf. also Ud. aje-sun 'be able, can'.

See Giginayshvili 1977, 101.

| W.-Cauc. *çV- 1 know 2 learn: Abkh. a-ça-ra 2; Ad. ša-n 1; Kab. ša-n 1; Ub. ča- 1.

PAT *çā- (cf. also Bz. a-ça-rā); Ub. 1st p. a-s-čā-n. PAK *ç²a-: initial cluster is reconstructed on the basis of Shaps. šqa-. The element -²a is treated (by Lomtadze 1972, 130-133 and Shagirov 2,152) as an affirmative affix. Whatever it was, it influenced the development of the initial affricate (all affricates in such clusters become palatal in PAK). The original ç- (which is the normal PAK reflex of PWC *ç) is probably retained in Kab. çə-x²ə-n 'be acquainted (with someone)'.

[] A rather well preserved common NC verbal root. Most forms reflect the Ablaut grade *-a-; another stem, probably *-imçĒ, is reflected in And. and Darg. Cf. also HU: Hurr. anz-an-uy- (causative) 'to declare, to promise', anz-anni 'votive; promised' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 23).

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 279; Abdokov 1983, 168.

*-a(m)sV to be silent, listen (> to talk): Av.-And. *sVs(Vn-); Darg. *-urs- (/ =us-); Lezg. *?asV.

| Av.-And. *sVs(Vn-) to be quiet, silent: Av. sasn-.

| Darg. *-urs- (/ =us-) to say, tell: Ak. =ur-es; Chir. b-urs-.

Cf. also Ur. =ur- / =uh- 'to say'.

| Lezg. *?asV 1 to be silent 2 to listen: Lezg. k-is- 1; Ag. k:it:-isi- 1; Rut. q-a=sa- 2.

The Ag. word is from the Burshag dialect. The root demonstrates the PL Ablaut *a/*i.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root vowel is most probably *a (with Ablaut in Darg.).

*-am30 to milk; to drink: Nakh. *-ett-; Av.-And. *zin-HV; Lak. t:-izi-; Darg. *-i(r)-; Lezg. *?acca-; W.-Cauc. *z²A.

| Nakh. *-ett- to milk: Chech. =ett-; Ing. =ett-; Bacb. =ett-.

Cf. also a derivate preserved in Bacb. and very archaic: b-ettar (pl. d-ettiri) 'a milch cow, sheep'. This root also influenced (semantically) PN *jett 'cow' (q.v.) - which originally meant 'bull, ox'.

| Av.-And. *zin-HV cow: And. ziwu; Akhv. žīwo; Cham. zin; Tind. zini; Kar. zini; Botl. zini; Bagv. zin; God. zini.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. žīwu, Tlan. žū, Ratl. zjo. Tsez. zija, Khvarsh. žīh, Inkh. žīje 'cow' must be regarded as borrowed from an Andian source (because in case of genuine relationship all these languages would have initial s-).

| Lak. t:-izi- to milk.

G. pr. t:-i=zu-nu.

| Darg. *i(r)c- to milk: Ak. =iz-es; Chir. =irc- / ic:-.

Cf. also Ur. =irz- / =iz-.

| Lezg. *?ac:a- to milk: Lezg. ac:a-; Tab. az-; Ag. uz-; Rut. =āz-; Tsakh. ḡ-a=z-; Kryz. =āz-; Bud. s-oz-; Arch. =ac:a-.

Cf. also Lezg. pret. ac:a-na, Ag. Bursh. uza-s. The verb belongs to the weak class.

An old derivate of this root is PL (*?ac:ār >) *c:ār 'cow', reflected in Rut. zār (zīr-), Tsakh. zer (zera-), Kryz. zar (zīr-), Al. zar (zīr-), Bud. zar, which is identical to Bacb. -ettar 'milch cow'. Another deverbal noun is (*?ac:al) > Ag. azal 'enclosure for milking sheep' (= Av. Chad. ēnzer). See Bokarev 1961, 69; Leksika 1971, 246; Giginayshvili 1977, 84.

| W.-Cauc. *z²A to drink: Abkh. ā-z²-ra; Abaz. z²-ra; Ad. ja-s²a-n; Kab. ja-fa-n; Ub. zwa-.

PAT *z²ə- (cf. Bz. ā-z²-ra); PAK *ja-s²a- (intr.), *jə-s²ə- (tr. > Ad. jəs²ə-n, Kab. jəfə-n); Ub. 1 sg. a-z-3²ā-n. The PAK form has an irregular voiceless stop (*-z²- should be expected). This is probably due to the influence of *psə 'water' (very frequent in combination with the verb 'to drink'). The original meaning of the root - as it is clearly seen on external evidence - was 'to milk, (to drink milk)'. Derivates from this root mean 'milch cow, cow' in many EC languages. Hence it is natural to relate to this root also PWC *z²ə / *mə-z²ə 'cow' (with *mə- as a probable deverbative prefix): PAT *z²ə (Abkh. ā-z², Bzyb. ā-z², Abaz. z²ə) 'cow', Ub. məz²-šə 'heifer'.

[] An important common NC root. Note the recurring nominal derivates with the meaning 'milch cow', 'cow' both in EC and WC languages (cf. Trubetzkoy 1930, 277, Abdokov 1983, 117). In PA the verbal root itself was not preserved (it would have been *-azVn- / *zVn-), but the derivate remained. Another probable derivate from the same root is attested in Av. Chad. ēnzer (the lit. form would be enzer ~ ēnzer) 'enclosure for milking sheep' (= Ag. azal id.), whence loans in Tsezian languages: Bezht. enzel, Gunz. ēnzer.

*-ā(n)qWV (~ -1-) to lead, take (somewhere): Tsez. *-eq- (~ -eq-); Lak. =aqi-.

| Tsez. *-eq- (~ -eq-) 1 to take (somewhere) 2 to lead: Gin. =uq- / =uq- 1,2; Khvarsh. =īqī- 1,2; Inkh. =ēqī- 1,2; Gunz. =oq- 2.

PTsKh $*=eq^-$ (or $*=eq^-$, for the Inkh. nasalisation is not quite clear). For Gunz. Bokarev lists two variants ($=aq^-$ and $=oq^-$), and the correct form is not clear (the regular correspondence to PTsKh would be $=oq^-$).

[Lak. $=aqi-$ to lead, bring (somewhere).

G. pr. $=a=qu-nu$.

[A Tsez-Lak. isogloss. The precise reconstruction is not quite certain (both Lak. and PTs do not reflect root-final resonants, and the vocalic reconstruction is not precise because of uncertainties within the Tsezian subgroup).

$*=aqV$ to open: Lak. $a=aqa-$; Lezg. $*?aq$; W.-Cauc. $*q:V$ ($-q$).

[Lak. $a=aqa-$ to open wide, to gape.

G. pr. $a=a=qu-n$.

[Lezg. $*?aq$ 1 to open 2 opened 3 to give away (a secret): Lezg. aq 2; Ag. $d-aq-$ 1; Tsakh. aq 1; Bud. $q:-aq-$ 3; Arch. $d-a\chi$ as 1; Ud. qaj 2.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. $d-aqa-$ 'to open'. Lezg., Arch. and Udi reflect a participial form $*?aq$ -j. See Bokarev 1961, 68; Leksika 1971, 259; Giginayshvili 1977, 134.

[W.-Cauc. $*q:V$ ($-q$) to open, open wide: Ad. $wəq:ə-n$; Kab. $wəq:ə-n$.

PAK $*wəq:ə-$ (with a widely spread common WC verbal prefix $wə-$).

[The EC-WC comparison see in Abdokov 1983, 157.

$*=aqwV$ to fall, to lie; to get into: Av.-And. $*=ik:V-$; Lezg.

$*?aqi-$.

[Av.-And. $*=ik:V-$ 1 to get into 2 to happen 3 to fall: Av. $k:e-$ 1,2; Chad. $xel(1)-$ 1,2; And. $=uk:-$ 1,3; Cham. $=uk-$ 1,3; Tind. $=ux:-$ 1; Kar. $=ek:V-$ (Arch.) 3.

Avar reflects stem II ($*k:V-$), Andian languages - stem I ($*=ik:V-$). A stem with Ablaut ($*=ak:V-$) is reflected in Cham. and Tind. in plural (Cham. plur. $=ak-ur-$, Tind. plur. $=ax:-$; cf. perhaps also And. $=ok:-/ek:-$ 'to stay').

[Lezg. $*?aqi-$ to lie: Tab. $d-aq-$; Ag. aqu xas; Arch. $a=\chi a-$.

The Arch. form can belong both here and to the PL $*?a\chi ar-$ 'sleep, lie' q.v. The original meaning of PL $*?aqi-$ must have been 'to fall, to become spilled, scattered', cf. Ag. $l-aqa-s$ (Bursh. $aqi-s$) 'to scatter, spill, get scattered' (cf. also in Tab. without the d- preverb $aq-$ 'to fall'), Arch. $c-a=\chi a-$ 'to fall; to throw' (with an expressive preverb) and possibly also Lezg. $al-aq-$ 'to stick, adhere', Ag. $\textcircled{f}aq$ (Bursh. $\textcircled{f}aqi-$) 'to mix'.

Cf. also Tab. $al-a=q-$, Düb. $h-a=q-$, Ag. $\textcircled{f}at-aq-$ 'to meet, encounter' ($*\textcircled{f}$ to fall upon) - which may have obtained its meaning due to the influence of PL $*?iqi-$ 'to find' (q.v.), or may, in fact, provide a link between these two roots (stems): see PEC $*=iqwV$.

[An Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss, demonstrating the Ablaut $*a/i$.

$*=aqV\ddot{t}$ to dangle, shake: Av.-And. $*qul-$; Darg. $*d-alq-$; Lezg.

$*?aqel-$.

[Av.-And. $*qul-$ to slide: Akhv. $qul-$.

Cf. perhaps also an expressive reduplication $*qiq\textcircled{f}a-b-$ in And. $GiGab-\textcircled{f}o$ 'to shake, sway', Kar. $o\textcircled{f}ab-$ / $\textcircled{f}ab-$ id.

[Darg. $*d-alq-$ to dangle, shake: Chir. $dalq-a\textcircled{f}-$.

A compound verb (with the second component $a\textcircled{f}-$ 'to drive, urge').

[Lezg. $*?aqel-$ 1 to dangle, shake 2 to tremble 3 to fall 4 to lie: Tab. $d-a=q-$ 1; Ag. $daq-$ 1; Rut. $qa=lqa-$ 2; Kryz. $\textcircled{f}a=q-l-$ 3; Bud. $\textcircled{f}a=qal-$ 3,4.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. $dalqan-$ 'to dangle, shake'; Kryz. $q:\textcircled{f}a=q-l-$, Bud. $q:\textcircled{f}a=qal-$ 'to fall down, tumble; to lie', Bud. (caus.) $s-e=lqi$ 'to churn (butter)', Kryz. $cu=q-l-$ 'to lie'.

[Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

$*=ar\textcircled{f}wV$ to go to ruin: Nakh. $*(p)säl$; Av.-And. $*\textcircled{f}V-$; Lak. $\textcircled{f}a$;

Lezg. $*?ar\textcircled{f}w$.

[Nakh. $*(p)säl$ pile, heap: Chech. sal .

Obl. base $säl$ -. Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

[Av.-And. $*\textcircled{f}V-$ 1 to go to ruin 2 to scatter about: Av. $\textcircled{f}u-nt-$ 1; Cham. $\textcircled{f}e-d-$ 2; Tind. $\textcircled{f}e-$ 2.

The Av. form has an expressive suffix. With another suffix cf. Cham. $Gig. \textcircled{f}i-b-$ 'to throw out, scatter about'. The root is more widely spread within the derivate $\textcircled{f}\textcircled{f}a(r)-dV$: cf. Av. $\textcircled{f}ad$, $\textcircled{f}adan$, Chad. $\textcircled{f}urdan$, And. $\textcircled{f}adil$ (Khaidakov), Akhv. $\textcircled{f}ada$, Kar. $\textcircled{f}ade$, Anch. $\textcircled{f}are$, Tok. $\textcircled{f}odi$ 'ruins'. The Av. forms were borrowed in Tsez. languages: Tsez., Gin. $\textcircled{f}ad$, Gunz. $\textcircled{f}odan$, Bezht. $Tlad$., Khosh. $\textcircled{f}odän$.

[Lak. $\textcircled{f}a$ hut, shanty.

Gen. $\textcircled{f}at:i-ral$. Cf. Khosr. $\textcircled{f}a$, $\textcircled{f}at:i-ral$ id. Cf. also (with another variant of meaning) $\textcircled{f}a dan$ 'to scatter about, throw about'.

[Lezg. $*?ar\textcircled{f}w$ 1 to go to ruin 2 to be overcooked 3 be frayed, torn: Lezg. $u\textcircled{f}e-$ 1; Ag. $ar\textcircled{f}w-$ 1; Rut. $s-u=\textcircled{f}e-$ 2; Bud. $a=\textcircled{f}-$ 3.

Cf. also Lezg. Akht. (inf.) $\textcircled{f}i-n$ 'to go to ruin', and a derivate in Ag. Bursh.: $ar\textcircled{f}ir$ 'ruin(s)'.

[Reconstructed for the PEC level. Most languages reflect a form with initial vowel reduction (from the Ablaut variant $*=ir\textcircled{f}wV$), and the derivatives $*\textcircled{f}wä-lV$ / $*\textcircled{f}wä-lDV$.

$*=är\textcircled{f}V$ to skin: Tsez. $*=i\textcircled{f}-$; Lezg. $*?ar\textcircled{f}a-$.

[Tsez. $*=i\textcircled{f}-$ 1 to peel, take off skin 2 to skin: Bezht. $=i\textcircled{f}-$ 1 ($Tlad$.); Gunz. $=i\textcircled{f}e-l-$ 2.

Cf. also Bezht. $Tlad$., Khosh. $=i\textcircled{f}e-l-$ 'to skin' (a causative form = Gunz. $=i\textcircled{f}e-l-$). PGB $*=i\textcircled{f}-$.

[Lezg. $*?ar\textcircled{f}a-$ 1 to take off, peel (skin etc.), to skin 2 to kill: Lezg. $al-a\textcircled{f}-$ 1; Rut. $q-a=\textcircled{f}e-$ 1; Arch. $a=\textcircled{f}a-$ 2.

For $*=r-$ cf. Rut. dur. $qa-ra\textcircled{f}e-r$. The verb belongs to the strong class. It is possible to derive from this root (with Ablaut) the PL noun $*?är\textcircled{f}$: 'wineskin' (< $*\textcircled{f}eeled$ skin'), reflected in Tab. $er\textcircled{f}$ (Düb. $ir\textcircled{f}i$) 'wineskin; bellows', Ag. $ir\textcircled{f}$ 'bellows' (Bursh. $er\textcircled{f}$ 'wineskin').

[A Tsez.-Lezg. isogloss (with precise phonetic and semantic correspondences).

*-ā[r]λwĀ straight; even, equal: Nakh. *t-arλe-n; Tsez. *eλ:-; Lak. -ax=a-; Darg. *-arx:-; Lezg. *t-iλ:ā-; W.-Cauc. *λwā.

| Nakh. *t-arλe-n similar, equal: Chech. *tera*; Ing. *tara*; Bacb. *tarλe-no*.

The pure stem *t-arλ- can be seen in Chech. *tar-dan* 'to place, to fit', Bacb. *tarλ-dar* 'to compare', *tarλ-dal-* 'to be similar'.

| Tsez. *eλ:- smooth, even: Gunz. *reλe-ru*.

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *-ax=a- suitable, fit (for a size, measure).

-x- in the Lak. form is always followed by a class marker, so it is impossible to establish whether it is morphologically tense or lax.

| Darg. *-arx:- straight; right, correct: Ak. -arx-si; Chir. -arx:-ze.

| Lezg. *t-iλ:ā- straight, even: Tab. *diši*; Ag. *dixe-f* (Burk.).

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *diš:i*, Ag. (Khaid.) *dix:e-f*.

| W.-Cauc. *λwā straight, even: Abkh. *a-jāša*; Abaz. *ra-jša*; Ad. *zā-fa*; Kab. *zā-xwā*; Ub. *sawā-x*.

PAT *jV-ša (with a pronominal or reciprocal prefix); PAK *za-xwā (on the etymology of the first part see Shagirov 1, 204). The correspondence PAT *š : PAK *xw : Ub. s^w points unambiguously to PWC *λw. Cf. also PAK *xwā-da (Ad. *fad*, Kab. *xwāda*) 'similar, equal' (despite Dumézil 1932, 92; 1963, 14-15; Kuipers 1960, 113; Shagirov 2, 106 PAK *xwā- here can hardly be analyzed as a version prefix; the semantic correlation 'straight' - 'similar, equal' is quite natural).

[] A common NC root with fairly good phonetic and semantic correspondences. PN and PL have forms with dental prefixes (aspectual? - cf. also the durative Ablaut grade *-i- in PL); other languages have only prefixed class markers. As for the phonetic side, there are some problems with the medial resonant (perhaps we should reconstruct *-l-, not *-r-, to account for its loss in PL), and with the Dargwa reflex: we should expect lax *-x- in PD. Violation of the phonetic rule (*λw > PD *x(w) in tense words) may have been caused by early delabialisation (cf. an analogous delabialisation in PL).

In some languages the root may have been influenced by PEC *-āλwVn 'to resemble, be similar' (or even merged with it), but the two roots certainly are to be kept separate.

The earliest form of the root could have been *λwVrĀ- - this is suggested by the probable Hurr. match *sir-* 'to be equal, alike' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 49). The shape *-ā[r]λwĀ must have been a result of adding prefixes (*-a-λwVrĀ > *-a-λwĀ > *-arλwĀ).

*-arqVr / *-irqVr to reach: Nakh. *-i?-; Av.-And. *-iq-; Tsez. *-oq-; Lak. -ij=a-; Darg. *-a?-/=-i?-; Lezg. *irqār-.

| Nakh. *-i?- to be in time, to have time: Chech. *q-i?-*; Ing. *q-e-*.

The root also means 'to ripen, grow up' which reflects a contamination with another PEC root *irqV q.v.

| Av.-And. *-iq- 1 to come 2 to be in time, have time 3 to reach: Av. *re^c-* 2; And. -iG- 1; Akhv. -eq- 1; Cham. -i?- 1; Tind. -e- 1; Kar. -a?- 3.

The root reflects the PA Ablaut *-iq- / *-aq- > Kar. -a?- / *qi-r-. The

second root variant is reflected in literary Avar (with metathesis) and in Kar. *er-* 'to reach', Cham. *ir-* 'to touch'. The form in Cham. reflects a secondary variant with suffixed -n (probably under influence of other verbs of movement), which may be also observed in Akhv. *qun-* 'to reach; to touch' (cf. also an opposition in the Ratl. dialect: -eq- 'to come' - =uqū 'to reach'); And. Gum-, Tind., Cham. *un-* 'to push'. Finally, And. *G^wob-d-* 'to touch' reflects stem II with a -b-suffix (*qo-b-).

| Tsez. *-oq- to bring: Bezht. -aq- (Tlad.); Gunz. -oq-.

PGB *-oq- (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. -aq- id.). With Ablaut (or reflecting PTs *-oq- B?) cf. Gin. -iq- 'to bring, carry'.

| Lak. -ij=a- to reach, come to.

G. pr. -i=nu. Cf. Khosr. -ij=a-n id. A derivate with the preverb l- is *laj=a-n* (G. pr. *la=nu*, Khosr. *laj=a-n* 'to touch').

| Darg. *-a?-/=-i?- to reach: Ak. -a?-.

Cf. also Ur. -a?-/=-i?- id.

| Lezg. *irqār- 1 to reach 2 to come 3 get, hit 4 overtake 5 find: Lezg. *aqā- 3*; Tab. *ru=q- 1*; Ag. *ruq- 1*; Rut. *ji=qā- 2*; Tsakh. *aw=a=qār- 4*; Kryz. *w-oq- 5*; Bud. *cu=raqār- 1*; Arch. *e=qi- 1*; Ud. *ej-sun 1,2*.

Vowel grades: *irqār-/arqār-/orqār-. Cf. also Rut. *l-ā=qā-* 'to reach', *χ-a=qā-* 'to catch, hold', *k-i=qā-* 'to touch', *g-i=qā-* 'to understand', Ag. *k-irq^w-* 'to touch', Bursh. *k-erq^w-* id. (= Rut. *k-i=qā-*, Tab. *k-u=q-*), Bursh. *w-arq^w-* 'to find' (= Kryz. *w-oq-*); Tab. *q-u=q-* (Düb. *qū=q-*), Ag. Bursh. *q-arq^w-* 'to reach' (used together with *ruqā-*), Rut. *q-i=qi-* (term.) 'to return'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The vocalism raises some problems: we should probably reconstruct *-arqVr as the basic variant and suppose that the durative Ablaut stem *-irqVr was extended to terminative in several subgroups (PN, PA, Lak and PL).

*-arχV far: Tsez. *ciχ:- (~b-); Lak. arχ(:); Darg. *-arχ(:); Lezg.

*arχ:- (Vl).

| Tsez. *ciχ:- (~b-) far: Bezht. *ciχo*; Gunz. *ciχu*.

Cf. also Tlad. *ciχo* id.

| Lak. arχ(:)- far.

| Darg. *-arχ(:)- far: Chir. *b-arχ-le*.

Isolated in Chir., but with good external parallels.

| Lezg. *arχ:- (Vl) far: Lezg. *jarbal*; Tab. *jarχla*; Ag. *warχa*; Rut. *χiri-di*;

Kryz. *juχ-ta*; Bud. *jix-ta*; Arch. *aχ*; Ud. *aχli*.

j- and w- are prefixed class markers. In PL there existed an Ablaut grade *orχ:V-, reflected in Kryz., Bud. and Rut. (where *χiri-* < *orχ:i- with a usual adjectival metathesis).

See Khaidakov 1973, 106.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Originally used with class prefixes or preverbs (cf. the expressive preverb *č- in PTs), although they were lost or became part of the root in some modern languages.

*-asAr to throw; to leave, let: Nakh. *t-as-; Av.-And. *-is:t- (~ -š:t-); Lezg. *as:ar-; W.-Cauc. *(p)sV.

| Nakh. **t-as-* 1 to throw, scatter 2 to sow 3 to leave: Chech. *tas-* 1,2; Ing. *tass-* 1,2; Bacb. *tas-* 1,3.

Gemination in Ing. -ss- is not quite clear.

| Av.-And. **is:t-* (~ -s:t-) to let, leave: Chad. =*ecé-*; And. =*elt-*; Akhv. =*es-* (Ratl.); Cham. =*es-*; Tind. =*est-*; Kar. =*es:d-*.

The stem is probably an old compound of **is:-* (= PL **as:ar-*) and **it-* 'to let' (q.v.), with a special development of the specific cluster **s:t-*.

| Lezg. **as:ar-* 1 to throw 2 to leave 2 to put: Tab. *a=s-* 1 (Düb.); Tsakh. *h-a=s:ar-* 2; Bud. *o=sur-* 2,3.

The Bud. root is used only as a durative stem (in present, prohibitive).

| W.-Cauc. *(p)sV 1 to scatter 2 to sow: Abkh. *a-ta-psa-rá* 1; Abaz. *ta-psa-ra* 1,2; Kab. *te-sa-n* 1; Ub. *wa-s(a)-* 2.

PAT **pasa-* (used only with preverbs, cf. also **ka-pasa-* 'to throw, scatter'). See Shagirov 1962,53, Abdokov 1973,72, Shagirov 2,72 (with literature). In view of this etymology, the Ubykh merger with *wa-s(a)-* 'to sit in' appears secondary.

[] A common NC verbal root; note its frequent combination with **tV-* (either prefixed or suffixed, possibly a reflexion of an old compound with **atVr-* 'to let, to be (located)'). Kartvelian **tas-* / **tes-* 'to sow' is hardly related genetically: most probably it is a loan from early Nakh or Adygh. See Abdokov 1983, 180-181.

**aswVn* to glue, paste: Av.-And. **sin-*; Lak. *sina*; Darg. **as:Vn*; Lezg. **as:an*.

| Av.-And. **sin-* 1 to paste, glue 2 glue (n.): Av. *se-dé-l-sínu*2; Akhv. *sin-* 1; Cham. *sin* 2; Tind. *sin-ih-l-sini* 2; Kar. *sin-* 1, *sine* 2; Bagv. *sin* 2; God. *sini* 2.

| Lak. *sina* glue.
| Darg. **as:Vn* 1 to paste, glue, smear 2 glue (n.): Ak. *d-asni* 2; Chir. *ca=as:-/als:-l*.

Cf. also Ur. =*asVn-* / =*als-* 'to glue, paste'.

| Lezg. **as:an* 1 to smear 2 to glue 3 to pull on 4 close 5 put on: Lezg. *hal-s* 3; Tab. *a=s-* 1, *k-a=s-* 2; Tsakh. *g-a=s:an-* 4; Kryz. *q:-isn-* (dur.)5; Arch. *s:us:a-bos* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. *asun* 'plastering, white-washing', Nül. *asā-* 'to smear, plaster' (showing that the meaning 'to pull on' in Lezg. *hal-s-* is a secondary semantic development due to the preverb). Archi has preserved only a reduplicated stem (in a compound verb). The verb belongs to the strong PL conjugation class.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Several languages have preserved the old derivato **awinV* (**aswinV*) 'glue'. Labialisation as such has been lost in all reflexes (-u- in Arch. *s:us:a-* may be a remnant of it), but can be securely reconstructed on the basis of the correspondence Av., PA, Lak. *s* : PD, PL **s*.

**ātVr* to let, leave; to stay: Nakh. **it-*; Av.-And. **it-*; Lak. =*ita-*; Darg. **atVr-*; Lezg. **jatār-*; Khin. *at-*; W.-Cauc. **tV-*.

| Nakh. **it-* to leave: Chech. =*it-*; Ing. =*it-*; Bacb. =*it-*.

| Av.-And. **it-* 1 to leave, let 2 to stay, be there: Av. *te-* 1, =*at-* 2; Chad. =*Vtā-* 1; And. =*et-* 1; Akhv. *ot-* 1; Cham. =*et-* 1; Tind. =*et-* 1; Kar. =*it-* 1.

Av. =*at-* reflects "stem 1", *te-* - "stem 2". The back vowel in Akhv. (cf. also Tseg., Tlan. *ut-*) is not clear; perhaps it reflects an old Ablaut grade **ut-*, attested also in Cham. =*ut-* 'to sit (down)', Tind. =*ut-* 'to release, untie'.

The vowels **i-* and **e-* are not usually distinguished in PA; but in this verbal root they seem to distinguish the transitive stem ('to leave') from the intransitive ('to stay; to get lost, disappear'). Cf. Akhv. *ot-* 'to leave' : =*it-* 'to lose (in a game)'; Kar. =*it-* 'to leave' : =*et-* 'to get lost'; Cham., Tind. =*et-* 'to leave' : =*it-* 'to get lost'; (in Tind. also) to lose (in a game). We must probably reconstruct a single stem **it-* with later differentiation in individual languages.

| Lak. =*ita-* leave.

G. pr. =*itun-*. Cf. also (with Ablaut) *bat* =*an* 'to hide', *bat xun* 'to get lost' (> Arch. *bat as*, *bat =kes*).

| Darg. **atVr-* leave: Ak. =*at-*; Chir. =*at-* / =*art-*.

Cf. also Ur. =*at(r)-/alt-*. There exists also an old compound with a not quite clear second component: Chir. =*it-aq-* 'to get lost, disappear' (*'stay behind').

| Lezg. **jatār-* to let, leave: Lezg. *ta-*; Tab. *š-i-t-*; Ag. *at-*; Rut. *s-a-ta-*; Kryz. *ja=tir-*; Bud. *jo=rtu-*; Arch. *a-ti-*; Ud. *b-arte-sun*.

Cf. also Lezg. pret. *tu-na*; Ag. Bursh. *ata-*. It is not quite clear why Lezghi had lost the initial vowel; perhaps it reflects (like Tab. =*it-*) the PL **i-* Ablaut grade. The verb belongs to the strong verb class.

See Bokarev 1961, 62; Leksika 1971, 257; Giginayshvili 1977, 80.

| Khin. *at-* be there, be available.

Term. *at-qi*, dur. *at-k'i*.

| W.-Cauc. **tV* 1 to be inside 2 to stand 3 to be: Abkh. =*ta-/t(a)-* 1; Abaz. =*ta-/t(a)-* 1; Ad. *wā-šā-tā-n* 2; Kab. *šā-tā-n* 2; Ub. *t(a)-* 3.

PAT **tV-* 'to be inside' (also used as a preverb), cf. Abkh. *a-tā-la-ra* 'enter', Abaz. *ta-l-ra* id., *ta-pa-ra* 'jump inside' etc. The root is used also as a noun stem in **tV-ra* 'place where' (Abkh. *a-t-rā*, Abaz. *ta-ra*). PAK **tā-* (usually with preverbs) 'be, stay, stand'; also used as a preverb "upon the surface of smth."

In Ub. the root =*t(a)-* is used as a variant of *tā-* 'to be' in some forms (see Vogt 16, 194); historically these are two quite different roots (see PWC **pā-*).

[] A widely spread common NC verbal stem. Initial **j-* in PL is probably a trace of the class marker **j-*, since the verb has changing class prefixes in most languages. The Nakh, most Andian and Lak. forms reflect the Ablaut grade **itVr-*. See Abdokov 1983, 158, 166-167.

**ātVwV* to cut, hew: Nakh. **χ-ā-* / **χ-ē-*; Av.-And. **at* (~ -o); Tsez. **at-* / **at-*; Lak. *l-i-tu-*; Darg. **at-*; Lezg. **at* 't'; Khin. *t*-l, *t*-li; W.-Cauc. **t*.

| Nakh. * χ - $\bar{a}t$ - / * χ - $\bar{e}t$ - to be torn, break: Chech. χad - / χed -; Ing. χad -; Bach. χet -.

PN Ablaut * $\bar{a}$ / * $\bar{e}$ (but cf. also Bach. term. χit -). Cf. also Chech. $\chi \bar{a}d$ - $\bar{o}$, $\chi \bar{e}d$ - $\bar{o}$ 'to cut'. Historically * χ - is a preverb.

| Av.-And. * $\bar{a}t$ - (~ - $\bar{o}$ -) 1 to cut, cut out 2 to chisel out, to dig out: Av. λ - $\bar{u}t$ -; Chad. λ - $\bar{u}t$ -; Cham. = $\bar{e}\lambda$ - $\bar{u}t$ -; Tind. = $\bar{e}\lambda$: $\bar{u}t$ -. $\bar{a}t$ -2.

Cf. perhaps also Cham. Gig. = $\bar{a}t$ - $\bar{a}h$ - 'to break off'. Most languages reflect a compound with some unclear first component. Since in other languages (Udi, PGB) the same root is used for 'to chop, cut' and 'to throw', it seems possible to relate here also Av. $\bar{t}am$ - 'to strew, scatter; drive, let', PA * $\bar{t}Vn$ - > And. $\bar{t}am$ -, Akhv. $\bar{t}on$ - (Tlan. $\bar{t}ajn$ -, Ratl. $\bar{t}am$ -) 'to throw, scatter', Tind., Cham. $\bar{t}an$ -, Kar. $\bar{t}am$ - id. (although reasons for - $\bar{n}$ -conjugation are not clear). An Andian source is probable for Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. λut - 'to cut out'.

| Tsez. * $\bar{a}t$ - / * $\bar{t}at$ - 1 to break (intr.) 2 to hew, chop 3 to throw 4 broken piece: Tsez. $\bar{t}it$ - 1 (Radzhibov), $\bar{t}itu$ 4; Gin. = $\bar{e}t$ -; Khvarsh. = $\bar{it}$ - 1,2 (Radzhibov); Bezht. $\bar{t}ot$ - 2,3 (Tlad); Gunz. $\bar{t}at$ - 2,3.

PTsKh * $\bar{a}t$ - / * $\bar{t}at$ -; PGB * $\bar{t}at$ - (a reduplicated form; without reduplication cf. Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. = $\bar{o}t$ - 'to dig').

| Lak. $\bar{l}$ - $\bar{t}u$ - to die, to kill (plur.).

G. pr. $\bar{l}$ - $\bar{i}$ = $\bar{t}u$ - $\bar{nu}$; cf. Khosr. $\bar{l}it$ - $\bar{n}$ id.

| Darg. * $\bar{a}t$ - to cut, to cut out: Ak. = $\bar{a}t$ -/ $\bar{i}t$ -($\bar{U}r$).

Cf. also Kub. = $\bar{e}t$ - / = $\bar{u}t$ -.

| Lezg. * $\bar{a}t$ - $\bar{i}$ - 1 to cut 2 to kill 3 to die (pl.) 4 to throw: Lezg. $\bar{a}ta$ -; Tab. $\bar{k}t$ - $\bar{a}t$ -; Ag. $\bar{a}t$ -; Rut. $\bar{h}$ - $\bar{a}$ = $\bar{t}$ - $\bar{a}$ -; Tsakh. $\bar{h}$ - $\bar{a}$ = $\bar{a}ta$ - 3; Kryz. $\bar{j}$ - $\bar{a}$ = $\bar{t}$ -; Bud. $\bar{o}$ - $\bar{t}$ - 2; Arch. $\bar{a}$ = $\bar{t}$ - $\bar{a}$ -; Ud. $\bar{b}$ ost:un 1,4.

The verb belongs to the strong verbal class in PL. Initial Kryz. $\bar{j}$ - is probably a preverb (cf. in Bud. $\bar{o}$ - $\bar{t}$ - 'kill': $\bar{j}$ o- $\bar{t}$ - 'cut', $\bar{t}$ a- $\bar{t}$ - 'pound, thresh', $\bar{t}$ o- $\bar{t}$ - 'to push', $\bar{e}$ - $\bar{t}$ - 'to cut in small pieces'; also Kryz. $\bar{q}$:- $\bar{o}$ = $\bar{t}$ -, Bud. $\bar{q}$:- $\bar{u}$ = $\bar{t}$ - 'to hit', Kryz. $\bar{q}$:- $\bar{a}$ = $\bar{t}$ - 'to mow'). Cf. (for the second vowel) Lezg. pract. $\bar{a}tu$ - $\bar{n}$ a, Ag. Bursh. $\bar{a}ti$ - $\bar{s}$, Arch. dur. = $\bar{a}rtu$ - $\bar{r}$. The Udi form $\bar{b}$ ost:un goes back to * $\bar{b}$ - $\bar{o}$:- $\bar{s}un$.

| Khin. $\bar{t}$:- $\bar{i}$, $\bar{t}u$ - $\bar{li}$ to cut.

$\bar{t}$:- is the term. aspect, $\bar{t}u$ - $\bar{li}$ - durative. Cf. also = $\bar{a}t$ - 'to throw'.

| W.-Cauc. * $\bar{t}$:- $\bar{a}$ to dig: Ad. $\bar{t}$:- $\bar{n}$; Kab. $\bar{t}$:- $\bar{n}$; Ub. $\bar{t}$:- $\bar{a}$.

PAK * $\bar{t}$:- $\bar{a}$ (also intrans. * $\bar{t}$:- $\bar{a}$); Ub. $\bar{a}$ - $\bar{s}$ - $\bar{t}$:- $\bar{a}$ - $\bar{n}$.

|| Medial - $\bar{r}$ - is obviously secondary in PD (other languages do not have any traces of it), and may be a remnant of the separate durative morpheme. The root demonstrates the old Ablaut * $\bar{a}$ / * $\bar{i}$. - $\bar{n}$ -conjugation in the Av.-And. variant * $\bar{t}$:- $\bar{V}n$ - may be secondary, or else it may reflect quite a different EC root, whose remnants in other subgroups are possibly Darg. Chir. $\bar{c}$ er= $\bar{i}t$:- $\bar{V}n$ - / $\bar{c}$ er= $\bar{i}t$:- 'to skin, cut off skin'; Arch. $\bar{a}rtin$ - 'to take meat off the bones; to gnaw' (although the semantic difference between Darg. and Arch. forms, on one hand, and Av.-And. forms, on the other, is considerable, and the etymology is only tentative). See Abdokov 1983, 181.

*= $\bar{a}\chi A$ (~ - $\bar{c}$,- $\bar{i}$ -) to be angry, scold: Av.-And. *= $\bar{a}\chi$:- (~ - $\bar{o}$ -); Lak. χ :- $\bar{a}$:-; W.-Cauc. * $\bar{b}V\chi a$.

| Av.-And. *= $\bar{a}\chi$:- (~ - $\bar{o}$ -) to curse, scold: Cham. = $\bar{a}\chi$:-; Tind. = $\bar{a}\chi$:- $\bar{i}\chi$:-.

The Tindi form is reduplicated.

| Lak. χ :- $\bar{a}$:- to be angry.

G. pr. χ :- $\bar{a}$:- $\bar{u}$ - $\bar{n}$.

| W.-Cauc. * $\bar{b}V\chi a$ 1 to be angry 2 to take offense at: Abaz. $\bar{b}a$ - $\bar{r}a$ 1; Ad. $\bar{j}$ a- $\bar{b}b$ a- $\bar{n}$ 2; Kab. $\bar{j}$ a- $\bar{b}b$ a- $\bar{n}$ 2; Ub. $\bar{b}a\chi a$ -.

PAK * $\bar{j}$ a- $\bar{b}b$ a- (with a pronominal prefix; in Kab. the stem is usually in a compound with $\bar{j}$:- $\bar{g}$ 'heart': $\bar{j}$:- $\bar{g}$ $\bar{j}$ a- $\bar{b}b$ a- $\bar{n}$); Ub. $\bar{s}$ a- $\bar{b}a\chi a$ - $\bar{n}$. PAK * $\bar{t}$:- $\bar{c}$ < * χ through assimilation.

|| The WC formal has a frequent labial prefix (former class marker).

*= $\bar{a}\chi Vr$ to fall, lie: Av.-And. *= $\bar{a}\chi$ - / *= $\bar{a}\chi$:-; Lak. = $\bar{a}ha$:-; Lezg. * $\bar{a}\chi ar$:-; W.-Cauc. * $\bar{p}\chi a$.

| Av.-And. *= $\bar{a}\chi$ - / *= $\bar{a}\chi$:- 1 to fall 2 to throw (down): Av. $\bar{r}e\chi$:- 2; Chad. = $\bar{e}\chi$ - 1,2; And. = $\bar{a}\chi$ -; Cham. = $\bar{a}\chi$ -; Tind. = $\bar{a}\chi$ - 1.

The Av. and Andian forms are obviously connected, although there is an irregular correspondence Av. - χ :- : PA * $\bar{a}\chi$:-. This must be explained by a variation in the position of the resonant: PA *= $\bar{a}\chi$:- < *= $\bar{a}r\chi V$ -, Av. $\bar{r}e\chi$:- < * $\bar{r}V\chi$:- $\bar{V}$ - (literary Avar has here a stable $\bar{r}$:-; changing prefixes in Av. Chad. must be secondary). In both cases the resonant must have been metathesized from the Auslaut position (cf. PL * $\bar{a}\chi ar$:-). The fricative * χ develops in different ways in Av.-Andian and Tsezian languages, depending on its position (after a resonant or after a vowel).

| Lak. = $\bar{a}ha$:- to fall.

G. pr. = $\bar{a}h$ - $\bar{nu}$. Cf. Khosr. = $\bar{a}ha$ - $\bar{n}$, = $\bar{a}$ - $\bar{h}un$ - $\bar{di}$.

| Lezg. * $\bar{a}\chi ar$ - 1 to sleep 2 sleep, dream (n.): Lezg. $\bar{a}\chi$:- $\bar{a}r$ 2; Tab. $\bar{a}\chi$ -; Ag. $\bar{a}\chi a$ - 1 (Bursh.); Rut. $\bar{s}$ - $\bar{a}$ = $\bar{a}\chi a$ -; Kryz. $\bar{a}\chi r$ -; Bud. $\bar{a}$ = $\bar{a}\chi a$ -; Arch. $\bar{a}\chi u$ kes 1; Ud. (nep:) $\bar{a}\chi esun$ 1.

Labialisation in Lezg. is clearly secondary (all other languages point to * χ). The original meaning was probably 'to lie; to throw, fall', cf. Ud. $\bar{b}$ - $\bar{a}r\chi i$ 'horizontal' (< *'lying') (perhaps also, with prefixation and Ablaut, Rut. $\bar{q}$ a- $\bar{r}\chi a$ - $\bar{s}$ 'to throw'). A local derivative from this root is Tab. $\bar{a}\chi in$ (Düb. $\bar{a}\chi in$) 'bed', Ag. Bursh., Fit. $\bar{a}\chi un$ id., Rich., Burk. $\bar{a}\chi un$ 'mattress'. See Khaidakov 1973, 141.

| W.-Cauc. * $\bar{p}\chi a$ 1 to fall 2 to throw, scatter: Abkh. $\bar{a}$ - $\bar{k}a$ - $\bar{h}a$ - $\bar{r}a$ 1; Abaz. $\bar{k}a$ - $\bar{h}a$ - $\bar{r}a$ 1; Ad. $\bar{p}\chi a$ - $\bar{n}$ 2; Kab. $\bar{p}\chi a$ - $\bar{n}$ 2; Ub. $\bar{p}\chi a$ - 2.

PAT * $\bar{h}a$ (used with locative preverbs); PAK * $\bar{p}\chi a$ -. The AT form is usually not compared with Ub. and AK (see Mészáros 1934, 223; Shagirov 2, 24), but the comparison seems quite plausible both phonetically and semantically.

|| The comparison seems plausible phonetically and semantically. See Abdokov 1983, 167.

*= $\bar{a}\chi wVn$ to open: Av.-And. *= $\bar{a}\chi$:- $\bar{V}n$; Tsez. *= $\bar{a}b$:-;

| Av.-And. *= $\bar{a}\chi$:- $\bar{V}n$ to open: Av. $\bar{r}ah$:-; Chad. = $\bar{a}hn$:-; And. $\bar{a}r\chi in$:-; Akhv. $\bar{a}\chi$:-; Cham. $\bar{a}\chi Vn$:-; Tind. = $\bar{a}\chi$:- $\bar{i}$:-.

Medial -r- in And. is secondary (cf. the petrified r- in Av. *rah-*); reasons for the loss of the n-conjugation in lit. Av. and Akhvakh are not clear (all other languages point uniformly to *-n).

| Tsez. **=(ā)l̥*- to open: Tsez. *=aβl-*; Gin. *=aβ-*; Khvarsh. *n-aβ-* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *=āl̥*-; Bezht. *=āh-*; Gunz. *hūj-*.

PTsKh **=āβl-*; the vocalic correspondence between Bezht. and Gunz. is not quite clear.

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss.

**aχwV* (~ -ə-) to believe: Lak. *w-iχ*; Darg. **aχ*- / **i(r)χ*-; Lezg. **aχ*-; **a*.

| Lak. *w-iχ*- believing, convinced.

Cf. Khosr. *wiχ xun* 'to believe'. Initial *w-* is a former class marker. Although -χ is in the position of neutralisation in all known Lak. forms, the old Archi loanword *wiχ kes* 'to believe' (*wiχ*: as 'to make believe, convince') shows that Proto-Lak had **-χ*: in this root.

| Darg. **aχ*- / **i(r)χ*- to believe: Ak. *w-iχ-ares*; Chir. *raχ*-*čarg-*.

The Chir. form is a compound with the second component **aχ*- 'to go' (preceded by the preverb **č-*).

| Lezg. **aχ*-*a* to believe: Lezg. *aβa-*; Tab. *q-uβ-*; Ag. *q-uχ-*.

Cf. also Lezg. pret. *aβa-na*, Ag. Bursh. *q-aχ^wa-*, Tp. *q-uβa-*.

See Leksika 1971, 242.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is spread in the Eastern Daghestan area (Lak., Darg., PL), and demonstrates the Ablaut **a*/**i*.

**aβV* (~ -ə-) to guard, graze: Nakh. **aβ*-; Lezg. **aβ*:*V*.

| Nakh. **aβ*- to graze: Chech. *=aβ-*; Ing. *=aβ-*; Bacb. *=aβ-*.

In Bacb. cf. also a derivate: *dazar* 'pasture, grass in a pasture'.

| Lezg. **aβ*:*V* to guard: Tsakh. *huw-a=β-*.

Attested only in Tsakh., but having probable Nakh parallels.

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss.

**aβGV* to stand up; to erect; high: Nakh. **aβ*- / **aβb*-; Av.-And. **iβ*-; Tsez. **aβ*- B; Lezg. **jaq*:*V*-.

| Nakh. **aβ*- / **aβb*- 1 to erect, plant 2 to sit: Chech. *=aβ*-; Ing. *=aβ*- 1, *=aβ*- 2; Bacb. *=aβ*- 1, *=aβ*- 2.

PN **aβ*- is the terminative stem; durative (with infix and Ablaut) **aβ-b*- is reflected in Chech. *=iβ*- (with the same meaning).

The intransitive Ablaut correlate with **aβ*- is PN **aβ*- 'to sit'. Vowel length here can be established by the Ing. pret. *-aβaw*. In Bacb. the root is preserved in the compound **aβ*- 'to sit'. This is one of the relatively rare cases of the **a*/**o* "intransitive/ transitive" Ablaut in PN.

| Av.-And. **iβ*- 1 to stand 2 auxiliary verb 3 to plant, erect: Av. *=aβ*- (*Ants.*) 2; And. *=iβ*- 1; Akhv. *=eβ*- 1; Cham. *=iβ*- 1; Tind. *=iβ*- 1; Kar. *=iβ*- 1, 3; Botl. *=iβ*- 1, 2; Bagv. *=iβ*- 1; God. *=iβ*- 1.

The Av. *Ants.* form is quoted in Gudava 1964, 146 as an auxiliary verb for building causative forms (an analogous function is attested by this root in Botl.). In lit. Av. cf. *βe-ze* (reflecting stem II **βV*-) 'to plant, erect; to put'.

| Tsez. **aβ*- B to stand up: Gin. *=aβ*-; Khvarsh. *=ah*-; Bezht. *=aβ-ič*- (*Tlad.*).

PTsKh **=(o)χ*- (the Khvarsh. vowel is not quite regular: *=eh*- would be expected). Cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *=aβ-i?*- 'to stand up' (in Bezht. the root is preserved as the first part of a compound verb stem).

| Lezg. **jaq*:*V*- 1 high 2 long: Lezg. *jarβi* 1; Tab. *jaβ-li* 1; Ag. *ja^oaldi-l* 1; Kryz. *q-aβa* 1; Arch. *aqa* 2.

The Ag. form is from the Burshag dialect. Cf. also Tab. Düb. *jaq*:*li*, Ag. Fit. *jaq*:*al-t* 'high'. In Lezg. there occurred a contamination with **/h1/alχa-* 'long' q.v. (that is why we have *jarβi* instead of **jaq*:*i*; cf. also Lezg. Khl. *t:aq*:*aj* 'high', which contains a preverb *t*:).

The root is actually verbal, which is shown by verbal prefixation (q:-) in Kryz.; it is also very probable that the Tab. verb *di-ji=β-uz* (Düb. *di=q*:*-*) 'to stand' reflects the same root.

See Khaidakov 1973, 105.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. The external (and internal) evidence here shows that PL **j*- is an original class prefix.

**aGwV* thick (of liquids): Nakh. **uqi*-n; Av.-And. **iq*:*V*-; Tsez. **iq*- / **q*(*ʷ*)*i*-d-; Lak. *=uq*-a; Lezg. **eq*:*V*-.

| Nakh. **uqi*-n thick (of liquids), dense: Chech. *=uqa*; Ing. *=iqa*; Bacb. *=uqī*.

Cf. also Cheb. *=uqī*, Shar. *=ujqī*, Lev. *=uqī* etc. For the pure root cf. Chech.

=uq-dan, Bacb. =uq-dar 'to thicken, make dense'.

| Av.-And. *iq:V- thick (of liquids): Av. =a^q:w^a (adv.); And. =eq:u-; Akhv. =eq:w^a-da; Cham. =eq:u-; Tind. =eq:u-; God. =eq:u-.

In Av.-And. the root is homonymous with *iq:V- 'to dry, dry'. There are, however, minor differences: Akhv. =uq:a-da 'dry' vs. =eq:w^a-da 'thick'; Cham. q:w^a- 'thick' (coexisting with =eq:u- 'thick, dry' and reflecting stem II *q:V-). Historically they are different, and their merger in PA is explained by the merger of *ā and *i.

| Tsez. *iq- / *q(=)i-d- thick (of liquids): Tsez. qedju; Inkh. =uqqlu.

PTsKh *iqV-ju (> Inkh. =uqqlu) / *(i)qⁱ-diju (with a productive adjectival suffix, > Tsez. qedju).

| Lak. =uq-a- thick (of liquids).

Cf. Khosr. =uq-a-s:a id.

| Lezg. *eq:V- thick (of liquids): Lezg. eqi; Ag. jaq:w^e-f; Rut. iq^w-di (Shin); Kryz. uq^w-a-3; Arch. t-uq, t-uš-du-.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. jiq*i*, Akht. iq*i*, Ag. Burk. uq:e-f. Archi has a prefixal (expressive or locative) t-.

See Khaidakov 1973, 106.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is close phonetically to *iGwVr 'dry', and in some languages they tend to contaminate with each other; but generally the two roots are very well distinguished in most subgroups.

*=ākAw to put (together), take; to lie, fall: Nakh. *ek-; Av.-And. *V_k- / *kV-b-; Tsez. *ok- B; Lak. l-i=či-; Darg. *ak- / *ik-; Lezg. *ek^w-i; Khin. l-i=k-; W.-Cauc. *kə.

| Nakh. *ek- to fall down; crumble: Chech. l-eg-, eg-; Bacb. =ek-.

| Av.-And. *V_k- / *kV-b- 1 to put together 2 lie 3 fall down 4 take, collect: Av. =ak-ār- 1; Chad. =ak-ār- 1; Akhv. konu- 2; Cham. kob- 4 (Gig.); Tind. kab-d- 3.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. kom-, Ratl. k^wam- 'to lie', perhaps also Akhv. =ik^w-ol- 'to put on (cap, hat)'. Avar reflects here stem I (*V_k-), Andian languages - stem II with suffixes (*kV-b- / *kV-m-). The semantic correlation 'to gather, put together': *'to be put together' > 'to lie, fall' is the same as in some other EC subgroups.

Av. > And. =akar-undi 'to gather', Bezht. =akarzi =aq id. (cf. the South Av. infinitive =akar-zi, Chad. =akār-zi).

| Tsez. *ek^w- 1 to fall 2 to gather, to (be) put together: Khvarsh. =ek- 1; Inkh. =ek^w- 1; Bezht. =ok- 2; Gunz. =ok- 2.

PTsKh *ek^w- (~ -š-); PGB *ok-. In Bezht. the intransitive verb is usually compound: =iko =ok- (where =iko is another Ablaut grade of the same verb). Cf. also the derivative: Gunz. r-okali 'rake' ('tool for gathering, raking up'); perhaps also PGB *g-uk- (Bezht., Gunz. g-uk-) 'to put on (hat, cap)'.

| Lak. l-i=či- to put in; establish.

G. pr. l-i=k^w-nu.

| Darg. *ak- / *ik- to put: Ak. =ak-/ =ik- (Ur.).

Cf. also Kub. tabd-ač-ij / tabd-ič-ij id.

| Lezg. *ek^w-i- 1 to steal, conceal 2 to hide 3 to choose 4 to put: Tab. hiⁱ-i=k- 1,2; Ag. ik- 4; Rut. gi=irka- 2; Arch. e=ka- 3.

Cf. also Ag. qat-i-k-, Bursh. qat-ki- 'to steal; to unlock', Arch. dur. =erku-r, Tsakh. bale=k^w-a- 'to lie down, to sleep', perhaps also Tab. ul-u=k- 'to put on (hat, cap)'. The verb belongs to the strong verb class. In Tab. there also exists a nominal derivative: ik 'theft'.

| Khin. l-i=k- to hide, conceal.

| W.-Cauc. *kə to catch, hold, grab: Abkh. a-k-ra; Abaz. k-ra.

PAT *kə.

[] Cf. also Hurr. k/geb-, xew-, k/ge(w)- (HU *kew-) 'to put', see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 56-57.

The basic meaning of the verb is 'to put (together)' / 'to be put together, to lie' (whence also 'to fall, to fall apart' etc.). The semantic range is so wide that we may suspect that we deal with two originally different roots; they have, however, become so entangled that it is very hard to distinguish two original protoforms.

*=ālⁱwVr to tear, pick, pluck: Nakh. *ālⁱ-; Av.-And. *iⁱ-; Tsez. *uⁱ- (~ -o-); Darg. *iⁱVn- / *ilⁱ-; Lezg. *ālⁱVl (~ -a-, -n).

| Nakh. *āfⁱ- to break, crack, burst, to be torn: Chech. =af-; Ing. =afⁱ-; Bacb. =af-.

Cf. also dur. *ēfⁱ- id. (Chech. ēf-, Ing. eft-, Bacb. ef-). Geminated *fⁱ in PN is probably expressive (cf. the reduplication *iⁱVⁱ- in PA).

| Av.-And. *iⁱ- 1 to tear off, break off 2 pull, pluck 3 slaughter: Av. =ef- 2, fe- 1; Chad. fofo- 3; Akhv. =af- 1,2; Cham. =iⁱ- 1; Tind. =ef^w- 1; Kar. =iⁱ- 1,2.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. =uⁱ- 'to tear off', Kar. Anch., Rach. fir-, Tok. fel- 'to tear'. Kar. fir- and Av. fe- reflect stem II *fi(r)-, all other forms - stem I *iⁱ-. A reduplicated stem is present in Av. Chad. fofo- = Av. lit. tetē-, tuⁱu- 'to tear into several parts, break apart' (= Tind. =efuⁱ- id.).

| Tsez. *uⁱ- (~ -o-) to pluck, pull out: Tsez. =uⁱ-; Gin. =uⁱ-; Khvarsh. =uⁱ- (Radzhibov).

PTsKh *uⁱ-.

| Darg. *iⁱVn- / *ilⁱ- to take out, pull out: Ak. =iⁱVn- / =ilⁱ-.

An Ur. form (cited from Uslar's recordings).

| Lezg. *ālⁱVl (~ -a-, -n) to gnaw, to take meat off the bones: Arch. arⁱin-.

Attested only in Archi, but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for some assimilations (PL *ālⁱVl < *ālⁱVr) correspondences are regular. See also under *=āⁱwV for other possible reflexes in Av.-And. (with final *-n).

*=ālVr to wet, be wet, soak: Nakh. *il-; Av.-And. *aλ- (~ -o-, -λ-); Lezg. *ālar-.

| Nakh. *il- to wash: Chech. =il-; Ing. =il-; Bacb. =il-dar.

Bacb. =il- (by Desheriyev and Kadagidze).

| Av.-And. *aλ- (~ -o-, -λ-) 1 to become liquid (after shaking) 2 to rain: Av. =il- 1; Kar. =aλ- 2.

Cf. also (with reduplication) Av. *laḷá-* 'to water, sprinkle'.

[Lezg. **ālar-* 1 to soak 2 to urinate 3 to melt 4 liquid 5 green: Tab. *u=x-2* (Khiv.); Ag. *d-ixē-f* 4; Rut. *s-ā-xa-* 1; Tsakh. *al-e-xa-* 3; Bud. *s-oxr-* 2; Ud. *dḡi* (Vart.) 5.

The verb belongs to the weak conjugation class. Cf. also Rut. *s-ā-xi-d* 'wet' (participial form), *q-i=xē-* 'to gulp, drink greedily', Ud. Nidzh. *dāj(i)* 'raw, green' (< *dāx(i)ji*, cf. the Vart. form). The Tab. and Ag. vowels should be rather explained by assimilation (Tab. *u=x-ūz* < **i=x-ūz*) and reduction (Ag. *dixē-f* < **dexē-f*) than by Ablaut.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*-*ālēw* to lie, to put; to lead: Nakh. *-*ill-*; Av.-And. *-*iḷo-* / *-*iḷo-*; Tsez. *-*ol-*; Lak. *xuj*; Darg. *-*ik-* / *-*k-*; Lezg. **eḷ-i-*; W.-Cauc. **ḷa-*.
[Nakh. *-*ill-* 1 to lie 2 to put; Chech. *ḷ-ill-* 1, *ill* 2; Ing. *all-* 1, *-ill-* 2; Bacb. *-ill-* 2.

A very productive PN root with rich Ablaut. It forms two vowel grade pairs:
1) PN term. *-*ill-* (also with a *- preverb) > Chech. *ḷill-* 'lie', *-ill-* 'put upon (smth.)', Ing. *-ill-* 'put', Bacb. *-ill-* id. / dur. *-*ē-b-l* > Bacb. *-ēbl-* 'put upon, inside'. The root is also used with a *t-* prefix (**t-ill-* 'to put (from above)' > Chech., Ing., Bacb. *till-*, dur. **t-ēbl-* > Bacb. *tebl-*. 2) PN intr. *-*all-* > Chech. *-all-* (*-āll-ira*) 'be (put) inside', Ing. *-all-* (*-oll-*) 'to be inside', *all-* 'lie' / tr. *-*oll-* > Chech., Ing., Bacb. *-oll-* 'to put inside, put in'.

There are also some common Nakh forms with a single *-*l-* (geminated *-*ll-* in the forms listed above is either expressive, or reflects old suffixation). Besides *-*ēbl-* 'to put upon, inside' cf. also PN *-*ol-* / *-*ēbl-* 'to begin' (Chech. *-ol-*, Ing. *-ol-*, Bacb. *-ol-* / *-ēbl-*), *-āl-* / *-*ēbl-* 'to finish' (Chech. *-āl-* / *-il-* / *-owl-*, Ing. *-al-*). The semantic change 'to put > to begin/finish' (*to put a beginning/end) is widely spread in Caucasian languages.

An old nominal derivative is PN **lol* (< **r-ol* = PTs **riLə*, PA **riḷV-*) 'leathern loop on belt for hanging up the dagger' (= 'receptacle, place to put smth. in'), reflected in Chech. *lol* (*lala-ra-*), Ing. *lol* (*lala-ro*).

[The productiveness of this root in PN may be explained by the fact that it probably reflects a merger of two EC roots: *-*ālēw* and *-*iḷV* 'to put'.]

[Av.-And. *-*iḷo-* / *-*iḷo-* sheath, scabbard, case: Av. *leḷ*; Chad. *tel*; And. *reḷoba*; Akhv. *iḷa*; Cham. *jeḷab*; Tind. *reḷab*; Kar. *leḷi*; God. *reḷel*.
Av. paradigm C (*ḷali-l*, *ḷul-dul*, Chad. *telá-l/telú-l*, *tela-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *inḷar*, Ratl. *inḷal* (in the Tseg. and Ratl. dialects the stem merged with PA **inḷVr* 'bosom' q.v., but in North. Akhv. and in Tlan. the two stems are still different: *iḷa* vs. *iḷari*, *inḷar* vs. *inḷari*). Av. > Gin. *leḷ*.

The listed forms are all derived from a verbal stem *-*iḷ-* - which is itself preserved only with the meaning 'to lead' (for the semantic shift cf. the meaning in Darg., and also cases like Chech. *-āl-o* 'to lead' - formally causative from *-āl-* 'to be(come), be situated': cf. Akhv. *-eḷ-* (Tseg., Tlan. *-eḷ-*, Ratl. *-eḷ-*), Kar. *-eḷ-*, Tind. *-eḷ-*. We should perhaps relate here also Cham. *-aḷ-* 'to begin' (cf. similar semantic development in Tsezian languages and elsewhere).

[Tsez. *-*ol-* to be (auxiliary verb): Tsez. *joḷ*; Gin. *goḷa*; Khvarsh. *goḷe*; Inkh. *goli*; Bezht. *gāli* (Khosh.); Gunz. *li* / *lo*.

The verb occurs either with a preverb (**g-ol-*) or without it (in this case sometimes with initial reduction: Gunz. *li* / *lo*). In Bezhta the Khosh. form (*gāli*) is regular; other dialects reveal irregular transformations (Bezht. proper *gej*, Tlad. *gel*).

The same root with Ablaut is used in PGB with the meaning 'to finish': PGB *-*ol-* > Bezht. Tlad. *-ol-*, Gunz. *-ol-*. The original meaning of the verb had been 'to lie, to (be) put' - as seen both from the external evidence and from the old derived noun **riLə* A 'sheath, scabbard': PTsKh **RiLə* (< **RiLə-n*) > Tsez. *reḷo* / *reḷi*, Inkh. *nino*; PGB **riLə* (Bezht. *iḷo*, Khosh., Tlad. *riḷo*, Gunz. *riḷə*).

[Lak. *xuj* sheath.

Cf. Khosr. *xuj* id. The Lak. form goes back to **xob(i)* < **low(i)* (cf. PA **riḷobV*), as seen from an archaic Arch. loanword from Lak: Arch. *lob* 'sheath, case'.

[Darg. *-*ik-* / *-*k-* to lead: Ak. *-ik-* / *k-*.

[Lezg. **eḷ-i-* 1 to put 2 to lie 3 to fall: Lezg. *ec-ig-* 1; Ag. *aq-ux-* 2; Rut. *s-i-x-a-* 3; Tsakh. *ḷal-i-xa-* 2; Arch. *e-ḷ-a-* 1, 2.

Cf. also Ag. *fat-ix-* 'to lie down', Ag. Bursh. *am-exu-s* 'stay', Arch. dur. *-erḷ-u-r-*; Rut. *k-i-x-a-*, Tsakh. *g-i-xa-* 'to get into'. The stem is partially contaminated with PL **arḷi-* 'fall' and **eḷe-* 'put' q.v.

[W.-Cauc. **ḷa-* lie: Abkh. *a-ḷ-ta-rá*; Abaz. *ḷ-ta-za-ra*; Ad. *-ḷa-*; Kab. *-ḷa-*; Ub. *-ḷa-*.

PAT **ḷa-ta-* (with unclear glottalization in Abaz.); the element *-*ta-* may be possibly identified with the locative verbal stem *-*ta-* 'to be (inside)'. In AK (PAK **ḷa-*) and Ub. this root is used only with locative preverbs (cf. Kab. *ja-ḷa-n* 'lie within', Ub. *bḷa-ḷa-* 'lie upon' etc.). In Ub. the root is confined to the plural (being the collective counterpart of *-sə* q.v.).

The transitive meaning ('to put') is not attested in the verbal paradigm, but there are some nominal derivatives which have preserved it: cf. Kab. *la* 'place' (*'place to put smth.'), Ub. *la-s-a* 'sheath, case' ('place (-s-a) to put smth. in').

[] Since the root acquires the meaning 'to begin' or 'to end' in several subgroups, it seems possible to compare the Hurrian derivative *al-ummi* 'end; last' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 50).

The comparison seems quite plausible (see Abdokov 1983, 163; note also the existence of common EC and NC derivatives meaning 'sheath, case' - see Abdokov 1983, 130). The final *-*w* has left traces in PA (**riḷobV*), Lak. (Proto-Lak. **lob(i)* > Arch. *lob*) and PL (as labialisation of *-*ḷ-*). In some languages, because of similar reflexes of **ḷ* and **x*, the root tends to be confused with PNC **exE* (q.v.), but they are opposed in several subgroups, and should be strictly distinguished.

*-*āmzÜ* to plough, to sow: Tsez. *-*iž-* (~*ž-*); Lak. *zu-*; Darg. *-*acVn* (?); Lezg. **āc-a*; W.-Cauc. **z-a*.

[Tsez. *-*iž-* (~*ž-*) 1 to sow 2 seed: Tsez. *ēzi* 2; Gin. *ezi* 2; Khvarsh. *iž-a* 1; Inkh. *izu* 2; Bezht. *iž-* 1; Gunz. *iž-* 1.

The word for 'seed' in Tsezian languages (PTs *ʔɪz(:)V A, PTsKh *ʔɪzV [cf. also Inkh. *izu*], PGB *ʔɪzu > Gunz. *īzu*, Bezht. *izo*, dial. *izo*) is derived from the verb *ʔɪz- 'to sow'. Cf. also another derivate: PTs *ʔɪz(:) 'sieve' > Gunz. *īz* [NB: there is a misprint - *īz* - in the MSU recording; correct is Bokarev's spelling], Bezht. *īz*, Tlad. *īz*, Khosh. *iz*, Gin. *ez*.

| Lak. *zu*- to work.

Cf. Khosr. *zu-n* id.

| Darg. *acVn / =alc- to plough: Ak. =alc-es.

Cf. also Ur. =acVn / =alc- 'to plough'.

| Lezg. *ʔac:a 1 to plough, to sow 2 tillage, arable field: Lezg. *c:a- l*; Tab. *u=z- l*; Ag. *uz- l*; Rut. =āza- *l*; Tsakh. *eza- l*; Kryz. =iz- *l*; Bud. *s-uz- l*; Arch. =ac:a- *l*; Ud. *ez 2*.

The verb belongs to the weak verb class in PL. Cf. also Lezg. pret. *c:a-na*, Tab. Düb. *u=3-*, Ag. Bursh. *uza-*, Bud. dur. *s-ize-3i*, and the derivate PL *ʔic:an 'tillage' (Lezg. *c:an*, Tab. *izan*, Rut. Khniukh. *jizan*, Bud. *jizen*). The root reveals a rare PL Ablaut type *ā/i (as opposed to the much more frequent *i/ā Ablaut).

Cf. Leksika 1971, 170, 260.

| W.-Cauc. *zʷa 1 to harrow 2 to plough: Abaz. *zʷzʷa-ra l*; Ad. *zʷa-n 2*; Kab. *va-n 2*; Ub. *zʷa- 2*.

PAK *zʷa-; Ub. 1 p. *a-sə-zʷa-n*. Despite Shagirov 1,106 the AK verb has nothing to do with *c:ʷə 'ox'.

| A common NC cultural term. The Darg. form is irregular (has a voiceless -c-) and may not belong here (it can reflect a contamination with PEC *ocV 'to mow' q.v.); all other correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems quite reliable.

*am3Ē to pour, to bathe: Nakh. *oitt-/oett-; Av.-And. *VzVn-; Tsez. *is-; Lak. *huzu-*; Darg. *ac:-/ic:-; Lezg. *ecia-; Khin. *z(a)-*; W.-Cauc. *3V-.

| Nakh. *oitt-/oett- to pour: Chech. =ott-; Ing. =ott-; Bacb. =ott-.

*oitt- is terminative, *oett- - durative; in Bacb. there exists also a stem =att- (< *att-) 'to be poured (out)'.

| Av.-And. *VzVn- to soak, become wet: Av. =izn-.

Isolated in Av., but with good external parallels.

| Tsez. *is- to wash: Tsez. =es-ad- (*Radzhibov*); Khvarsh. *es-an-* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *niz-ah-* (*Tlad.*).

PTsKh *a/[s]-; cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *niz-a-*.

| Lak. *huzu-* to swim.

| Darg. *ac:-/ic:- to bathe: Ak. =iz-es.

Cf. Ur. =a3-/i3- id.

| Lezg. *ec:a- 1 to pour (into) 2 to pour (of rain): Lezg. *c:a- l*; Tab. *u=z- l*; Ag. *azi- l* (*Bursh.*); Rut. *k-c-z- 2*; Arch. =ec:a-.

Cf. Lezg. pret. *c:a-na*. The verb belongs to the weak class.

See Khaidakov 1973, 129; Талибов 1980, 293.

| Khin. *z(a)-* to pour (into).

| W.-Cauc. *3V- swim: Abkh. *ā-3-sa-ra*; Abaz. *3-ca-ra*; Ub. *3a-sā-*.

PAT *3ā-sā- (cf. also Bz. *ā-3-sa-ra*). The morpheme is present only within a compound (see *sV-). It must be kept separate from *p-3ā 'water' q.v.

| The vocalic reconstruction is not very secure (because of Ablaut alternations); otherwise correspondences are regular.

*ānčĒ to break, split: Nakh. *2-iitt- / *2-oitt-; Av.-And. *ič- / *čīn-; Lak. =a-čī-; W.-Cauc. *čā-.

| Nakh. *2-iitt- / *2-oitt- to prick, stick in, insert: Chech. *ʔitt-* / *ʔott-*; Ing. *ʔott-*; Bacb. *hoitt-* (*Desheriyeu*).

The root is used only with the laryngeal preverbs *2- / *h-, and demonstrates a case of the rare PN Ablaut *i (dur.) / *o (term.).

| Av.-And. *ič- / *čīn- 1 to kill 2 to die 3 to fade, wither: Av. *čʷa- l*, =ečā- 3; Chad. *čʷa- l*; And. =ič- 2; Akhv. =eč-il- 3 (*TL*); Cham. =ič- 2; Tind. =ič- 2; Kar. =ič- 2; Botl. =ič- 2; Bagv. =ič- 2; God. =ič- 2.

In most Andian languages (cf., e.g., Cham. =ič-al-, Tind. =ič-al- etc.) the causative form of this stem is used for the verb 'to kill', and the stem itself means also 'to get spoiled, extinct; to fade, wither'. The primary meaning of it in Proto-Avaro-Andian must have been 'split, break' - cf. Av. (stem I as opposed to *čʷa-*, stem II) -ič- 'split, break'.

Some problems are caused by the Av. labialisation - since all Andian evidence (and also Av. -ič-) uniformly points to unlabialised *č. Av. *čʷa-* has also the meanings 'beat, hit, pound (into smth.)' and thus may be a result of contamination with another root, *čʷVn- q.v.

The original stem II of the PA root *ič- is probably PA *čīn- 'to pound, crush' (And., Cham., Tind., God. *čīn-*, Kar. *čijā-*). And. and Kar. reflect also a derived stem *ič-Vn- 'to fade, wither' (And. =ečan-d-, Kar. =ečan-).

| Lak. =a-čī- to divide, to be divided.

G. pr. =a-čū-nu. The original meaning must have been 'to get split', preserved in Khosr. =ačī-n (=a-č-undi), which also means 'to be divided'.

| W.-Cauc. *čā- to break, crush: Ad. *pəčə-/pəčəčə*; Kab. *pə-šəčə*; Ub. *ča-ca-*.

PAK *čā- (preserved in Ad. *pəčə-*) / *čā-kə-, used only with preverbs (besides *pə-* cf. also Ad. *gʷa-čəčə-n* id.; the compounds mean actually 'to break off the tip, front part' /*pə-*/ or 'to break off the middle part' /*gʷa-*/). Ub. trans. *ča-sə-čā-n*, intr. *ča-čā-n* ('it breaks, gets crushed'). In both subgroups the root is used mostly within compounds, but its basic meaning is clear enough.

| Cf. also PNC *ičwĒn 'to cut', which is close phonetically and semantically and is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the present root. Nevertheless, the distinction seems necessary (the two roots are opposed at least in Av.-And. and in WC), and the reconstruction seems plausible.

*āsaA to sit, stay: Nakh. *is-; Av.-And. *k-us-; Lezg. *ʔos-V-; W.-Cauc. *sə- (~ *š-).

| Nakh. **-is-* stay; Chech. *-is-*; Ing. *-is-*; Bacb. *-is-*.

| Av.-And. **k-us-* 1 to sit 2 to sit down: Av. *k-us-* 2; Kar. *k-us-* 1.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. (with another preverb) *q:-us-* 'to sit'. From Av. the verb had been borrowed in Akhv. (*kus-* 'sit down, land').

| Lezg. **os:V-* sit down, sit: Tab. *d-us-uz* 1; Ud. *arcesun, arst:un*.

Cf. also Tab. *u-r-s-uz* 'set (caus.)'. The vowel reconstruction is not reliable (because there is not enough evidence). -r- in Ud. is an aspect infix.

| W.-Cauc. **sə* (~ **s-*) 1 sit 2 sit; lie: Ad. *-sə-n* 1; Kab. *-sə-n* 1; Ub. *-s* 1, 2.

PAK **sə* (used only with preverbs, e.g. **jə-sə* etc.). In Ub. the verb is also attested only with preverbs.

| The verb demonstrates an old Ablaut **-āsA* (reflected in PN **-is-*, PWC **sə* and probably also Ud. *ars-*) / **-os(w)V* (reflected in PA **-us-*, PL **os:V-*). It is interesting that the grade **-isV* is not attested. Correspondences are regular.

Cf. also HU: Hurr. *as:-* 'to sit', Urart. *aš-* 'to sit' (caus. 'to put'), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 37.

**-āt-wV* to beat, to hit: Nakh. **āt-*; Av.-And. **it-w-*; Tsez. **et-w-*; A; Lak. *=u-ta-*; Darg. **it-*; Lezg. **āt-w-* / **at-w-*; Khin. *it-*.

| Nakh. **āt-* to crush, pound: Chech. *āt-*; Ing. *āt-*; Bacb. *at-*.

With Ablaut and the preverb **l-* cf. also PN **l-ēt-* 'to fight' (Chech. *lēt-*, Ing. *let-*, Bacb. *let-*).

| Av.-And. **it-w-* 1 to fly 2 to run 3 to fall; to rush upon: Av. *=ort-* 3; Akhv. *=et-* 2; Cham. *=et-* 1; Tind. *=et-w-* 1; Kar. *ertan-* 1.

In Av. and Kar. there is an infix -r- (old durative); origins of the -n-conjugation in Kar. are unclear. The original meaning was probably 'to beat, attack' > 'rush upon' > 'fly' (cf. the external evidence).

| Tsez. **et-w-* A to fly: Khvarsh. *=et-w-*; Inkh. *=et-w-*.

PTsKh **et-w-* (may be borrowed from Andian).

| Lak. *=u-ta-* to throw, to pound, to chop.

G. pr. *=u-tu-n*. Cf. Khosr. *=u-ta-n* id., and also the durative *ta-la-n* 'to fight'.

| Darg. **it-* to beat: Ak. *=it-es*; Chir. *=it-*.

Cf. also Ur. *=it-* 'to beat'.

| Lezg. **āt-w-* / **at-w-* 1 to beat 2 to smear 3 to crush: Lezg. *g-ata-* 1; Tab. *k-at-* 2; Ag. *uta-* 1 (*Bursh.*); Rut. *=āta-* 1; Tsakh. *g-e-ta-* 1; Kryz. *=āt-* 1; Bud. *at-* 1; Arch. *=āta-* 3.

Cf. also Lezg. pret. *g-ata-na*, Tab. Düb. *j-at-* 'beat', *k-at-* 'touch' (> 'smear' in literary Tab.), Ag. Tp. *ata-s* 'beat', Bud. *q:-ud-* 'to hit (repeatedly)', Rut. *k-ā-ta-* 'to touch' (= Tab. *k-at-*), *s-ā-ta-* 'to throw'. Labialisation of PL **-t-w-* is suggested by the Arch. durative form *=artu-r*. Not clear are the reasons for **a/ā* vowel alternation. The verb belongs to the weak conjugation in PL.

See Leksika 1971, 244.

| Khin. *it-* to chop (wood).

Cf. also *itir-k'i* 'to hit'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is preserved in most languages, but sometimes with a modified meaning (notably in Av.-And-Tsez.: 'to throw (oneself upon) > to fly'). Cf. also Urart. *at-* 'to destroy' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 24).

**-āwčĀ* to emit, pour; vomit: Nakh. **l-ebč-*; Av.-And. **ač-w-* (~*-o-*); Tsez. **ecč-*; Lak. *=i-č-i-*; Lezg. **āč-a-*; W.-Cauc. **žwə*.

| Nakh. **l-ebč-* / **l-obč-* 1 to bathe 2 to be scattered about: Chech. *liča* 1; Ing. *luwč-* 1; Bacb. *lepč-* 2.

PN Ablaut *-ē-* / *-ō-*. The medial -b- is usually a "plural aspect" infix, but here it is probably an original part of the root.

| Av.-And. **ač-w-* (~*-o-*) 1 splash 2 rinse 3 wash, bathe 4 to flow 5 liquid: Av. *č^wal-* 1, *čuča-* 2; Chad. *čur-* 3; And. *a-č-3*, *čabd-1,4*; Akhv. *čab-* 3; Cham. *salu-* 5; Tind. *ač-w-*, *č^wab-d-4*; Kar. *čočab-* 2.

PA "stem I" **ač-w-* (~*-o-*) is reflected only in Tind. (*ač-w-* "to flow, spread (about the surface)"). Other languages (and also Tind.) reflect the PA "stem II" **č^wV-* with suffixes (**č^wVL-*, **č^wV-b-*, **č^wV-r-*) or the reduplicated stem **č^wVč^wV-* (sometimes also with a suffix: **č^wVč^wV-b-*). Besides the forms listed above cf. also: Av. *čur-* 'to wash', *čor-dé-* 'to bathe'; Cham. *se-d-* 'to pour, strew'; PA **ič^wV-n-* 'to wash' > Cham. *=iš^wV-n-* (Gig. *=uč^wV-n-*), Tind. *=ič^wV-*, Kar. *=ič^wan-*. Cf. also a derived noun: PA **č^wa(r)č^wa* (~*o*) 'waterfall' (Tind. *č^wač^wa*, Kar. *č^warc^wa*, God. *čorča*). Cham. > Inkh. *šallu* 'liquid (adj.)' (quite isolated within Tsezian).

| Tsez. **ecč-* to vomit: Tsez. *ecč-n-*; Gin. *ič-ā-*.

PTsKh **ecč-*.

| Lak. *=i-č-i-* to pour, strew; to throw.

G. pr. *=i-ču-nu*. Cf. also *l-i-č-i-* (*l-i-ču-nu*) 'to throw; to jump out, to leap out'; Khosr. *=i-č-i-n* 'to pour, strew', *l-i-č-i-n* 'to throw'.

| Lezg. **āč-a-* 1 to flow, pour 2 to jump, fly 3 to vomit: Lezg. *il-ič-* 1; Tab. *ed-e-č-* 3; Ag. *lajč-* 1; Rut. *l-a-č-e-* 2; Kryz. *q-ājč-* 3; Bud. *e-χ-č-* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. *k-iče-z* 'pour, sprinkle', Bud. *s-eχči* 'jump', *q-eči* 'vomit'; Rut. *s-a-č-e-* 'to pour, strew'; Tab. *h-e-č-* 'to winnow'. Semantic shifts ('flow, pour' > 'jump, fly' or > 'vomit') are quite usual. It is interesting to note an expressive reduplicated stem in Lezghi (*čarčar* 'waterfall'), possibly derived from this root and identical to PA **č^warc^wa* (~*o*) id.

| W.-Cauc. **žwə* to vomit: Abkh. *a-ž'a-rā*; Abaz. *ž'a-ra*; Ad. *q:a-zə, za-wa-*; Kab. *q:a-zə*; Ub. *žə*.

PAT **ž'a-*; PAK **zə* / **za-* (with a preverb **q:a-zə*); Ub. *sə-žə-n*. See Dumézil 1932, 217, Shagirov 1, 222.

[] The medial **-w-* accounts for PN **-b-* and the labialisation in PA and PWC (**čw-* can not be reconstructed - it would give a quite different set of reflexes). The original meaning must have been "to emit, pour" (whence, a) "to wash, to bathe", b) "to throw, strew; to leap", c) "to vomit" - meanings constantly recurring in different subgroups). It is interesting to note that many languages have prefixed **l-* or suffixed **-l-* (< **l*). It may mean that **l-* was originally part of the root (**lāwčĀ*) and was later reinterpreted as a preverb.

*-āχV to break, destroy: Nakh. *-ōχ- / *-ēχ-; Av.-And. *-aχ- (~ -o-); Tsez. *-aχ- (~ -b-); Lezg. *ʔāχa; Khin. t:-aχ-.

| Nakh. *-ōχ- / *-ēχ- to be destroyed, damaged: Chech. -ōχ-; Ing. -oχ-; Bacb. -oχ-.

The durative stem *-ēχ- (with regular Ablaut) is preserved only in Bacb. -eχ-.

| Av.-And. *-aχ- (~ -o-) 1 to destroy, damage, be destroyed 2 to dismantle: Av. -iχ- 1; Akhv. -aχ- 1; Tind. -aχ- 2; Kar. -aχ- 1.

Most languages reflect stem I; stem II *χ:V- is probably present in Cham. χ:i-d- 'to cut in small pieces; to clip, shear'.

| Tsez. *-aχ- (~ -b-) to break, burst: Bezht. -āχ- (*Khosh*); Gunz. -aχ-. PGB *-aχ- (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. -āχ-).

| Lezg. *ʔāχa to chop, cut: Lezg. χa-; Rut. s-ā=χa-; Tsakh. ḡa=aχa-;

Cf. Lezg. pret. χa-na, Tsakh. q-a=χa- 'to chop, split', qita=χa- 'to tear off, break off', ḡ-o=χa- 'to mow'. The verb belongs to the strong class in PL. In Rut. and Tsakh. the stem is used only with preverbs (the notation ḡa=χ-; qita=χ- in the MSU edition is faulty: cf. ibid. qa-χ-).

A derivative from this root is PL *(ʔā)χV-r(a) 'wound', reflected in Lezg. χer, Kryz. χir.

| Khin. t:-aχ- to burst, break (intrans.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of the expressive verbs of "beating" (its reflexes are sometimes hard to separate from the reflexes of PNC *HirχA q.v., but the two roots certainly are to be distinguished).

*-āχV quick, swift: Nakh. *s-iχe-n; Av.-And. *χ:iχ-V-; Lezg. *t:-āχV- / *μ-iχV-.

| Nakh. *s-iχe-n quick, swift: Chech. siχa; Ing. siχa.

Cf. the pure stem in Chech. siχ-dan 'to hasten'.

| Av.-And. *χ:iχ-V- 1 quick, swift 2 quickly: Av. χ:éχ:a-b; Chad. χeχ 2; And. χ:ex:i 2; Akhv. χ:ex:i-le 2; Cham. χ:iχ-u- 1.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. χ:ex:a 'quickly'. Av. > Bezht., Gunz. χeχab 'quick'; Cham. (cf. Cham. χ:iχ-~li 'quickly') > Inkh. χeχilin 'quickly'.

| Lezg. *t:-āχV- / *μ-iχV- 1 quick 2 quickly 3 suddenly: Tab. uχ-ti 2; Ag. daχi 1; Kryz. dāχā 1,2; Bud. diχ 2; Arch. wiχ-taš 3.

Cf. also Ag. Burk. (Shaumyan) deχe 'quick'. Lezghian languages reflect two stems: *t:-āχV- (with an aspectual prefix *t:-) and *μ-iχV- (with a class prefix *μ-), connected by Ablaut (*ā/i). Shakhdagħ > Khin. daχ 'quickly'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is verbal/adjectival (cf. the Ablaut and prefixation in PL, prefixation in PN, reduplication in Av.-And.).

b

*bʰaltke a big hoofed animal: Av.-And. *barti (~ -o-); Lak. balčan;

Darg. *p:artken (~ b-); Lezg. *p:al[k]an.

| Av.-And. *barti (~ -o-) stallion: Av. bārti; Akhv. bati; Tind. barti; Bagv. bʰarti (Tlond.).

Av. paradigm A (bārtu-l, burt-bi/bārtā-bi). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Ratl. barti. Cham. bart (in all dialects) is probably a late Avar loan (otherwise loss of -r- in U.-Gakv. and Gad. would be expected); other forms also could be loaned from Avar. Av. (or Tind.) > Inkh. barti.

| Lak. balčan horse.

The form is quoted from Khaidakov 1966; possibly a borrowing (cf. Lezg. forms).

| Darg. *p:artken (~ b-) deer: Ak. bartken.

| Lezg. *p:al[k]an horse: Lezg. balkan; Tsakh. balkan; Kryz. balkan.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl., Akht. p:alk:an. The PL form is somewhat hard to reconstruct: Lezg. and Kryz. forms would point to *p:alχ:an (with a unique combination *-lχ:-); in this case the Tsakh. form should be regarded as a borrowing from Shakh-Dagh languages. On the other hand, peculiar reflexes could be due to the very peculiar cluster *-ltk- in PEC.

[] The PEC reconstruction is somewhat dubious, first of all because of the unique cluster *-ltk- in the stem. Cf. also an interesting Lak-Darg. isogloss, pointing to a reconstruction *b(H)VldV: Lak. burt:ij 'on horse-back', burt:ijhu 'rider', PD *murt:a 'rider' (Ak. murda, Chir. mart:a).

All the listed forms can be in fact old loanwords from Alanic (Scythian), cf. Scyth. *bālya- 'troupe of horse riders', *bālti- 'horse ride' - reconstructed on the basis of Osset. bal, balc and going back to an Iranian verbal stem *bār- 'to mount, ride (on horse-back)'. Other reflexes of this verb in Ossetian are bajrag 'foal, stallion' and barāg 'horse-rider' (whence a later Nakh loanword: Chech. bēri, Ing. bāri).

*bʰāthō (~-ō) edge, end: Nakh. *bʰal; Av.-And. *bala (~o); Tsez.

*bil; Lezg. *p:all:

| Nakh. *bʰal set (in a game): Chech. bal; Ing. bʰal.

Obl. stem *bʰalu-, cf. Chech. bōla-. 6th class in Chech. and Ing.

| Av.-And. *bala (~o) 1 crest, top 2 edge, end, corner: Av. bal 1,2; Cham. bala 2; Tind. bala 2.

Av. paradigm C (balā-l, bāla-l). Tind. > Inkh. bala 'edge'.

| Tsez. *bil lip: Gunz. bil.

Isolated in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *p:all: 1 forehead 2 horn: Lezg. p:el 1; Rut. bāl 1; Kryz. bel 1; Bud. beliz 1; Arch. bat 2.

Cf. also Rut. Khn. *ball*, Arch. pl. *bat:ur* 'horns', *bat-karfi* 'sinciput'. Obl. base **p:all:a-* (cf. Lezg. *p:ele-*, Rut. *bāli-*). 4th class in Rut., Kryz. and Bud., but 3d class in Arch.

See Талибов 1980, 274.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (although there is a small discrepancy in laryngeal reflexes: we should rather expect in Avar an immobile (A) paradigm corresponding to PN **-s-* and PL pharyngealization).

The original meaning must have been "edge, protruding end" preserved in PAA, whence "lip" (PTs) or "forehead" (PL); finally "end" > "game end, set" in PN. EC source is probable for Osset. *bil* / *bilū* 'lip', see Abayev 1958, 277-278.

**b^oogwV* dirt, faeces: Nakh. **b^oexu-*; Av.-And. **q:ubV-*; Lezg. **p:og(a)*.

[Nakh. **b^oexu-* dirty: Chech. *bōxa*; Ing. *b^oexa*.

[Av.-And. **q:ubV-* dirty: Av. *q:ūba-*; And. *q:ubi*; Cham. *q:ubu-*; Tind. *q:ū-*; Kar. *q:ubo-*.

Av. > Inkh. *quba-*, Gin. *qubaw*.

[Lezg. **p:og(a)* 1 faeces 2 cow's dung: Lezg. *p:iχ* (*Khl.*) 1; Rut. *biq* (*Khniukh.*) 2; Kryz. *biq* (*Al.*) 1.

In Lezg. -q > -χ (but cf. erg. *p:q:ā-di*, pl. *p:q:a-r*). Irregular expressive reflexes of the same root are probably Arch. (with metathesis and abnormal consonant reflexes) *qip* 'faeces', *qup-un* 'dried snot in nose', Rut. (Luch.) *paq* "bear's dung".

[] An expressive root, with some metatheses and aberrations: in PN we would rather expect -q-.

**babajV* father, grandfather: Nakh. **babV* (~ā-); Tsez. **babVju*; Lezg. **babaj*; W.-Cauc. **baba* (~p:).

[Nakh. **babV* (~ā-) grandfather: Bacb. *babō*.

Attested only in Bacb., but having obvious parallels in other EC languages.

[Tsez. **babVju* father: Tsez. *babju*.

Isolated in Tsez., but with parallels in other EC languages.

[Lezg. **babaj* 1 father 2 grandfather: Lezg. *buba* 1; Rut. *baba* 2; Bud. *baba* 2; Ud. *baba* 1.

See Leksika 1971, 132.

[W.-Cauc. **baba* (~p:) grandfather: Abkh. *bāba*.

Isolated in Abkh., but having EC parallels.

[] A universal nursery word. However, the correspondences (both phonetic and semantic) are in order, thus reconstructable for the PNC level. Its reflexes are almost in complementary distribution with those of **babV* 'mother' q.v., thus the two roots may ultimately be the same (cf. also **ōbV(jV)* 'father').

**babV* mother: Av.-And. **babV* (~ -o-); Lak. *baba*; Darg. **baba-j*; Lezg. **p:ap(a)*.

[Av.-And. **babV* 1 mother 2 mummy: Av. *babā* 2; Chad. *babā* 1; And. *baba* 2; Akhv. *baba* 2; Cham. *bab* 2.

A "nursery" word with some external parallels. Cf. also Cham. Gig. *babu* 'mummy', *ila-babu* 'grandmother' (lit. "mother's mummy"). A non-reduplicated form **abV* is probably reflected in Av. *ebēl* 'mother' (which may be a compound **abV* + **il* = PA **ila* 'mother'). Andian (or Av.) *baba* > Inkh. *baba* 'mummy' (like *dada* 'daddy', isolated within Tsezian).

[Lak. *baba* mummy.

[Darg. **baba-j* mother: Chir. *babaj*.

In this shape the word is attested only in the Chirag dialect; other dialects reflect PD **aba* 'mother' (standing apart from other EC forms: the PEC root **ōbV-jV* q.v. usually means 'father').

[Lezg. **p:ap(a)* 1 woman 2 mother 3 grandmother 4 mother-in-law: Lezg. *p:ab* 1; Tab. *bab* 3; Ag. *baw* 2; Rut. *babaj* 3; Bud. *bab* 4; Arch. *buwa* 2.

Oblique vowel base **p:op:a-* (or **p:op:ū-*), cf. Ag. *buwa-*, Arch. *buwa*, (with vowel levelling) Lezg. *p:ap:a-*, Tab. *baba-*, Ag. Fit. *baba-*. In Arch. there occurred an irregular shift -p:- > -w- (paralleled by -t:- > -j- in *dija* 'father'). A "nursery" word, but undoubtedly of PL origin.

[] A "nursery" word, like many other EC kinship terms; may be secondary. The non-reduplicated form **abV* is very seldom attested (only in Av. *ebe-l* and PD **aba*), because of a possible confusion with **ōbV(jV)* 'father' (also a nursery word, but probably used with that meaning already in PNC).

**b[a]çV* kid, young goat: Lak. *buxca*; Lezg. **p:aç-*; Khin. *baçiz*.

[Lak. *buxca* he-goat (1 y. old).

[Lezg. **p:açV-j* 1 small 2 kid 3 small sheep: Lezg. *baçi* 2; Tab. *biçi* 1; Ag. *biçi-f* 1; Rut. *baçi* 3 (*Khniukh.*); Tsakh. *biçiç* 2 (*Khaid.*).

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *p:açi* 'kid' (reflecting **p:-*). The root contains a common PL diminutive morpheme **-j*. Also derived from this root may be expressive forms: Bud. *biçel*, Kryz. *meçej* 'penis (of a boy)'.

In Ag. Bursh. the adjective 'small' does not have the initial b-: Ag. Bursh. *içl-r*. There exist also probably related forms in Tab.: Tab. *çi-b* 'few', Düb. *çu-w* id. This may be an indication that the initial **p:-* in PL is a former class prefix (although loss of b- may be a secondary development in the Tab.-Ag. dialect area).

[Khin. *baçiz* kid.

[] The root is not widely spread and not very reliable; the Lak. form may belong here if *buxca* < **bVç-çV* (although the component or suffix -çV is not clear).

**balV* (~-ə-) wool: Lak. *p:al*; Darg. **p:ala*.

[Lak. *p:al* sheep's wool.

[Darg. **p:ala* sheep's wool: Ak. *bala*; Chir. *p:ala*.

Cf. also Kait., Kub., Tsud. *p:ala*, Ur. *bala*.

[] A Lak.-Darg. isogloss, thus not very reliable.

*baʃVçV (~ -ə-) a k. of worm: Tsez. *bal(V)ço (~-ɔ-,ç-); Lezg. *p:alç-.

| Tsez. *bal(V)ço (~-ɔ-,ç-) a small red worm: Bezht. *balço*.

Attested only in Bezht., with a possible Lezg. parallel.

| Lezg. *p:alç- earthworm: Rut. *barçil* (*Khaidakov*).

Attested only in Rut., but having a probable Bezht. parallel.

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss.

*barkwʌ (~ -l-) rough skin: Nakh. *barkal (~ -a-); Av.-And. *bakʷol(i); W.-Cauc. *bagʷə.

| Nakh. *barkal (~ -a-) 1 lumps of dirt in animals' hair 2 bad, dirty wool: Chech. *bargal* 1; Bacb. *barkal* 2.

| Av.-And. *bakʷol(i) skin (of cattle): And. *bakʷol*; Cham. *bakʷal*; Tind. *bakʷal*.

The root is homonymous with *bakʷoli 'stomach', but this is surely just a coincidence.

| W.-Cauc. *bagʷə scab, rash; pimple: Ad. *bagʷə*; Kab. *bagʷ*; Ub. *bagʷə*.

Ub. *bagʷə* may be an Ad. loan (see Shagirov 1,71), but not necessarily so; nothing contradicts the genuine relation between the PAK and Ub. words. Abkh. *a-bā* 'rotten' has, of course, nothing to do with the root (pace Abdokov 1973,40).

[] The PN and PA forms are certainly related; as for the PWC *bagʷə, it may be alternatively compared with PN *bok 'excrement' - see Shagirov 1, 71.

*bar3V height, mountain: Nakh. *b(h)ār3; Tsez. *biZu (~-s-); Lak. *barzunt*; Lezg. *barzaj.

| Nakh. *b(h)ār3 hillock: Chech. *barz*; Ing. *barz*.

Obl. stem *bar3u- (cf. Chech. *borza*- and the Ing. *barz*, erg. *barzo* with vowel levelling in the direct stem). Cf. also Shar., Khild., It. *bar3*. 6th class in Chech. and Ing.

| Tsez. *biZu (~-s-) mountain: Bezht. *bizo*; Gunz. *bizu*.

PGB *bizu.

| Lak. *barzunt*; iw heights, mountains.

| Lezg. *barzaj alpine meadow: Lezg. *barza*.

The word is preserved only in Lezg., but has good external parallels.

[] The word is ultimately probably of Iranian origin (cf. especially the Lak. form), but may have been borrowed at a rather early (PEC?) stage. However, the PTs form can belong to another EC root (see *wise), which would make the PEC reconstruction of *bar3V less reliable.

*bāmbV a k. of insect, beetle: Nakh. *bumba-r- (~-ū-); Tsez. *bōrbō-r-; Lak. *p:ip:i*; Lezg. *p:ep:e-j (~-ā-); Khin. *bemb*.

| Nakh. *bumba-r- (~-ū-) 1 bumble-bee, hornet 2 beetle: Chech. *bumbari*; Ing. *bumbarg*.

Both form contain suffixes: Chech. *bumbari* < *bumbār-Vj, Ing. *bumbarg* <

*bumbār-ik. 4th class in both languages.

| Tsez. *bōrbō-r- bumble-bee: Gunz. *bōrbōri*.

Isolated in Gunz., but with probable external parallels.

| Lak. *p:ip:i*- ladybird.

A compound word: the second component = Tab. *sʷali-* in *sʷali-p:ep:e* (= Lak. *p:ip:i-s:alah*) 'a k. of beetle'.

| Lezg. *p:ep:e-j (~-ā-) beetle: Lezg. *p:ep:e*; Tab. *p:ep:e*.

For final *-j cf. Tab. obl. *p:ep:ej*-. An expressive root (which explains the reflex p: in Tab.).

| Khin. *bemb* fly, gadfly.

[] An expressive reduplicated root with some irregularities (reduplication conditioned a specific development of the medial cluster *-mb-); reconstructed for PEC.

*bēkwo (~-o) part of face, mouth: Nakh. *baka; Lezg. *p:ekʷ.

| Nakh. *baka mouth: Chech. *baga*; Ing. *bage*; Bacb. *bak*.

Ing. *bage* reflects a suffixed form. 4th class in Chech., Ing., 7th class in Bacb.

| Lezg. *p:ekʷ 1 part of face (lips+nose) 2 muzzle 3 lip: Rut. *buk* 1; Tsakh. *bok* 2; Kryz. *pek* 3; Bud. *pək* 3.

Obl. base *p:ekʷa- (cf. Tsakh. *boka*-). 4th class in Rut. and Shakh-Dagh, but 3d class in Tsakh. Unclear is the devoicing *p: > p in Kryz. and Bud.; otherwise the correspondences are quite regular.

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss with good correspondences.

*bel3wi (~-e) a k. of stinging insect: Av.-And. *mi(n)3V; Tsez. *bi(r)3V-IV (~-ɔ-,ɟ); Lezg. *meltʷ; W.-Cauc. *bō3V.

| Av.-And. *mi(n)3V gadfly; dragonfly: Tind. *miš-ta* / *niš-ta*; Kar. *nizu*.

Cf. also Kar. Anch. *mizo* id. Tind. has an expressive suffix (*mišta* < **mi3V-ta*); cf. also a loan from Andian (Tind. or Cham.) in Inkh.: Inkh. *mišala* 'gadfly'.

| Tsez. *bi(r)3V-IV (~-ɔ-,ɟ) gadfly: Bezht. *birzola* (*Khosh*.); Gunz. *buzilo*.

PGB *bi(r)3VIV / *bu(r)3VIV (-r- in Bezht. is most probably secondary). Cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *birzola*.

| Lezg. *meltʷ 1 gadfly 2 wasp: Ag. *mur3* 1; Rut. *nu3* 1; Tsakh. *noz* 2 (*Gelm*.).

Cf. also Ag. Tp. *mer3* 'gadfly'. In Rut. and Tsakh. *m- > n-, probably, due to assimilation. Obl. stem *meltʷ:we- or *meltʷ:wa- (cf. Tsakh. *Gelm. nozā*-). 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh.

| W.-Cauc. *bō3V 1 beetle 2 flea: Abkh. *a-b3ā* 1; Abaz. *bā3* 1; Ad. *b3ā-3a* 3; Kab. *b3ā-3a* 3.

In Abaz. there exists also a reduplicated form *bā3bā3*. PAT *bā3ā, PAK *b3ā-3a (-3ā < PWC *3ā 'flea, fly' q.v.). The correspondence PAK *3 : PAT *3 is only pointing to PWC *3.

This root (for phonetic reasons) should be kept apart both from Ub. *zʷa(n)kə* 'flea' and from PAK *b3ā 'bee'.

See Shagirov 1977, 91.

[] PWC has a normal delabialisation (*-ɟʷ- > *-ɟ-) after the initial labial. Otherwise the correspondences are regular enough.

*beɬV cattle-shed: Av.-And. *biɬ:i; Tsez. *buɬu A (~ə); Lak. p:al; Darg. *bik:.

| Av.-And. *biɬ:i cattle-shed: Av. boɬ; And. beɬ:i; Akhv. beɬ:o; Cham. beɬ; Tind. beɬ:i; Kar. beɬ:e; Botl. beɬ:i; Bagv. beɬ; God. beɬ:i.

Av. paradigm C (loc. boɬ:ə-b, pl. boɬ:a-l).

| Tsez. *buɬu A (~ə) 1 cattle-shed 2 pub: Gin. buɬe l; Khvarsh. buɬu l; Inkh. buɬu l; Bezht. buɬo 2 (Tlad.).

PTsKh *buɬu /-ə(-i) (cf. also the old Ablaut in Khvarsh. loc. biɬe).

| Lak. p:al cattle-shed.

| Darg. *bik: cattle herd: Ak. biɣ (Ur.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. See Trubetzkoy 1922, 242. Abdokov (1983, 126) compares the EC root (including several unrelated Lezg. forms) with Kab. pɣa-ɲa 'yard'. This can be true (alternative etymologies of the Kab. word - Kuipers 1960, 111 and Shagirov 2, 52 - are not convincing), if the first part of the Kab. word goes back to PWC *Pəɣa-; Kab. ɣ, however, has many PWC sources, and without other WC data the etymology is still questionable (we must note that theoretically the Kab. form could be also compared with PEC *būɬɬV 'house' q.v.).

*bemɪV worm, snake: Tsez. *bəɪV (~ə-); Lezg. *p:e(m)ɪ (~b-); W.-Cauc. *(a)mAɪA ~ *(a)PĀɪA.

| Tsez. *bəɪV (~ə-) worm: Bezht. betela; Gunz. bəɪ.

PGB *bəɪV (the Bezht. form has a suffixed *-IV).

| Lezg. *p:e(m)ɪ (~b-) 1 snake 2 grub, larva (of a fly): Lezg. buɪ-ruk 2 2; Tab. biɪ l.

Cf. also Tab. Khiv. beɪ (pointing to *-e- or -ā-). The second component in the Lezg. form is probably the same as *ruc/rūk* 'grass-snake', thus the meaning 'grub, larva' is clearly secondary (-ū- in the first syllable is a result of vowel assimilation).

External data suggest that this root must have contained a medial nasal resonant; while *-n- would have been preserved in Tab. and Lezg., medial *-mmay be reconstructed (since in the position before *-ɪ- it is only distinguished from -o- in Archi).

| W.-Cauc. *(a)mAɪA ~ *(a)PĀɪA snake: Abkh. á-mat; Abaz. matə (Ashkh); Ub. anɬá.

PAT *matə (with secondary deglottalisation). Klimov (1967, 302) suggests that the root may be cognate with PAK *-ɲa in *Lanɬá 'flexible', but this is highly dubious. Ub. anɬá < *am(ə)ɲa with assimilation.

[] Although not very widely represented, the root seems quite reliable (although we should note that in PL we would rather expect *meɪ, and the absence of regressive nasalisation is still to be explained). See also *həVmɪV 'red'. Cf. Trubetzkoy 1930, 277.

*bengwā rock, mountain; ravine: Nakh. *ber(λ); Lak. murlu; Lezg. *ɬ:ema; W.-Cauc. *bə(ɰ)ɣV.

| Nakh. *ber(λ) ravine, gorge, hollow: Chech. bōra; Ing. ber.

The PN paradigm should be probably reconstructed as *ber(λ), *ber(λ)u-; the Chech. direct base goes back to oblique. 6th class in Chech.

| Lak. murlu rock, cliff.

3d class. Cf. Khosr. murlu id.

| Lezg. *ɬ:ema 1 ravine 2 brook, stream: Lezg. kam l; Tsakh. goma 2 (Gelm.).

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. k:am 'ravine, stream' - pointing unambiguously to *ɬ: because of this any possibility of borrowing from Ossetian kom 'mouth; ravine' (suggested in Abayev 1958, 598-599) is excluded.

| W.-Cauc. *bə(ɰ)ɣV 1 mountain 2 hill: Abkh. bḡa- (in comp.); Ad. bḡə 2; Kab. bḡə l.

PAK *bḡə. In Abkh. the morpheme is witnessed only within compounds a-bḡá-b, a-bḡá-ḡma 'mountain goat'. The root should be kept apart from PWC *bəɣA 'waist' q.v.

[] For PEC an intermediate form *benɬwā must be reconstructed (with *ɬ regularly < *g in a tense word). In PL we must assume a metathesis (*ɬ:ema < *meɬ:wa); otherwise the correspondences are regular. PWC demonstrates a usual delabialisation (*ɣʷ > ɣ) after a labial consonant.

*bértkV rag: Av.-And. *barta (~o); Lezg. *p:erk(a).

| Av.-And. *borto (~a) rag: Akhv. barta (Tseg.); Kar. barta.

Cf. also Kar. Anch., Akhv. Tlan., Ratl. barta id. The root tends to merge in some languages with PA *bata 'trousers' (q.v.). PA *o-vocalism is probable because of an old loanword in Inkh.: borto-xe 'rug' (see PTs *χi).

| Lezg. *p:erk(a) rag: Lezg. p:ek; Tab. berk.

Cf. Lezg. erg. p:ek-ini. Obl. stem unknown.

[] A rather strange And.-Lezg. isogloss. We would not compare the two roots, but the phonetic correspondence is very much the same as in *bʰaltke 'big hoofed animal' q.v. (i.e., PA *-rt- : PL *-lk- or *-rk-). The root can be an old loan from some unknown source.

*b[ə]cV paw, part of arm or leg: Av.-And. *bicV; Tsez. *bisV A; Lezg. *p:ac.

| Av.-And. *bicV 1 ham 2 knee (of animal), thigh: Av. purci l; Cham. becʷ 2.

In Av. -r- is probably secondary (purci < *bVc-ri with secondary assimilation *b- > p-), since no resonant is present in related EC forms.

| Tsez. *bisV A fist: Tsez. besi; Gin. besi; Khvarsh. besa; Inkh. buso; Bezht. biza; Gunz. biza.

PTsKh *bisə; PGB *biza.

| Lezg. *p:ac 1 paw 2 cushions for taking the kettle off fire: Lezg. p:ac l; Tab. bac l; Rut. bac-bir 2 (Kich.).

The Rut. form is plural (lit. 'the paws'). Obl. base *p:aci- (cf. Lezg. p:acu-, Tab. Düb. bac, bacu-).

[] The PTs vowel $\rightarrow$ is not clear (a trace of Ablaut?); otherwise the correspondences are regular. Reconstructed for PEC.

*baga (~o) morning; evening: Av.-And. *bVgV; Lezg. *p:ak:(j)Xhin. paga.

| Av.-And. *bVgV supper, evening meal; evening: Av. bog.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. *bogó-l*). Several And. forms (Kar. *bogoł*: 'in the evening', Cham. *bug* 'supper time') are probably borrowed from Av.

| Lezg. *p:ak:(j) 1 morning, dawn 2 tomorrow 3 evening, dusk: Lezg. *p:ak:a* 2; Ag. *baga* 2; Rut. *biga* 2; Kryz. *baga-skar* 1 (Al.); Bud. *paga* 2; Ud. *begä* 3.

Cf. also Lezg. *p:ak:a-ma*, Ag. *bagajmi* 'morning, dawn'. The semantic correlation 'morning/evening' ('dawn/dusk') is rather usual. The Rut. form *biga* may reflect the old oblique stem *p:ok:a-.

| Khin. *p:aga* tomorrow.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Basically an Avar-Lezgh. isogloss (the Khin. form is possibly a loan from Shakh-Dagh languages).

*bāgwā (/gābā) (~ō) side: Av.-And. *bigV; Lezg. *p:ak:W; W.-Cauc. *k:ap:a.

| Av.-And. *bigV thigh, hip: Tind. *begaw* / *begal*.

The two forms are in free variation in Tind.; they probably suggest an earlier form *biga-l; cf. also Tind. (with another suffix) *beg'a-łi* 'leg (from the foot to the pelvis)', 'leg (of an animal)'.

| Lezg. *p:ak:W 1 side 2 near: Lezg. *p:agW* 1; Tab. *baga-x* 2; Ag. *bagW* 1; Rut. *beg* 1; Kryz. *beg* 1; Arch. *bakW* 1.

Obl. vowel stem *p:ak:W-a-, cf. Tab. *baga-x* (with delabialisation), Ag. *bagW-a-*. For *-k- cf. Lezg. erg. *p:ak:uni*, Arch. pl. *bak:ur*. The irregular front vowel and loss of labialisation in Kryz. and Rut. are probably due to contamination with another PL root *p:eł:V- q.v.

Cf. Leksika 1971, 103; Gigineyshvili 1977, 76.

| W.-Cauc. *k:ap:a 1 side 2 mountain slope: Ad. *čapa* 2; Kab. *žaba* 1.

PAK *k:ap:a.

[] The WC form is metathesized (which is frequent with roots of this structure); otherwise the correspondences are regular.

*bāHāV (~o) hill, mountain: Nakh. *b(h)al-; Av.-And. *bi'il; Lezg. *p:all(a) (~-l:-).

| Nakh. *b(h)al- hill: Ing. *balam*.

Attested only in Ing. (with a frequent suffix -Vm), but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *bi'il 1 mountain 2 mountain top: And. *bil* 2; Cham. *bel* (Bokarev); Botl. *be'el* / *bel*; God. *bel*.

Cf. also Cham. *Gig. bel* (in Bokarev's notation: *bel*); God. *Zib. behil* 'mountain'.

| Lezg. *p:all(a) (~-l:-) 1 rock 2 mountain: Rut. *bāl* 1; Kryz. *bel* 2.

4th class in both languages. Cf. also Rut. Khniukh. (Ibragimov) *bāl* id.

In PL a reconstruction like *p:aHal(a) is also possible.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. A rare (but secure) case of the CVHVCV root structure. Cf. perhaps also Lak. (Khosr.) *belsa* (= *bill-sa* ? - Lak does not have an -e-vowel) 'a good mountain pasture'. [In PWC one would expect a form like *bIV: in fact, there exists such a root with many meanings: 'thick(ness), big, bulge' etc. We attribute it to the common NC root *bVHV q.v. The reflex of *bāHāV could have, however, merged with *bVHV in PWC. Cf. in particular, cases like Ub. *blā-sā* 'top of a hill' (*śa* 'head, top'), which could be directly related to PNC *bāHāV.]

*bhāłwī (~-ē) small cattle: Nakh. *bhoł; Av.-And. *biłu-rV; Tsez. *bił B; Lezg. *p:āł (~-a-, -k-); W.-Cauc. *bāł'a.

| Nakh. *bhoł he-goat: Chech. *boz*; Ing. *boz*, *bož*; Bacb. *b'ok*.

Cf. also Shar., Khild. *bwog*, Lev. *bwoz*. The old obl. stem must have been *bhaki- (cf. Ing. *bezo*); Chech. *boza-* is a more recent analogical building.

| Av.-And. *biłu-rV 1 kid 2 he-goat (not gelt) 3 deer: Av. *burūt* 1; Chad. *burūt* 1; And. *belir* 3; Cham. *be'a* 2; Tind. *bera* 2; Bagv. *bero* 2.

The And. meaning ('deer') is probably an innovation, since in all other languages (also outside Avaro-Andian) the root denotes only domestic animals. Av. paradigm C (*burūt-l*, *būrta-l*; but Chad. pl. *burā-l*). Cf. also Av. *Keg. bullul*, *Kuyad. buł'ur* pointing unambiguously to *ł; And. Mun. *bełiri* 'deer'; Cham. *Gig. bera*. The Cham., Tind. and Bagv. form go back to an intermediate form *bi'ira or *bi'ra with an early loss of the lateral component before the following -r-. Tind. > Inkh. *bera* 'ungelt he-goat'.

| Tsez. *bił B 1 sheep 2 sheep (coll.) 3 small cattle: Tsez. *beł* 2; Gin. *beł* 1; Khvarsh. *beł* 2; Inkh. *bił* 3; Bezht. *bił* 1; Gunz. *bił* 1.

PGB *bił, PTsKh *bił. In PTsKh the word has normally a collective meaning (only in Gin. it is used (in genitive) to denote a single sheep. For a single sheep there existed in PTsKh a derivate *bił-šu (Tsez. *bełšu*, Gin. *bełšu*, Inkh. *biłšu*, Khvarsh. *bełqu*), where -šu goes back to PTs *šo(r) 'ram, sheep' q.v. There exists in PTs another stem, which is probably an old Ablaut variant of the same: PTs *bāle B > PTsKh *bāle (Tsez. *miłi* /with secondary nasalisation/, Inkh. *bele* 'a gelt ram'); Gunz. *bāle* 'sheep-flock'.

| Lezg. *p:āł (~-a-, -k-) 1 sheep-flock 2 ram: Tsakh. *bal'ki* 1; Arch. *bal'k* 2.

Since only Tsakh. and Arch. forms are present, it is impossible to distinguish between reflexes of PL *ł and *k; external evidence speaks strongly in favour of *ł. The Tsakh. form reflects a suffixed *p:āł-Vj.

The Tsakh. word also resembles Bezht. *blaki*, Gunz. *baki* 'sheep-flock; sheep-fold' which are certainly borrowed from Georg. *baki* 'sheep-fold'; in Tsakh. the form *bal'ki* may also be influenced by Georgian, although phonetically it is quite genuine (cf. the pharyngealisation which does not exist in loanwords).

| W.-Cauc. *bāł'a a flock of sheep or goats: Ad. *-bga*; Kab. *-bza*.

PAK *bāla present only in the compound *χ'ā-bāla (see *χ'ā). PAK -ł- can only go back to PWC *-ł'.

[] The PA form has a suffixed -rV (probably originally plural), commonly present in many animal names. Correspondences are regular (except for the assimilative voicing in PWC).

[] The PTs vowel + is not clear (a trace of Ablaut?); otherwise the correspondences are regular. Reconstructed for PEC.

*baga (~o) morning; evening: Av.-And. *bVgV; Lezg. *p:ak:a(j); Khin. p:aga.

| Av.-And. *bVgV supper, evening meal; evening: Av. bog.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. *bogó-l*). Several And. forms (Kar. *bogól*: 'in the evening', Cham. *bug* 'supper time') are probably borrowed from Av.

| Lezg. *p:ak:a(j) 1 morning, dawn 2 tomorrow 3 evening, dusk: Lezg. *p:ak:a* 2; Ag. *baga* 2; Rut. *biga* 2; Kryz. *baga-skar* 1 (Al.); Bud. *paga* 2; Ud. *begä* 3.

Cf. also Lezg. *p:ak:a-ma*, Ag. *bagajmi* 'morning, dawn'. The semantic correlation 'morning/evening' ('dawn/dusk') is rather usual. The Rut. form *biga* may reflect the old oblique stem *p:ok:a-.

| Khin. *p:aga* tomorrow.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Basically an Avar-Lezgh. isogloss (the Khin. form is possibly a loan from Shakh-Dagh languages).

*bagwā (/gābā) (~ o) side: Av.-And. *big*V; Lezg. *p:ak*:; W.-Cauc. *k:ap:a.

| Av.-And. *big*V thigh, hip: Tind. *begaw* / *begal*.

The two forms are in free variation in Tind.; they probably suggest an earlier form *big*a-l; cf. also Tind. (with another suffix) *beg*a-l:l* 'leg (from the foot to the pelvis)', 'leg (of an animal)'.

| Lezg. *p:ak*: 1 side 2 near: Lezg. *p:ag** 1; Tab. *baga-x* 2; Ag. *bag** 1; Rut. *beg* 1; Kryz. *beg* 1; Arch. *bak** 1.

Obl. vowel stem *p:ak*:a-, cf. Tab. *baga-x* (with delabialisation), Ag. *bag*a-*. For *k:- cf. Lezg. erg. *p:ak:uni*, Arch. pl. *bak:ur*. The irregular front vowel and loss of labialisation in Kryz. and Rut. are probably due to contamination with another PL root *p:el:V- q.v.

Cf. Leksika 1971, 103; Giginayshvili 1977, 76.

| W.-Cauc. *k:ap:a 1 side 2 mountain slope: Ad. *čāpa* 2; Kab. *žāba* 1.

PAK *k:ap:a.

[] The WC form is metathesized (which is frequent with roots of this structure); otherwise the correspondences are regular.

*bāHātV (~ o) hill, mountain: Nakh. *b(h)al-; Av.-And. *bi'il; Lezg. *p:all(a) (~ -l:-).

| Nakh. *b(h)al- hill: Ing. *balam*.

Attested only in Ing. (with a frequent suffix -Vm), but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *bi'il 1 mountain 2 mountain top: And. *bil* 2; Cham. *bel* (Bokarev); Botl. *be'el* / *bel*; God. *bel*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *bel* (in Bokarev's notation: *bel*); God. Zib. *behil* 'mountain'.

| Lezg. *p:all(a) (~ -l:-) 1 rock 2 mountain: Rut. *bāl* 1; Kryz. *bel* 2.

4th class in both languages. Cf. also Rut. Khniukh. (Ibragimov) *bāl* id.

In PL a reconstruction like *p:aHal(a) is also possible.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. A rare (but secure) case of the CVHVCV root structure. Cf. perhaps also Lak. (Khosr.) *belsa* (= *bill-sa* ? - Lak does not have an -e-vowel) 'a good mountain pasture'. [In PWC one would expect a form like *bIV: in fact, there exists such a root with many meanings: 'thick(ness), big, bulge' etc. We attribute it to the common NC root *bVHV q.v. The reflex of *bāHātV could have, however, merged with *bVHV in PWC. Cf. in particular, cases like Ub. *blā-sā* 'top of a hill' (*sa* 'head, top'), which could be directly related to PNC *bāHātV.]

*bhālwi (~ -ē) small cattle: Nakh. *bhoḱ; Av.-And. *biḵu-rV; Tsez. *biḵ B; Lezg. *p:ālḷ (~ -a,-k-); W.-Cauc. *bōḷ*a.

| Nakh. *bhoḱ he-goat: Chech. *boz*; Ing. *boz*, *bož*; Bacb. *b'oḱ*.

Cf. also Shar., Khild. *bwog*, Lev. *bwož*. The old obl. stem must have been *bhaki- (cf. Ing. *bezo*); Chech. *boza-* is a more recent analogical building.

| Av.-And. *biḵu-rV 1 kid 2 he-goat (not gelt) 3 deer: Av. *burūf* 1; Chad. *burūf* 1; And. *belir* 3; Cham. *be'a* 2; Tind. *bera* 2; Bagv. *bero* 2.

The And. meaning 'deer' is probably an innovation, since in all other languages (also outside Avaro-Andian) the root denotes only domestic animals. Av. paradigm C (*burfi-l*, *būrta-l*; but Chad. pl. *burta-l*). Cf. also Av. Keg. *bullul*, Kuyad. *bul'ur* pointing unambiguously to *ḷ; And. Mun. *beḵiri* 'deer'; Cham. Gig. *bera*. The Cham., Tind. and Bagv. form go back to an intermediate form *bi'ira or *bi'ra with an early loss of the lateral component before the following -r-. Tind. > Inkh. *bera* 'ungelt he-goat'.

| Tsez. *biḵ B 1 sheep 2 sheep (coll.) 3 small cattle: Tsez. *beḷ* 2; Gin. *beḷ* 1; Khvarsh. *beḷ* 2; Inkh. *biḷ* 3; Bezht. *biḷ* 1; Gunz. *biḷ* 1.

PGB *biḷ, PTsKh *biḷ. In PTsKh the word has normally a collective meaning (only in Gin. it is used (in genitive) to denote a single sheep. For a single sheep there existed in PTsKh a derivate *biḷ-bu (Tsez. *beḷbu*, Gin. *beḷbu*, Inkh. *biḷbu*, Khvarsh. *beḷqu*), where -bu goes back to PTs *bo(r) 'ram, sheep' q.v. There exists in PTs another stem, which is probably an old Ablaut variant of the same: PTs *bōḷe B > PTsKh *bōḷe (Tsez. *miḷi* /with secondary nasalisation/, Inkh. *beḷe* 'a gelt ram'); Gunz. *bōḷe* 'sheep-flock'.

| Lezg. *p:ālḷ (~ -a,-k-) 1 sheep-flock 2 ram: Tsakh. *balḱi* 1; Arch. *balḱ* 2.

Since only Tsakh. and Arch. forms are present, it is impossible to distinguish between reflexes of PL *ḷ and *k; external evidence speaks strongly in favour of *ḷ. The Tsakh. form reflects a suffixed *p:ālḷ-Vj.

The Tsakh. word also resembles Bezht. Tlad. *baki*, Gunz. *bōki* 'sheep-flock; sheep-fold' which are certainly borrowed from Georg. *baki* 'sheep-fold'; in Tsakh. the form *balḱi* may also be influenced by Georgian, although phonetically it is quite genuine (cf. the pharyngealisation which does not exist in loanwords).

| W.-Cauc. *bōḷ*a a flock of sheep or goats: Ad. *-bḡa*; Kab. *-bza*.

PAK *bōḷa present only in the compound *ḡā-bḷā (see *ḡā). PAK -ḷ- can only go back to PWC *ḷ-.

[] The PA form has a suffixed -rV (probably originally plural), commonly present in many animal names. Correspondences are regular (except for the assimilative voicing in PWC).

*bheḱV (~ w-) heap, hill; excrescence: Nakh. *b(h)ōk; Lak. baḱu; Darg. *beḱa; Lezg. *p:ālk- (~ w-).

| Nakh. *bok lump, excrescence: Chech. bog; Ing. bog.

Obl. stem *boḱa- (Chech. bōga-) / *boḱi- (Ing. bego). 4th class in both languages.

| Lak. baku hill; heap, pile.

Cf. Khosr. baḱu id.

| Darg. *beka snow-drift: Ak. beka.

Cf. also Tsud. beka id., Kub. bika 'heap'.

| Lezg. *p:ālk- (~ w-) heap: Arch. balki.

Attested only in Arch., but having good external parallels (for phonetic reasons a loan from Lak. or Darg. is improbable).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*bhēlč̣inV (~ -č̣-, -l-) a k. of cereal: Nakh. *b(h)ač̣Vn (~ -č̣-, -l-); Av.-And. *birč̣in(V); Lak. bulč̣in.

| Nakh. *b(h)ač̣Vn (~ -č̣-, -l-) rye: Chech. bozan.

In Uslar's notation: baḱaḱ. Since there are no Bacb. forms, both *-č̣- and *-l- are possible in PN.

| Av.-And. *birč̣in(V) 1 barley 2 rye 3 fruit stone: Av. purč̣ina 1; Chad. boč̣on 3; Cham. beč̣i 1; Tind. beč̣in 1; Kar. beč̣in 1; God. beč̣in 2.

Av. immobile (B) paradigm (purč̣ina-dul, purč̣a-bi; cf. also Chad. boč̣oni-l, boč̣óna-l / buč̣-bi). There is also a variant (originally dialectal?) purč̣ún 'sty; fruit stone'. Cf. also Kar. Tok. perč̣in (preserving -r-) 'barley'.

In Av. and Kar. Tok. there occurred an assimilatory devoicing *b- > p-; it must have originally been voiced, cf. the Chad. form and Archi (from Avar) boč̣on 'fruit stone'; also cf. And. burč̣ina 'barley' - obviously an Av. loanword, but with initial b-.

| Lak. bulč̣in dry leaves of leguminous plants.

[] Reconstructed for PEC. The Lak. form has a peculiar meaning (probably 'barley straw' > 'straw of leguminous plants' > 'dry leaves of leguminous plants').

*bhērč̣i (~ -č̣) wolf; jackal: Nakh. *bhorč̣; Av.-And. *bočo; Tsez. *boč̣a A; Lak. barč̣; Darg. *beč̣; W.-Cauc. *(bVgV)-bVč̣V.

| Nakh. *bhorč̣ wolf: Chech. borz; Ing. borz; Bacb. b'orč̣.

Obl. base *bhārč̣i-, cf. Chech. berza-, Ing. berzo, Bacb. plur. b'arče-ls. Cf. also Ing. (Imnaishvili) bworz / bworč̣; Chech. Cheb. bworč̣, Khild. bworč̣ etc. 4th class in Chech., Ing., 6th class in Bacb.

| Av.-And. *bočo wolf: Av. bač̣; Chad. bač̣; And. bočo; Akhv. bač̣a; Cham. bač̣a; Tind. bač̣a; Kar. bač̣a; Botl. bač̣a; Bagv. bač̣a; God. bač̣a.

Av. paradigm A (bāci-l, bāca-l). Cf. also Cham. Gig. baza id.

| Tsez. *boč̣a A wolf: Tsez. boč̣i; Gin. boč̣e; Khvarsh. boč̣a; Inkh. boč̣o; Bezht. bač̣o; Gunz. boč̣a.

PTsKh *boč̣a; PGB *boč̣a.

| Lak. barč̣ wolf.

| Darg. *beč̣ wolf: Ak. beč̣; Chir. bec.

Cf. also Ur., Kub. bič̣, Kad., Tsud. beč̣ etc.

| W.-Cauc. *(bVgV)-bVč̣V jackal, hyena: Abkh. a-bgāč̣; Abaz. bagač̣a

PAT *bVgVč̣V (cf. also Bzyb. a-bgāč̣). The form is an old compound (with contraction) from *bVga 'fox, jackal'(q.v.) + *bVč̣a, with the second part corresponding to PEC *bhērč̣i 'wolf'.

[] If we assume a secondary contraction in PWC, the root is well reconstructable for NC; all correspondences are regular.

*bhōngV pole, post: Nakh. *b(h)eqV (~ -a-); Av.-And. *muq̣V; Tsez. *maq̣; Lak. maḱi; Lezg. *marq̣(a); W.-Cauc. *bōqV-wə (~ -ā-).

| Nakh. *b(h)eqV (~ -a-) pole: Ing. beqa.

Isolated in Ing., thus the PN reconstruction is tentative. Nakh > Osset. (Dig.) bāqā 'pole', see Abayev 1958, 250.

| Av.-And. *muq̣V 1 pole 2 ceiling: Av. moq̣: 1; And. moq̣:ol 2; Akhv. muq̣:e 1; Cham. muq̣: 1; Tind. muq̣:u 1; Kar. nuq̣:e 1; God. muq̣:u 1.

Av. paradigm A (moq̣:i-l, moq̣:a-l). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan., Cham. Gig. muq̣:u, Kar. Tok. muq̣:i. Besides And. moq̣:ol with the meaning 'ceiling' cf. also Cham. Gig. (Bok.) muq̣:u id., Kar. L.-Enkh. miq̣:ela; usually this meaning is present in the compound *muq̣:V-riḱ-V (with different assimilations and transformations), cf. Av. moq̣:ruḱ; And. (Tsertsvadze) moq̣:o-lḱi, Cham. jeq̣:-muq̣:, Gig. req̣:-muq̣:a, Kar. miq̣:a-laḱi etc.

| Tsez. *maq̣ 1 short stick, rod 2 stake 3 vertical stick (in fence): Tsez. malq̣ 1; Bezht. maq̣ 2; Gunz. maq̣ 3.

PGB *maq̣. The oblique base was probably *miqu- (with a regular *a/i Ablaut): it is preserved now as a separate stem in Bezht. miq̣o, Gunz. miqu 'pole' (also from this source comes Gin. nuq̣o id. with labialisation shift).

| Lak. maḱi roof, ceiling.

Cf. Khosr. maḱu id.

| Lezg. *marq̣(a) 1 stick, pole 2 shepherd's staff: Tab. marḱ 1; Ag. marḱ 2 (Bursh.).

Cf. also Tab. Düb. marq̣:a; in Ag. (Bursh.) there is a variant marḱ.

| W.-Cauc. *bāqV-wə (~ -ā-) 1 post, log, pile 2 pilaster, post, pillar: Abkh. a-bāq̣; Ad. p:q̣:aw; Kab. pq̣:ow, baq̣:ow.

PAT *bVq̣wə (cf. also Bz. a-bāq̣); PAK *bāq̣:ā-wə / *p:q̣:ā-wə. Despite Klimov (1968, 292) there are no reasons to consider the Abkhaz form an Adygh loan. Kumakhov's etymology (1964, 126) - PAK *b(ā)q̣:āwə from *p:q̣:ā 'corpus, skeleton' - seems dubious, first of all because of the Kab. form baq̣:ow (there's no parallel form *bāq̣:ā 'skeleton' in Kab.). Very dubious is the comparison with Ub. bāq̣l' 'thick' (Shagirov 2, 47).

Since there is no Ub. cognate, it is impossible to determine whether the first vowel in PWC was nasalized or not. Somewhat unclear is the status of the PAK *-wə: it is either a suffix (in this case *bāq̣:āwə < *bāq̣:ā-wə), or part of the root which has yielded labialisation in Abkh. (*bVq̣wə < *bVq̣wəwə).

[] Correspondences are quite regular. Other Caucasian languages have borrowed this root: cf. Georg. dial. *boqwi* 'pilaster' (from Abkh.), Balk. *baq:a* 'a small post' (from Kab.), see Shagirov 1977,2,47.

***bhərçwV** (~-ç-) cattle: Av.-And. ***biç:**~i(r); Lezg. ***barç-**.

[] Av.-And. ***biç:**~i(r) cattle: Av. *bōç:i*; And. *buç:ir*; Akhv. *boç:iri* (Ratl.); Cham. *boç:*; Tind. *boc:ar*; Kar. *beç:ur*; Botl. *buç:i*; Bagv. *beç:ur* (Kvan.); God. *purç:i*.

Av. paradigm A (gen. *bōç:u-l*). In God. there occurred a secondary devoicing (*b- > p-). In Akhv. the most archaic form is Ratl. *boç:iri*; in Northern Akhvakh there occurred a metathesis ***biç:**~ir > ***riç:**~ib with further (regular) loss of -b; this yielded the form *ruç:u* 'sheep, sheep flock'.

Av. > Gunz., Bezht. *boçi* 'sheep, cattle', Arch. *buç:i* 'cattle'.

[] Lezg. ***barç-** young buffalo: Lezg. *barçak*.

Cf. also Akht. *barçak* id. (the word contains an expressive suffix -ak). Isolated in Lezg., but having probable Av.-And. parallels.

[] Reconstructed for PEC (a Lezg.-Av.-And. isogloss).

***bhincwi** dirt, mould; bog: Nakh. ***b(h)arš**; Tsez. ***muzo** B; Lezg. ***mirs**~; Khin. *mirc*.

[] Nakh. ***b(h)arš** 1 watery clay mortar with sand 2 slush, puddle: Chech. *borsa-m*; Ing. *bars*.

Chech. has a suffixed form (with a frequent nominal suffix *-u(m)). Vowel length, unfortunately, can not be established.

[] Tsez. ***muzo** B bog: Tsez. *mez* / *mezo*; Gin. *mozo*; Inkh. *muzo-n*.

PTsKh ***muzo** (~-ü-).

[] Lezg. ***mirs**~ mould: Lezg. *murs*; Tab. *mers*; Ag. *murs*; Kryz. *mirs* (Al.); Bud. *mirs*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *mirs* 'bloom (on a plum)'. The Tab. form (*mers*) is not quite regular in its vowel reflex: cf. the more regular form in Tab. Düb. *miš*~. Also deviating is Ag. Bursh. *mes* (against the more regular Rich. *murs*). In addition, the final version of the MSU recordings lists Düb. *miš:*~i (not *miš*~, as it was recorded earlier). We may suspect that we deal here with a confusion of two originally different roots: a) ***mirs**~ (with a weak *s~) and b) ***mäs:**~ (with a strong *s:~). If this is true, the root ***mäs:**~ would be a perfect match for PTs ***mis**(:)- 'mould' (> Tsez., Gin. *mesla*).

Obl. base ***mirs**~i- (cf. Lezg. *mursu-*, Ag. *mursi-*). See Khaidakov 1973, 102.

[] Khin. *mirc* mould.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The medial nasal accounts for nasalization (*b- > m-) in PTs, PL and Khin. After denasalization it has regularly passed into non-nasal -r-. Note, however, what has been said above about the PL form (a possible merger of two different roots there). [NB: the final version of the MSU recordings has *mirs* in Khin. If this - not the earlier *mirc* - is right, then the Khin. form should be regarded as a loan from Shakhdagh.]

***bhĩnkV** pine-tree: Nakh. ***b(h)aka**; Av.-And. ***nVk:**~V; Tsez. ***niqe**~; Lak. *miłk*~; Lezg. ***mik**~ / ***niķ**~.

[] Nakh. ***b(h)aka** 1 pine-tree 2 resinous root of pine-tree: Chech. *baga* 1; Ing. *baga* 2.

3d class in Chech., 6th class in Ing.

[] Av.-And. ***nVk:**~V pine-tree: Av. *nak:*.

Av. paradigm A (*nāk:i-l*, *nāk:a-l*).

[] Tsez. ***niqe** pine-tree: Bezht. *niqe* (Khosh.); Gunz. *niqe-s*.

PGB ***niqe**.

[] Lak. *miłk*- pine cone.

This is a dialectal (Arak.) form from Khaidakov 1966.

[] Lezg. ***mik**~ / ***niķ**~ 1 fir-tree 2 pine-tree: Lezg. *muk-rag* 1 (Nūt.); Tab. *muk-ruk* 1; Rut. *nik*~*nāχ* 1 2; Tsakh. *kuñax* 2.

All languages reflect a compound with some obscure second element. In Rut. the pronunciation varies between *nik*~*nāχ* 1 and *nuknāχ* 1. The Tsakh. form is metathesized, but cf. the more archaic Gelm. *ñukñax*.

[] In several languages there is a variation between m- and n-; nis obviously secondary before the front vowel. Otherwise the correspondences are regular.

***bñērλV** (~ w-) intestine (large): Nakh. ***b²ar(λ)V**; Av.-And. ***boλ:**i; Tsez. ***boλo**; Lezg. ***wāwλ:**.

[] Nakh. ***b²ar(λ)V** liver sausage: Chech. *b²ara* / *ba²ar*; Ing. *b²ar*.

6th class in both languages. Since there is no Bacb. parallel, it is impossible to establish whether PN had *-λ- here or not.

[] Av.-And. ***boλ:**i 1 intestine 2 large intestine: Av. *baλ:* 1; Chad. *baλ:* 1; And. *boλ:*i 2; Akhv. *baλ:i* 1; Cham. *baλ:* 2; Tind. *baλ:i* 2; Kar. *baλ:e* 2; Bagv. *baλ:* 2.

Av. Chad. paradigm C (*baλ:i-l*, *bāλ:a-l*). A homonymous word is ***boλ:**i (~ -a-), represented in Cham. *baλ:* 'cord', God. *baλ:i* 'plait'; it is not quite clear whether it is just a special semantic development, or actually a different root.

[] Tsez. ***boλo** large intestine: Bezht. *baλa*; Gunz. *boλo*.

PGB ***boλo**.

[] Lezg. ***wāwλ:** 1 intestine(s) 2 belly: Arch. *babλ*~ 1; Ud. *buq:un* 2.

An important Arch.-Ud. isogloss. 3d class in Arch.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are quite regular (only the PL ***wāwλ:** requires a special explanation: it is probably a result of assimilation < ***wārλ**).

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241. Abdokov (1983, 74) tries to relate here some WC forms: Ub. *La* 'intestine' (which belongs rather to WC **Ła* 'meat, flesh') and PAK *(b)*La-* 'chain' (in Kab. *La-rə-ps*, Ad. *bLa-rə-ps* 'chain') - which reflects rather the PAK verbal root **bLa-* 'to thread on a string, to plait'.

***bHačwc** (~ -a) bark, skin; leaf: Tsez. ***beč:**~; Lak. *burču*; Lezg. ***pałša**.

[] Tsez. ***beš:** 1 bark, shell 2 skin (of neat cattle): Bezht. *beš* 1; Gunz. *beš* 2.

PGB *beš.

| Lak. *burču* skin, hide.

3d class.

| Lezg. *p:alša 1 leaf 2 willow button: Lezg. p:eš 1; Ag. *palz* 1; Kryz. *beš* 1; Bud. *beš* 2.

Oblique base (in *-ā) may be (not very certainly) reconstructed on basis of Lezg. Khl. p:eše- and Ag. Burk. *palz*, *palzu*-. The Ag. form has been influenced by *kež* 'leaf' (PL **kača* q.v.). 4th class in Kryz. and Bud.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Medial -r- in Lak. is clearly secondary in this case (*burču* < **bučV-ru* ?), because other languages do not show any trace of resonants.

*bHakV (/ *kHabV) palm of hand, hand: Av.-And. *baka (~o); Lak. *čalpa*; Darg. *beḡ; Lezg. *k:ap / *kap:.

| Av.-And. *baka (~o) palm of hand: Akhv. *baka*.

Attested only in Akhv., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *čalpa* palm of hand.

| Darg. *beḡ hand: Ak. *beḡ-nalq*; Chir. *beḡ-nalq*.

The word became homonymous with PD *bek 'head', thus the compound *beḡ-nalq*: is presently understood as "head-arm", which is obviously a folk etymology.

| Lezg. *k:ap / *k:ap: 1 hand 2 paw 3 hand-clapping: Lezg. k:ap, *kapas* 1; Ag. *gap* 1; Rut. *gap* 4; Kryz. *gābāč* 3.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. k:ap:ač 'hand', Rut. Khniukh. *kaba-qan*, Ag. Burk. *gap* 'palm of hand'. -ač/-aš in Lezg. and Kryz. are expressive suffixes. The word belongs to the 4th class in Rut. and Kryz. Reflexes reveal a variation of laryngeal features, common for roots of this type (with two stops).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The situation is rather typical, as for most words of the CVCV structure with two stops: we observe metatheses (thus it is hard to choose between *bHakV and *kHabV) and as-/dissimilative processes. In this case it concerns the Lak. form (with progressive glottalisation) and the PL form: most probably the original *kHabV changed to *gHabV > PL *k:ap: through assimilation; later in a part of Lezghian dialects there occurred a new dissimilation (*k:ap: > *k:ap).

*bHāḷi (~ -ā-) young one, young (of animals): Av.-And. (?) *baḷa (~o, -ā-); Tsez. **ḷapV* (~ -ā-); Lezg. *p:alḷ:.

| Av.-And. *baḷa (~o, -ā-) 1 young (of animals) 2 youngling, nestling: Cham. *baḷa* 1; Tind. *baḷa* 1; Kar. *baḷa* 1; Botl. *baḷa* 1; Bagv. *baḷa* 2; God. *baḷa* 1.

Since no And. and Akhv. forms are attested, it is impossible to choose between PA *o or *a, *ḷ or *ḷ in the reconstruction.

| Tsez. **ḷapV* (~ -ā-) youngling, nestling: Bezht. *ḷapan* (Khosh.).

Isolated in Bezht., but having possible external parallels.

| Lezg. *p:alḷ: 1 son, boy 2 son 3 bastard: Lezg. p:až 3; Tab. *baj* 1; Ag. *balz* 2 (Bursh.).

PL obl. base *p:alḷ:e- (cf. Ag. Bursh. *balzi*-; the second front vowel

conditioned the palatal reflexes of *ḷ: in all languages). Cf. also Tab. Kand. *baz* 'son, boy'.

[] The PTs (Bezht.) form has undergone a metathesis (**ḷapV* (with assimilation) < **ḷabV* < **baḷV*). It is much more difficult to explain the PA form with *ḷ- (or *ḷ-) instead of the expected *ḷ:-; reasons for deglottalisation are not at all clear.

The root has probable correspondences in HU: Hurr. *pōra-(m)mi*, Ur. *porā* "slave" (with a typologically frequent semantic shift and a regular development *ḷ- > -r-), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 16.

*bHārVnčV badger: Av.-And. *mamač:V (~o-); Tsez. *beruš:V; Lak. x:u-wajs:a; Lezg. *p:alrč- (~w-, -š-).

| Av.-And. *mamač:V (~o-) badger: Av. *parč:o* (Unt.); Chad. *bac*; Akhv. *mamac:e*; Cham. *mamaša*; Tind. *mamača*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *mumaču*. The PAA form should be something like **barVnč:V* or **banVrč:V* (with secondary devoicing and reduction in some Av. dialects, and with double assimilation in Andian languages; the weakening *č:- > -č- in Tind. and Cham. is irregular). The accent paradigm in Av. Chad. is A (*bāci-l*, *bāca-l*). Tind. > Inkh. *mamača* 'badger'.

| Tsez. *beruš:V badger: Tsez. *birušo*; Gin. *birušo*; Bezht. *beruse*; Gunz. *miruš*.

PTsKh *berušo; PGB *beruš(e) (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *mirōš*, Khosh. *meruse*). Nasalisation of the second vowel is witnessed by the variation *b- ~ *m- in GB (the first vowel could not be nasalised before a resonant). Gunz. has an irregular -i- (-e would be expected).

| Lak. x:u-wajs:a badger.

Cf. also Khosr. x:ubajs:a id. The word is folk-etymologically analysed as "nightly" (cf. x:uwaj:s-a 'nightly' from x:u 'night', x:uwa-j 'at night'). This is an irregular transformation of the compound *x:u 'night' + *bars:a 'badger' which itself is obviously a translation loan from Darg., where the word for 'badger' is *dugaḷq*, *duḡelibug* (accidentally similar to *dugi* 'night').

| Lezg. *p:alrč- (~w-, -š-) badger: Arch. *balrsu*.

Isolated in Arch., but having good external parallels.

[] A rare trisyllabic root (expressive and with somewhat irregular reflexes), reconstructed for the PEC level.

*bHātV dirt, faeces: Nakh. *b(h)et (~ē-); Av.-And. *baṭa (~o); Tsez. *bāṭi; Darg. *balṭ-; Lezg. *p:alṭ.

| Nakh. *b(h)et (~ē-) faeces: Ing. *bēd* (dial.).

Attested only in Ing., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *baṭa (~o) 1 faeces 2 cow dung: And. *ṭebṭel* 2; Cham. *bata* 1.

The And. form is a result of an irregular transformation of the reduplicated stem *bVtV-tV- (cf. an analogous reduplication in Darg. Chir. *balṭbalte* and Ag. *balṭataj*). In Cham. cf. also (Gig.) *baṭa-q:a* 'dried snivel in nose' (with an obscure component -q:a).

A non-reduplicated reflex of this root in Andian is possibly And. *boti* 'blind': for the semantics cf. the analogous development in Lezghian languages

in the root *p:olqI (PEC *pHulqi 'dirt, secretion').

| Tsez. *baʃi dried snivel in nose: Gunz. *baʃi*.

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *baʃ- diarrhea: Chir. *baʃbaʃte*.

An expressive reduplication.

| Lezg. *p:alʃ 1 dirt 2 dry dung (of sheep): Tab. *baʃur 1*; Ag. *baʃur 1* (Bursh); Rut. *piʃar 2* (Kich); Bud. *puʃ 2*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *baʃtur* 'dirt', Ag. Bursh. (with reduplication) *baʃaʃaʃ* 'sheep's dung' (both forms point to PL pharyngealisation). Tab., Ag. and Rut. reflect a suffixed form with PL *-Vr (plural suffix). Initial p- in Rut. and Bud. is irregular: probably a result of assimilation.

The vowel variation probably reflects the old Ablaut *p:alʃ (dir. stem), *p:olʃV- (obl. stem).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive root - however, with quite satisfactory correspondences.

In a few cases (cf. the root for "feather") labial initials get lost in Av. before a following laryngeal; if this is the case here, we could compare also Av. *haʃ* (gen. *haʃu-l*) "clay", Chad. *haʃ* (*haʃi-l*, *haʃa-l*) "dung".

*bHemʃi (~ -ü, -i) deer, mountain goat: Av.-And. *biʃ:V; Tsez. *büʃ:V; Darg. *buk (~k:); Lezg. *melʃ.

| Av.-And. *biʃ:V game, wild animal: Akhv. *beʃ:e* (Ratl.).

Isolated in Akhv., but having good external parallels.

| Tsez. *büʃ:V 1 mountain goat, game 2 deer 3 roe: Tsez. *beʃi 1,2*; Gin. *boʃi 1,3*; Khvarsh. *beʃa* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *biʃo 1*; Bezht. *biʃo 1,2*; Gunz. *biʃa 1*.

PTsKh *b[ʊ]ʃa; PGB *biʃa.

| Darg. *buk (~k:) mountain goat: Ak. *buk* (Kait.).

Since the form is known only from the Kaitag dialect, it is impossible (without knowing the Kait. paradigm) to choose between PD *-k and *-k:.

| Lezg. *melʃ deer: Lezg. *mirg*; Tab. *meʃ*; Ag. *murx*; Rut. *mix*; Kryz. *mirg*; Ud. *muq:1*.

Obl. base *melʃi- or *melʃe- (cf. Lezg. *mirgi-*, Rut. *mixi-*). Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *murš*, Fit. *mirg*; the Kryz. form (with a strange -γ reflex) may be a Lezg. loanword. In Ud. the word for 'horn' (*muq:1a*) is derived from this root. 3d class in Rut. and Kryz.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 240; Khaidakov 1973, 13.

[] Reconstructed for PEC. In PTs *-ü- is a frequent substitute for *-i- (< ɛ) in labialised surroundings. In PL there occurred a regular development: *bHemʃi > *belmʃ > *melnʃ > *melʃ.

*bHēqV ~ *qHēbV (~-ä-, -o-) raven, crow: Av.-And. *q:ʷibV; Darg. *paqi-; Lezg. *p:eqI/*qI:ep (~ä,a) 1 raven 2 crow: Lezg. *p:eq 2*; Arch. *qlipi-χlan 1*.

| Av.-And. *q:ʷibV raven: Cham. *q:ob*; Tind. *q:oba*.

| Darg. *paqi- crow: Ak. *paqi-Galna*.

Cf. also Darg. (in Khaidakov 1973) *piqi-Galna*. A compound with *q:ʷana 'crow' q.v.

| Lezg. *p:eqI/*qI:ep (~ä,a) 1 raven 2 crow: Lezg. *p:eq 2*; Arch. *qlipi-χlan 1*.

Cf. also Lezg. erg. *p:eqre-*, Khl. *p:äʃq* (erg. *p:äʃqra-*). The root reveals a metathesis (rather frequent for such structures - cf. also the external data), both of segments and of laryngeal features.

[] Correspondences are plausible (in Darg. and Arch. there occurred an assimilation *b- > *p-; note that both forms reflect an identical old compound with *qHemdu 'crow' q.v.). Reconstructed for the PEC level.

*bHešwV deaf: Darg. *baʃ:ʷV-; Lezg. *p:elʃ:ʷi-; Khin. *beš*.

| Darg. *baʃ:ʷV- deaf: Chir. *buʃ:(u)-ze*.

| Lezg. *p:elʃ:ʷi- deaf: Lezg. *biʃi*; Tab. *buʃu*; Ag. *buʃe-f/buʃref*; Rut. *biʃ-di*; Tsakh. *boš-na*; Kryz. *bešä-d*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl., Kuba. *p:esi*, Tab. Kand. *biʃi-r*, Ag. Burk. *buʃa-k*, Tsakh. prop. *boš:i-na* (pointing to *-š:ʷ-).

See Таллибов 1980, 275.

| Khin. *beš* deaf.

[] Basically a PL root: the Darg. and Khin. forms can be explained as loans (respectively from Agul and Shakhdagh). The PEC antiquity is dubious.

*bHēmʃV duck: Nakh. *bʰaʃ; Tsez. *maʃV; Lak. *baʃ*; Darg. *baʃ.

| Nakh. *bʰaʃ 1 duck 2 goose: Chech. *baʃ 1*; Bacb. *baʃ 2*.

Obl. base *bʰaʃi- (*bʰaʃe-), cf. Chech. *bēda-*. 4th class in Chech., 5th class in Bacb. Cf. dialectal forms: Cheb. *bād* (*bāde-*), Shar. *bʰād* (*bʰāda-*), Khild. *bʰād* (*bʰāde-*) etc. The medial laryngeal does not allow to consider the Nakh forms as loanwords from Georg. *baʃi* 'goose' (a reverse direction of borrowing is more probable).

| Tsez. *maʃV goose: Tsez. *maʃi* (Khaidakov); Gin. *maʃi*.

PTsKh *maʃi. Bezht. *baʃi* 'goose' is obviously borrowed from Georg. *baʃi*; but the Tsez. and Gin. word can not be explained in this way.

| Lak. *baʃ* drake, male duck.

The word is from the Bartkh. dialect and cited from Khaidakov 1966; the first component is etymologically not clear (lit. 'clever *baʃ*').

| Darg. *baʃ duck: Ak. *baʃ*.

The Darg. word was probably borrowed into Lezg.: Lezg. *paʃ* 'duck' (quite isolated among Lezghian languages).

[] In most subgroups the word could be borrowed from Arabic *baʃ* 'duck' (since there are, of course, no domestic waterfowl in most modern NC communities); however, some phonetic peculiarities (especially nasalisation in Tsez.) make us think of the possibility of PEC reconstruction. Besides Arabic the word is known also in Georgian (*baʃi* 'goose'), where it may well be borrowed (either from Nakh or also from Semitic). The problem requires a further investigation.

*bHərče hole, opening: Nakh. *b(ʰ)ārč; Tsez. *bāʃ:ʷ; Darg. *baʃ:ʷ; Lezg. *p:al(r)č:a; Khin. *bač:i*.

| Nakh. *b(h)arč a wide seam on cloth: Chech. *barč*; Ing. *barč*.

The precise meaning is "a wide seam on cloth (for passing a lace etc.); the place for fitting a lace (in a bag)". Obl. base *b(h)ārče- (cf. Chech. *bārča*-). 6th class in Chech., 4th class in Ing.

| Tsez. *bōš:ə vagina: Gunz. *bōšə* (Gunz.).

Isolated in Gunzib, with probable external parallels.

| Darg. *bars: groin: Ak. *bars*.

Cf. also Tsud. *bars:*.

| Lezg. *p:al(r)č:a nostril: Tsakh. *balze*.

Cf. also Tsakh. *Tsakh.balze* 'nostril; hole (in general)', (pl.) *balze-bi* 'groin'. /We should also mention Kryz. *pāčer*, Bud. *pāčə* 'groin' - although their phonetic relationship to the Tsakh. form is not clear./

| Khin. *bač:i* vagina.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (although the root is not very widely spread).

[There are also many similar - but absolutely irregular - forms for "vagina": Bezht. (Tlad.) *puce*, Khosh. *puci*, Gunz. *pusi*, Lak. *miš*, Tab. (Düb.) *biči*, Kand. *puš*, Ag. *biš*, Lezg. Khl. *piš*, Rut. *pic*, Tsakh. *pic*, Kryz. *pišfi*.]

*bHərɣV back, shoulder-blade: Av.-And. *biɣumV; Lak. *barh*; Lezg. *marɣIVl.

| Av.-And. *biɣumV shoulder-blade: And. *beɣun*; Akhv. *beɣun* (Ratl.); Cham. *beɣu*; Tind. *beɣuma*; Botl. *beɣun*; God. *beɣun*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *buɣun*, Botl. obl. *beɣuma*-. The root is homonymous with *biɣumV 'wooden spade or spoon' (q.v.) - however, the external evidence is in favour of separating these two homonyms.

| Lak. *barh* back, spine. Cf. Khosr. *baIrh*.

| Lezg. *marɣIVl shoulder-blade: Tab. *marɣIlin* *kurab*.

Preserved only in Tab. (in a compound: "bone (*kurab*) of the back"), but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for PEC. Some problems are raised by *m- in PL (Tab.): possibly, Tab. *marɣIlin* is a modification of *marɣIlni-n < PL *marɣIVn ? In this case the *m- could be a result of nasal assimilation (cf. the PA form *biɣumV with a nasal suffix).

*bHǝrgǝ a beast of prey: Nakh. *b(h)erg (~f-, -k); Darg. *buk: (~g); W.-Cauc. *blaga.

| Nakh. *b(h)erg (~f-, -k) ounce, snow leopard: Chech. *çoq-berg*. A compound with *çoq* 'panther, ounce' (q.v.).

| Darg. *buk: (~g) some wild animal: Ak. -bug.

The root is used only within the compound *dugeli-bug* 'badger' (see PEC *dVIVgV for the first part).

| W.-Cauc. *blaga 1 jackal 2 fox: Abkh. *á-bga* 1; Abaz. *baga* 2; Ad. *baža* 2; Kab. *bāza* 2; Ub. *blagā-s* 1.

PAT *bVga; PAK *baža. The development *g > *ž in PAK is not clear (the antiquity of *ž in Adyg is proved by the Ubykh loanword *baža* 'fox'); nevertheless, the regular correspondence PAT *bVga : Ub. *blaga*- leaves no doubt in the reconstruction of PWC *blaga.

[] The root is well attested in WC, but has left only faint traces in EC languages (Chech. and Darg., both only in compounds). Still the NC reconstruction seems rather probable, and EC languages have probably lost the root because the particular beast of pray (jackal?), denoted by the root in PNC, was not spread in the mountains of East Caucasus.

It is interesting to note similar words in other languages of the East: cf. Sum. *pirig* 'lion', Old Indian *vyāghra*- 'tiger' (whence Arm. *vagr*) etc.

*bičē (~ā-, -ī) moral experience; god: Av.-And. *biš:i; Lak. *bič:i*.

| Av.-And. *biš:i god: Av. *biš:i*.

The Av. word is quoted from Usur 1889.

| Lak. *bič:i* anxiety.

[] An interesting Lak.-Av. isogloss. Precise meaning is hard to reconstruct, but the root probably denoted some kind of moral or supernatural experience: cf. also likely parallels in HU: Hurr. *pi3-*, Urart. *piç-* 'to be glad, rejoice' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 17).

*biltV wedding: Av.-And. *birti-n; Lezg. *mi(l)IV-.

| Av.-And. *birti-n wedding: Av. *bértin*; Chad. *bértin*; Akhv. *meti*.

Av. paradigm A (*bérta-dul*, *bérta-bi*; Chad. *bértinu-l*, *bért-bi*). Identical Andian forms are most probably borrowed from Avar: Cham., Tind. *bertin*, Kar. *berten*. Certainly borrowed from Avar are Tsezian forms: Inkh., Gunz. *bertin*, Tsez., Gin., Bezht. *berten* 'wedding'.

| Lezg. *mi(l)IV- wedding: Kryz. *mítfar*; Bud. *mítker*.

4th class in both languages. The Shakhdag word presupposes a protoform like *mi(l)IV-*ar*. The second part of it is probably the same as in **λ:an:i-*ar** 'spring' (opposed to **λ:an:* 'summer' in Tab. *xadu-kar* : *xad*, Lezg. *gal-far* : *gad*; cf. also Ag. Bursh. *sir-k^{ar}*, Khud. *s:ir-k^{ar}* 'spring'). The root *mi(l)IV- can also be reflected in Tab. *sumčir* (Düb. *sumčar*) 'wedding' - which may be analysed as a reduction < **susu-mčir* < **s:es:V-mitir* lit. "bride-wedding".

[] An interesting Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss.

*bilǝV (~ō-, -ā-) beard: Av.-And. *miža (~o); Tsez. *biša-l- A (~ī-); Lezg. *moč:or, *moč:or-Vj; Khin. *mič:-āš*.

| Av.-And. *miža (~o) beard: Akhv. *miže-λ:u*; Cham. *miza-ɬ*; Tind. *miza-tu*; Bagv. *miza-ɬ*.

The pure root is preserved only in Akhv. Tlan., Tseg. *miza*. All other languages have rather obscure suffixes -tu (-ju) (cf. also Cham. Gig. *mizaɬu*) or *-jiλ:u (cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *mizejλ:o*). The stem should be distinguished from **migažu* q.v.

| Tsez. *biša-l- A (~ī-) 1 beard 2 moustache: Khvarsh. *bišan-de* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *bišan-du* 1; Bezht. *bizal-ba* 2; Gunz. *bilaz-ba* 1.

The Inlaut nasalisation is probable because of the -n-reflex of *-l- in Inkh.; the final -du is not clear (cf. -tu in some Andian languages). PGB **bizal-ba* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *bizal-ba* 'moustache'); in Gunz. a metathesis has occurred. The element -ba in PGB is probably a former plural suffix.

| Lezg. **moč:or*, **moč:or-V* beard: Lezg. č:uru; Tab. *mužri*; Ag. *mužur*; Kryz. *žiri*.

Lezg., Tab. and Kryz. reflect a form with the frequent nominal suffix *-Vj. Whereas in Lezg. the loss of *mo- is regular, the same phenomenon in Kryz. still needs a special explanation (perhaps - under Lezg. influence?). The root should be strictly distinguished from **močor* q.v. (although they may have partially contaminated).

| Khin. *mič:-āš* beard.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Most languages have suffixed forms either with original plural formants (PL *-or, perhaps also Khin. -āš; PTs *-l- - note that in PGB a second plural formant *-ba has been added) or with less clear elements (PA *-tu, *-jiā:u). Correspondences are quite regular.

**bīnʒē* (/ **mīʒē*) fly: Nakh. **maʒu*; Tsez. **ʷusmusV*; Lak. *zimiz*; Lezg. **mizmiza*; W.-Cauc. **bʷʒʷV*.

| Nakh. **maʒu* fly: Chech. *moza*; Ing. *moza*.

6th class in both languages. Cf. also Chech. (in Uskar's notation) *məzu*, Ing. (Imnaishvili) *mwoz*.

| Tsez. **ʷusmusV* wasp: Bezht. *ūzmūzi* (*Khosh.*).

Attested only in Bezht. (thus several PTs reconstructions - with *s, *š, *z, *ʒ, *ʒ or *ʒ; - are possible), but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *zimiz* fly.

Cf. Khosr. *zimiz* id.

| Lezg. **mizmiza* 1 mosquito 2 fly 3 ant 4 bumble-bee: Tab. *mizmiz* 1; Ag. *mizmiz* 1 (*Bursh.*); Rut. *zubez* 4; Tsakh. *bizbiza* 2 (*Tsakh.*); Arch. *zimzi* / *zimzu* 3.

3d class in Tsakh. and Arch. Cf. also Tab. Düb. *mizmizi* 'fly'. The Tsakh., Rut. and Arch. forms are irregularly transformed (the Arch. form probably experienced the influence from PL **cimc*: 'ant' q.v., although the reflex z clearly shows that it belongs to PL **mizmiza*).

| W.-Cauc. **bʷʒʷV* fly: Abkh. *ā-mč*; Abaz. *čʷā-nčā*; Ad. *bāʒa*; Kab. *bāʒa*; Ub. *ba(n)ʒā*.

PAT **māčā* (cf. Bz. *ā-mč*; the Abaz. form originally meant 'gadfly' /lit. 'ox'+ 'fly', cf. Abkh. Bz. *ā-č-māč* 'gadfly'); PAK **bāʒā*. Glottalisation in PAT is secondary (probably, under the influence of **mača* 'locust, grasshopper' q.v.).

The dissolution of the AK root and its derivation from PWC **ʒā* 'flea, fly' q.v. (Rogava 1956, 13-14) is untenable.

WC > Osset. *banʒ* / *binʒā* 'fly' (despite Trubetzkoy 1921, 249, who suggested the opposite direction of loan; Dumézil (1963, 15) argued correctly with Trubetzkoy, but his reference to the root's expressive nature is not quite appropriate, since the Osset.

and WC roots are specifically close to each other. Other etymologies of the Osset. word (see Abayev 1958, 280) are unsuccessful.

[] A common NC onomatopoeic root; its expressive character explains irregular variation between **bīnʒē* and **mīʒē*. Cf. also in other Caucasian languages: Georg. *buzi* 'fly', Svan. *buzul* 'wasp, fly', Megr. *bazi* 'a big fly', PK **bzu-* 'to buzz' (see Charaya 1912, 19, Klimov 1965, 51). An obvious NC (probably WC) loan is Osset. *binʒ* / *binʒā* 'fly' (see Abayev 1958, 280 with dubious etymological attempts). Comparison of PWC and Nakh see in Mészáros 1934, 227, Dumézil 1963, 15; Abdokov (1983, 113) adds also some Lezg. data.

**bīrčV* (~ -ē-, -ī-) rich, honorable: Nakh. **bārč*; Av.-And. **biči(-d)*; Tsez. **ič-il*.

| Nakh. **bārč* honorable place (in the house): Chech. *barč*; Ing. *bārče*; Bach. *barč*.

Obl. base **bārči-* (Chech. *bārča-*). The Ing. form contains a suffix (*-jV). In Bach. cf. also a derivate *barčol* 'ability'.

| Av.-And. **biči(-d)*- 1 rich 2 to become rich: Av. *bečēda*= 1; Akhv. *mača-λ*- 2; Kar. *bečedo*= 1; God. *beče-λ*- 2.

Cf. also Kar. Anch. *beče-ro*= (with another suffix). Cham. *bečedo* 'rich' is probably an Avar loanword (otherwise -š- would be expected). Akhv. reflects a stem with a nasal suffix (*mača-λ*- < **bačan-λ*-).

In Avar cf. also the noun *bečēd* 'god' (obviously derived from 'rich', cf. an analogous development in some IE languages).

| Tsez. **ič-il*- rich: Bezht. *ičilo*.

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Changing class prefixes in Bezht. are probably secondary (in all other languages b- is a part of the root).

**bīsV* pussy-cat: Nakh. **pisV*; Lezg. **p:is:ij*.

| Nakh. **pisV* pussy-cat: Chech. *pišū*.

Isolated in Chech., with possible cognates in PL.

| Lezg. **p:is:ij* 1 pussy-cat 2 cat: Lezg. *psi* 1; Tsakh. *bis:i* 2; Ud. *piši-k*: 2.

[] An expressive and, possibly, onomatopoeic root; therefore, the PEC antiquity is dubious. Phonetically, p- (instead of b-) in PN should be ascribed to assimilation.

**bizā* female breast, nipple: Lezg. **p:ic:-*; W.-Cauc. **bāʒā* (~-ʒ-).

| Lezg. **p:ic:-* ? female breast, teat: Ag. *bizi*.

An expressive stem; as far as we know, isolated in Ag. (the only parallels exist in WC).

| W.-Cauc. **bāʒā* (~-ʒ-) female breast, teat: Ad. *bāʒa*; Kab. *bāʒ*; Ub. *bāʒ*.

PAK **bāʒā*. There are no special reasons to treat Ub. *bāʒ* as an Adygh loanword (the correspondences are all right). An expressive stem (with parallels only in Agul).

[] The comparison belongs to Trubetzkoy 1930, 277 (who, however, had mistaken Agul for Andi; there is no such word in Andi). See also Abdokov 1983, 74. The root is clearly expressive, and its presence in only one EC language (other EC forms cited by Abdokov can not belong here) makes the etymology highly unreliable.

*bič'i (~-ě) spot, rash: Lezg. *p:ič(a); Khin. bāž; W.-Cauc. *bāčā.

| Lezg. *p:ič(a) 1 navel 2 smallpox 3 flower: Lezg. p:ič 1 (Kuba.); Rut. bič 3, bič-bir 2; Kryz. bič 1.

The root is contaminating actively with PL *p:ič 'navel' (Lezg. p:ič, Rut. Khniukh. bič, Bud. bič) but probably should be kept distinct historically. The same root probably underlies Tsakh. ki-biči 'boil, furuncle' (although the first component is not clear).

| Khin. bāz flower.

| W.-Cauc. *bāčā 1 measles 2 scarlet fever 3 navel: Abkh. a-bčā 1; Abaz. bčā 1; Ad. nābāž 3; Kab. bānza 3; Ub. bāčā 2.

The original meaning is clearly 'spot(s)', whence a) 'measles' or 'scarlet fever', b) 'spot of the belly' > 'navel'. PAT *bāčā; PAK compound *nāba-bāža (*ž instead of *č as a result of assimilation) "belly-spot" > *nābāža / *bānāža. Despite Shagirov 1977, 103-104, we cannot reconstruct *nāba-gā "belly+bad" in PAK - primarily because Ad. ž : Kab. ž point only to PAK *ž (not *g).

The Adygh words were borrowed in Abaz. (bānāža "navel") and Ub. (nābāž "navel").

[] A Lezg.-WC isogloss - but seems reliable both phonetically and semantically (same meanings and semantic development in both subgroups). It is interesting to compare this root to PK *čip- 'navel' (note that its descendant, Meqr. čapan "navel", was borrowed in Abkh. as a-čapan). The comparison of PK *čip- with PEC *žon'ū 'navel', proposed by Klimov (1965 255), is obviously untenable.

*bilVgwi hammer: Nakh. *barVg; Lak. burg; Darg. *barγ'i; Lezg.

*p:ul[k].

| Nakh. *barVg pick-axe: Chech. berg; Bacb. brag.

In literary Chech. the root is present only as a compound element of z'ok-berg 'pick-axe'; cf., however, Itumk., Khild. berg id. For Bacbian Masiyev adduces also a form barg 'hammer for incising the mill-stone' which is probably a variant of the same root.

| Lak. burg sledge hammer.

Khosr. burg id.

| Darg. *barγ'i sledge hammer: Chir. bargu.

Cf. also Tsud. bur (<*bury) id.

| Lezg. *p:ul[k] hammer: Rut. burk (Ikhr.); Arch. burk.

The variation between Arch. k (<*k or *k:) and Rut. k (<*k) is unclear (we should expect *k:, thus something is wrong with the Rut. form). Medial *-l- (not *-r-) is reconstructed on basis of Arch. -r- before a velar (*-r- would have disappeared).

[] A cultural word, thus some irregularities (particularly in Lezgh.) should probably be explained by interlingual borrowing.

*bilV (~-t-) penis: Tsez. *belu A (~-r-); Lezg. *p:il(-).

| Tsez. *belu A (~-r-) penis: Tsez. bilu; Gin. bilu; Inkh. belu. PTsKh *beRu.

| Lezg. *p:il(-) 1 penis 2 penis of a boy: Tab. bilbil 2; Rut. bilil 1.

4th class in Rut. The Rutul form contains an expressive suffix (-it); the Tab. form is reduplicated.

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss.

*bimcwλ (~-ū-, -ō-) arm; bone (of arm or leg): Tsez. *bīcu A; Lezg. *muč- (~-o-); W.-Cauc. *mčV.

| Tsez. *bīcu A arm: Tsez. mecu; Gin. mecu; Bezht. bīco; Gunz. bīcu.

PTsKh *micu (~-i-), PGB *bīcu.

| Lezg. *muč- (~-o-) paw: Tab. muču (Khaidakov).

Isolated in Tab., but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *mčV 1 part of the foreleg 2 young branch 3 foreleg: Abkh. ā-māčV 2; Abaz. pā-māčV 1; Ad. šā-ā-ā 3; Kab. fā-ā 3.

PAK *č'a-ā (ā 'foot'). PAT *māčV; cf. also Abkh. Bzyb. a-pā-māčV "front side of femoral parts of hindlegs" (= Abaz. pā-māčV). The meaning 'branch' in Abkh. (Abzh.) is obviously secondary.

[] Correspondences are regular. Abdokov (1983, 82) compares PAK *č'a- with reflexes of PEC *χorV 'bone' (q.v.) - which is quite impossible phonetically.

*bim4V hoof, foot: Nakh. *bar-ik; Av.-And. *mVIV; Tsez. *bula (~-o-, -r-).

| Nakh. *bar-ik hoof: Chech. berg; Ing. barg.

4th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing. *-ik is a common diminutive suffix.

| Av.-And. *mVIV foot: Av. mal.

Av. paradigm C (malā-l, māla-l).

| Tsez. *bula (~-o-, -r-) hoof: Tsez. bula; Gin. bula.

PTsKh *buRa.

[] The root is not very widely spread (cf. also Gunz. malu 'hoof' - probably from old Avar.), but seems to be reliable. *-r- in PN is a normal reflex of *t (and *l) before a velar (either as part of root or as a suffix). A possible trace of this root in Lezg. is the Agul (Fit.) form kuš-mul 'hoof (of artiodactyla)' (for kuš-see *kwašV).

*binšwV pipe; horn: Nakh. *marš (~-ā-); Av.-And. *ma(r)š:u (~-o-); Tsez. *b[ē]š:V; W.-Cauc. *pāša.

| Nakh. *marš (~-ā-) hose; sausage: Chech. marš.

Attested only in Chech., but having reliable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *ma(r)š:u (~-o-) 1 pipe 2 flue: Av. maš:u 1; Cham. mas:u 2 (Gig.); Kar. maš:u 1.

In Cham. (U.-Gakv.) the word is reflected as *marš*^w 'flue'. This is irregular (normally *š: > Cham. s; cf. the regular reflex in Gig. *mas:u*, existing together with a variant *maš:u* - the latter obviously borrowed from Avar) and suggests the existence of an Av. dialectal form **marš:u* > Cham. *marš*^w.

| Tsez. **b[ē]s:V* 1 pipe 2 vein, blood vessel: Tsez. *miša* 1,2; Gin. *biša* 1,2; Khvarsh. *miša* (*Radžibov*); Inkh. *muša* 1,2; Gunz. *mušu* 1.

PTsKh **b[ē]s:wa* (the vowel correspondence is not quite clear); cf. also Gin. *bišan-qos* 'gullet'.

| W.-Cauc. **pāša* 1 root 2 horn, horn matter: Abkh. *ā-msa* 2; Abaz. *msa* 2; Ad. *lā-psa* 1; Kab. *q:wa-ps* 1; Ub. *la-msā* 1.

PAT **maša* (cf. also Bz. *ā-mša*). PAK **-psa* in compounds: **la-psā* 'root, bottom part' (in Kab. 'base') (here **la-* is obviously 'foot, bottom'); in Kab. *q:wa-ps* 'root' the first part is probably **q:wa* 'horn' q.v. Ub. *la-msā* (def. *ā-lamsa*) is an exact match of PAK **la-psā*.

[] The semantic correlation 'pipe' : 'horn' is quite usual, and the comparison of the PEC and PWC forms seems plausible (**pāša* with assimilative unvoicing < **bāša*; labialisation is lost in PWC, as often, after the initial labial). The PN reflex **marš* raises some doubts: we should regularly expect **barš*. This, and the isolated position of the Chech. word, suggests a loan, possibly from some Av.-And. source (see comments on the PA form, suggesting the existence of some Av. dialectal form like **marš:u*).

**bōlcē* fortification, wall: Av.-And. **bVcV-rV*; Lak. *bucur*; Darg. **mucari*; Lezg. **malc*; W.-Cauc. **māc:ə*.

| Av.-And. **bVcV-rV* fortification, dike: Av. *bucūr*.

Av. paradigm C (*bucrā-l*, *búcra-l*).

| Lak. *bucur* barrier; carpet and bed clothes (near the wall).

Lak. > Ag. Bursh. *bucur* 'gutter' ('a barrier for water').

| Darg. **mucari* wall: Ak. *mucari*.

Cf. also Ur., Muir. *mucari* id.

| Lezg. **malc* 1 wall 2 fortified place 3 hearth 4 boundary, furrow: Lezg. *mac*; Tab. *marc-ar* 3; Ag. *mac* 3 (*Bursh.*); Rut. *mas* 1; Tsakh. *mac* 4; Bud. *mas* 2.

Obl. base **malci-* (cf. Lezg. *macu-*, Ag. Bursh. *maca-*, Tsakh. *maci-*); 4th class in Rut., 3d class in Bud. and Tsakh. The basic meaning is "a fortification, a hardly accessible place in mountains", and hence "a shelf on the wall" (this is the meaning in lit. Lezg.; the Khliut dialect has an irregular form: *maz*, erg. *mac:ani* 'furrow, boundary').

| W.-Cauc. **māc:ə* wall: Abkh. *a-tzā-mc*.

Cf. also Bzyb. *a-tzā-mc* id. (*tza-* "house, household"). Isolated in Abkh., but having probable EC parallels.

[] Correspondences are regular. The Av., Lak. and Darg. forms probably reflect a former plural **bōlcē-rV-* (cf. also Tab. *marc-ar*); hence the Av. paradigm C.

**bōlcwī* (~ -n-) millet: Nakh. **borc*; Av.-And. **binčwa*; Tsez. **muš*: B / **mus*: B; Darg. **murs*; W.-Cauc. **mVčV*.

| Nakh. **borc* millet: Chech. *borc*; Ing. *borc*; Bacb. *borc*.

Obl. base **barci-* (Chech. *berca-*, Ing. *berco*). 6th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. **binčwa* millet: Av. *muč*; And. *beča*; Akhv. *miča*; Cham. *bošu-l*; Tind. *boča*; Kar. *boča*; Botl. *buča*; Bagv. *bo'oča*; God. *buča*.

Av. paradigm C (*mučō-l*, *mūča-l*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *buča*, Kar. L.-Enkh. *moč*. The ~- in Bagv. is not quite clear. Tind. *boča* > Inkh. *boča* id.

| Tsez. **muš*: B / **mus*: B 1 panicked millet 2 corn panicle 3 broom, besom: Tsez. *meš* 3; Gin. *mos* 3; Khvarsh. *miš* 3; Bezht. *mušo* 3; Gunz. *mus* 2.

PTsKh **mūs*; PGB **mus/mus* (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *mūs* 'besom, broom', *mūša-raq* 'panicle millet'). This is the name for a sort of wild millet used for making brooms.

| Darg. **murs*: besom: Ak. *mūs*: (*Kub.*).

Although isolated in Kub., the word has good external parallels. We must note also a rather strange Chir. form: *muš:ukal* 'broom' (perhaps reflecting a variation *š: / s: in PD?).

| W.-Cauc. **mVčV* 1 millet (standing) 2 bread 3 to eat: Abkh. *a-čā* 2; Abaz. *čā-ra* 3; Ad. *mašā* 1; Kab. *maš* 1.

PAT **čā* 'to eat; bread, wheat' (cf. also Abkh. *a-čā-rā* 'to eat', *a-čā-ra-3* / *a-čā-rā-3* 'wheat' [lit. 'seed of bread']); PAK **mačā*.

Despite Shagirov (I, 268) PAK **mačā* is not connected with PAT **māxə* 'field, harvest' q.v. We prefer the older etymology of Rogava (1956, 34). The disappearance of **mV-* in PAT must be explained by the fact that the root became verbal in PAT ('to eat') - and verbal roots can not begin with **m-*.

[] The correspondences are regular (note, however, a usual delabialisation in PWC after the initial labial: **bōlcwī* > **bōnci* > **mVčV*). The root originally denoted a species of wild millet (used for making brooms), cf. the meanings in PTs and PD. Note that Darg. Ak., Ur. *muči* 'millet' (and other dialectal forms) must be regarded as an old Avarism.

See Balkarov 1964, 99, Abdokov 1983, 109.

**bōlV(-IV)* stairs, pier: Av.-And. **miV(-rV)*; Lezg. **morλ:(ol)*.

| Av.-And. **miV(-rV)* stairs, ladder: Av. *bolō*; Chad. *botō*; And. *milur*; Akhv. *milura*; Tind. *milara*; Kar. *mulur* (*Tok.*); Botl. *mihur*; Bagv. *milha* (*Tlond.*); God. *miliru*.

Av. paradigm B (*bolō-dul*, *bolā-bi*; Chad. *botō-l*, *botō-jal*); cf. also Av. Ants. *molō*, *molō*, Akhv. (MSU) *mulura*, Tseg. *mulara*, God. Zib. *milār*, Bagv. Tlis. *mulā*.

| Lezg. **morλ:(ol)* 1 balcony prop 2 post, pole 3 support 4 stairs: Lezg. *gul* 2; Tab. *murxil* 1; Ag. *murxil* 2; Rut. *mixil* 2; Arch. *mol:ol* 3; Ud. *muχ* 4.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *gil* 'post, pole'. 3d class in Arch. and Rut. In Arch. the word is preserved only within several phraseologisms, cf. *mol:ol bekes* 'to stamp one's feet', *mol:ol orci* 'stirrup' ('support for feet') etc. All languages except Udi reflect the old *-l-suffix.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The stem contains a suffixed *-IV (absent in some Av.-And. languages). The Av.-And. forms are compared by Abdokov (1983, 129) with PAK **lájə* / **lawájə* 'stairs'; this seems dubious, because the Adyghe forms are obviously derived from **la* 'foot'.

**bōIVkwō* / **kwōIVbō* leg bone: Av.-And. **bV(l)kV*; Darg. **buruk*; Lezg. **p:alk*; W.-Cauc. **kaḡa*.

| Av.-And. **bV(l)kV* knucklebone: Av. *bek*.

Av. paradigm C or A (pl. *béka-l* / *búk-dul*).

| Darg. **buruk* foreleg: Chir. *buruk*.

| Lezg. **p:alk* 1 cheek, cheek-bone 2 spine 3 bone 4 rib: Lezg. *p:ark* 1 (Khl.); Rut. *bark* 2; Tsakh. *bark* 3; Kryz. *bek* 4.

Obl. stem **p:alk*^w*a*- (cf. Lezg. Khl. *p:ark*^w*a*-, Tsakh. Gelm. *bark*^w*a*-). Medial *-I- is reconstructed because of the liquid's preservation before a velar (original *-r- would be lost). 3d class in Tsakh., 4th class in Kryz. The root must have denoted some specific bone; to judge from external evidence, originally it must have been some bone of leg.

| W.-Cauc. **kaḡa* shin, shank; calf of leg: Ad. *la-čāpa*; Kab. *la-n-čāpa*.

PAK **kaḡa* (in a compound with **la* 'foot, leg').

[] There occurred a metathesis either in PEC or in PWC (rather usual for roots of this type); otherwise the correspondences are all right (in PWC there's a usual delabialisation before the following labial) and the comparison seems quite reliable.

**bōnqō* back: Nakh. **buq*; Av.-And. **mVq:V*; Tsez. **mūq-r(ə)* A; Lak. *muḡa-w*; Darg. **muq*; W.-Cauc. **bəql:ʷə* (~p:-,ə).

| Nakh. **buq* back: Chech. *buq*; Ing. *buq*; Bacb. *buq*.

Obl. stem **buq*^a- (cf. Chech. *buq*^a-, Ing. *buq*^o), plur. **baq-bV*- (Bacb. *baqbi*, Ing. *bowq*^a-s, Chech. *baq*^a-s). 6th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. **mVq:V* spine: Av. *moq*.

The Av. word is homonymous to *moq*: 'pole' (see **muq:V*) - which is probably a secondary contamination (in view of the external evidence).

| Tsez. **mūq-r(ə)* A back: Gin. *moqoli*; Bezht. *miqā*; Gunz. *miqar*.

PGB **miqar(ə)* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *miqaro*). In Gunz. the final **ə* disappeared, having turned the previous *ə* into *ə*.

| Lak. *muḡa-w* on the back.

| Darg. **muq* back: Ak. *muq* (Kait.).

Attested only in the Kaitagh dialect, but having reliable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **bəq:lʷə* (~p:-,ə) 1 bone 2 carcass, skeleton: Abkh. *ā-ba* 1; Abaz. *b^wə* 1; Ad. *p:q:ə* 2; Kab. *p:q:ə* 2.

PAT **bA*^w*ə*, PAK **p:q:ə* (with dissimilatory delabialisation). Ub. *pqə* (*ā-pq*) 'bone' is considered (see Шагирова 2,48) an Adyghe loan (as also Abaz. *pqə* 'carcass, skeleton'), which must be true (otherwise we should expect pharyngealised -qI(ʷ)- in Ub.).

[] Not quite clear is the source of PWC pharyngealization; in fact, the PWC root may be a contamination of two PNC roots (cf. also PEC **mḡelq^wV* 'root, stake' q.v.).

**bōnq(w)V* a k. of vessel: Nakh. **baḡV-m* (~ā,tt); Av.-And. **miq:ʷi* / **q:ʷimi*; Lezg. **(mo)q:ʷir*.

| Nakh. **baḡV-m* (~ā,tt) a brass jar for water: Chech. *battam*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **miq:ʷi* / **q:ʷimi* jar, pot: Akhv. *q:uni* / *q:ū*; Kar. *muç:i* (Tok.).

In Akhv. a variant *q:ʷani* is also attested. In fact, the variant *q:uni* may reflect another PA root (see **q:umV*- 'pointed'), because the MSU records give for this word a meaning 'spout of a jar' (not 'jar').

| Lezg. **(mo)q:ʷir* spoon: Lezg. *tur*; Tab. *muç:ur*; Ag. *t:ur*; Rut. *dur*; Kryz. *tir*; Bud. *tur*.

3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *t:ur*. External parallels make us believe that the Tab. form is the most archaic (*muç:ur* < **moq:ʷi-r* with -r originally as a suffix); but reasons for loss of **mo-* in all other languages are unclear (such a loss is regular only for Lezg.). We may deal here with a secondary contamination with a quite different EC root, reflected in Bezht. *çoro* 'scoop', Cham. *çora* 'mug'. See Талибов 1980, 264.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Not very reliable, because of the strange behaviour of the stem in Lezghian languages; besides, labialised -q^w- should not have yielded -tt- in a cluster in PN. Contaminations of originally different roots may be the reason (see above).

**börGwV* (~-ə-) stall, shed; tower: Av.-And. **birb^wa* (~-o); Tsez. **beḡ(ə)* (~o,ə); W.-Cauc. **ba[q:I]V*.

| Av.-And. **birb^wa* (~-o) shed, penthouse: Akhv. *beḡ^wa*; Kar. *beḡ^wa* (Tok.); Botl. *beḡuj*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tlan. *borḡo*, Tseg. *berḡa* id.

| Tsez. **beḡ(ə)* (~o,ə) horse stall: Khvarsh. *beḡ* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *beḡ*.

PTsKh **beḡ*.

| W.-Cauc. **ba[q:I]V* 1 shed, cattle-shed 2 fortress, castle: Abkh. *a-bā* 2; Kab. *baq* 1.

The Abkh. form presupposes PAT **ba^qa* (**bə^qa*), where -*q*- < PWC **q:I*-. In Kab. one would rather expect -q; and not -q (a regular PAK match for PAT **ba^qa* would be **baq:V*). This form must have indeed existed and is reflected in the Abaz. loan from Kabardian - *baq* 'cattle-shed' (where q is a regular Abaz. substitute for Kab. q; in loanwords). The reason for weakening -q; > -q in modern Kabardian is not quite clear. From the semantic point of view the correlation "cattle-shed" : "fortress" is not surprising, because it is known that towers/fortresses were used for keeping cattle.

Armenian *bak* 'sheep-fold, enclosure' is probably of Caucasian origin, see Acharyan 1, 907 (although it may be borrowed also from Georg. *baki* 'fence, enclosure' - which, for phonetic reasons, can not be compared with WC forms - despite Kuipers 1960, 83, Shagirov 1, 73).

[] Cf. Urart. *burg-ana-* (> Arm. *burgn*) 'tower, fortress' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 18). An interesting common NC term - which has

parallels in some European languages (an old Wanderwort). Abdokov (1983, 125) compares the Kab. form with heterogeneous EC material (Darg. *dirq*, Tab. *aql*) which is hardly justified.

***bufV** dung: Av.-And. ***buš:i**; Lezg. ***p:uλ** (~-o-, -λ:").

| Av.-And. ***buš:i** dung (of sheep): Cham. *bus:i*.

Attested only in Cham.; however, it is clear that we must reconstruct -š:- because of the Inkh. loanword *bušar* id. (reflecting the old collective form).

| Lezg. ***p:uλ** (~-o-, -λ:") cow's dung: Ag. *bux*.

Isolated in Ag., with a possible Cham. parallel.

[] An And.-Lezg. isogloss; attested only in two languages, thus not very reliable.

***buhu** owl: Nakh. ***buhō**; Av.-And. ***buhu**; Tsez. ***buhu** (~-o-); Lezg.

***p:uhu-j** (~-o-).

| Nakh. ***buhō** owl: Chech. *buhā*; Ing. *bow*; Bacb. *bujh*.

4th class in Chech., Ing., 5th class in Bacb.

| Av.-And. ***buhu** owl: And. *buhu*; Akhv. *bu-s:e*; Cham. *buh*; Tind. *buhu*; Kar. *buhu*; Bagv. *buh*"; God. *buhu*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *buhu*.

| Tsez. ***buhu** (~-o-) owl: Tsez. *buhu*; Gin. *buhu*; Khvarsh. *buhu*; Inkh. *buhu*. PTsKh ***buhu**.

| Lezg. ***p:uhu-j** (~-o-) owl: Ag. *buhuj*.

Isolated within Lezghian (cf. also Ag. Bursh. *buhum*, Fit., Burk. *buhu*), but having good external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is onomatopoeic (like most birdnames), but the correspondences are regular and the reconstruction seems to be quite secure.

***būl̥V** (~-i-) house: Tsez. ***bułi** A; Lak. *burča-lu*; Lezg. ***noł̥**: (~-i-).

| Tsez. ***bułi** A 1 house 2 (at) home: Gin. *bułe* I; Bezht. *biło* I; Gunz. *bułi* 2.

PGB ***bułi** / ***biłu** (with vowel metathesis).

| Lak. *burča-lu* threshold.

Lak. -lu is a common nominal suffix.

| Lezg. ***noł̥**: (~-i-) house, room: Arch. *noł̥*.

Isolated in Arch., but having probable external parallels.

[] PL (Arch.) ***noł̥** probably reflects an earlier ***moł̥**: (with variation ***m-**/**n-**) which would be a normal reflex of ***būl̥V**. Reconstructed for the PEC level; cf. also HU: Hurr. *purli*, Urart. *pur(u)li* 'house' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 17). The root is sometimes confused with PEC ***bēLV** 'shed' q.v., but the two roots should be strictly distinguished.

***būl̥V** upper part of body; handle: Nakh. ***bał̥**: (~-l-); Av.-And. ***buł̥V** (~-l-); Tsez. ***buł̥V**; W.-Cauc. ***P(ə)l̥V**.

| Nakh. ***bał̥**: (~-l-) 1 shoulder 2 shoulders: Chech. *bel-s* I; Ing. *bel-a2* I; Bacb. *bali* 2.

4th class in Chech., Ing., 3d class in Bacb. The Bacb. form is attested only in Kadagidze's dictionary, thus in PN both ***-L-** and ***-l-** are possible. The Chech.-Ing. form (cf. also Pharch. *beləz*, Cheb. *balis*, Shar. *belis* etc.) is an historical plural. Another suffixed form (built from the same root) is ***bal-Vm** > Chech. *bolam* 'shoulder (from neck to arm), Ing. *balam* 'shoulder'.

| Av.-And. ***buł̥V** (~-l-) handle (of dagger): Cham. *bula*.

Attested only in Cham., but with probable external parallels.

| Tsez. ***buł̥V** handle: Khvarsh. *biłā* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *biłā*; Bezht. *bułō*; Gunz. *bułū*.

PTsKh ***b/i/λā**; PGB ***bułū**. In PTsKh. -i- is probably < ***-u-** by dissimilation.

| W.-Cauc. ***P(ə)l̥V** 1 upper part of back 2 chest, breast: Ad. *ṛlā* I; Kab. *ṛlā* I; Ub. *ṛlā-fā* 2.

PAK **ṛlā*. Ub. has a compound with -fa 'front' (see Shagirov 2, 48). Despite Shagirov ibid., the root has of course nothing to do with PWC **Pəłā* 'four'.

[] Correspondences are regular. Abdokov's (1983, 79) comparison of the WC forms with PEC **wēn̥V* 'head; horn' seems less probable.

***burVzV** a k. of foliage tree: Nakh. ***bursa** (~-o-); Darg. ***p:iric**: (~-b-); Lezg. ***p:oroc**: (~-u).

| Nakh. ***bursa** (~-o-) a k. of bush: Chech. *bursa*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. ***p:iric**: (~-b-) poplar: Ak. *biriz*.

| Lezg. ***p:oroc**: (~-u) post, pole: Tab. *buruz*.

Cf. Düb. *buruzu* id. Attested only in Tab., with possible external parallels.

[] The root is obviously borrowed from an Iranian source (cf. Shugn. *ḥaruž*, Oset. *bärz* / *bärzä* 'birch-tree' etc.); but since the reflexes correspond to each other well phonetically, are present in distant EC subgroups and have substantially modified the original semantics, the borrowing should be probably dated by a very early (common EC) period.

***burV** (~-ō-) grey, brown: Nakh. ***bōra(-n)**; Av.-And. ***burV-**; Darg. ***p:Vr-** (~-b-) (?); Lezg. ***p:orV-** (~-u-).

| Nakh. ***bōra(-n)** brown: Chech. *bōra*; Ing. *bora*.

| Av.-And. ***burV-** brown, dark: Av. *burí-ja-b*.

| Darg. ***p:Vr-** (~-b-) (?) red(-haired): Ak. *berhe*.

The morphological structure is not quite clear (the word may also contain a root -*erh-* with a historical prefix *b-*).

| Lezg. ***p:orV-** (~-u-) grey: Ag. *bure-r* (*Bursh.*).

Attested only in Ag., with possible external parallels.

[] The word is not very widely spread, and - despite regular correspondences between languages - may be borrowed (cf. Pers. *bōr* 'bay,

reddish', Osset. *būr* 'yellow' or Mong. *bora* 'grey'. Cf. Hurr. *pawro* 'brown' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 18) - which strengthens the EC etymology - but on the other hand, may be itself a loan from Indo-Iranian **babhru-*.

***būga** (~ -i, -o, -o) side (of the body), waist: Av.-And. **biλ:V*; Tsez. **beλV*; Lezg. **p:el:V-*; W.-Cauc. **bəγA*.

| Av.-And. **biλ:V* near: Tind. *beλ:ara-q:a*; Botl. *beλ:ara*.

There must have existed a noun **biλ:V* "side", from which these forms meaning 'near' had been derived. It has reliable external parallels (note a parallel semantic development in PL).

| Tsez. **beλV* part of body from the armpit to the hip: Bezht. *behejo*.

An isolated Bezht. word, but with probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **p:el:V-* near, at the side of: Rut. *bej-di*.

The root is present only in Rut. (cf. also Ikhr. *beγ-da*), but has reliable external parallels. Cf. also the reflexes of PL **p:ak:* q.v. which in part had been influenced by PL **p:el:V-*.

| W.-Cauc. **bəγA* waist: Abkh. *ā-bāa*; Abaz. *bāa*; Ad. *bγa*; Kab. *bγa*.

PAT **bəγa*; PAK **bγa*. See Shagirov 1962, 1977.

[] Quite regular phonetically (although the vocalic reconstruction is somewhat dubious: the **ū-* vowel is not securely reconstructed for PEC and PNC). The EC forms go back to an intermediate protoform **būŁa*. PWC **bəγA* can not (despite Shagirov 1977, Abdokov 1983, 78) be compared with Av. *muβ*, Chech. *buq* 'back' (note that these forms have nothing to do with each other, too). See also **=ēŁē*.

***būŁV** horned animal: Nakh. **bula*; Av.-And. **bVIV*; Tsez. **bala* (~ -L:-); Lezg. **p:el-*; W.-Cauc. **bələ*.

| Nakh. **bula* aurochs: Chech. *bula*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **bVIV* chamois: Av. *bel*.

| Tsez. **bala* (~ -L:-) chamois: Bezht. *bala* (*Tlad*, *Khosh*.); Gunz. *bala*.

PGB **bala*.

| Lezg. **p:el-* cattle: Ud. *bele*.

Attested only in Ud., but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **bələ* 1 ram 2 cattle, riches: Ad. *bəLəm* 2; Kab. *bəLəm* 2; Ub. *bəfə* 1.

PAK **bəLəmə*; Ub. def. *ā-bəj*. The correspondence PAK **L* : Ub. *-j-* points to PWC **l*; *-mə* in PAK is a suffix (or a trace of some obscure compound). Shagirov (1977, 103) proposes for the Adygh form a loan from Turk. (*bilim* 'knowledge'), but it seems absolutely unacceptable for semantic reasons.

[] The EC-WC comparison seems quite satisfactory both phonetically and semantically.

***būnŁe** (~ -a) eight: Nakh. **barλ* (~ -ā-); Av.-And. **biλ:i-*; Tsez. **beλ-(nə)* B; Lak. *malj-*; Darg. **k:ah-*; Lezg. **menλ:ā-*; Khin. *ink*.

| Nakh. **barλ* (~ -ā-) eight: Chech. *barh*; Ing. *barh*; Bacb. *barλ*.

| Av.-And. **biλ:i-* eight: Av. *miλ-go*; And. *bejλ:i-gu*; Akhv. *biλ:i-da-be*; Cham. *beλ:i-da*; Tind. *biλ:i-da*; Kar. *biλ:i-da*; Botl. *biλ:i-da*; Bagv. *biλ:i-ra*; God. *biλ:i-da*.

| Tsez. **beλ-(nə)* B eight: Tsez. *biλ-no*; Gin. *beλ-no*; Khvarsh. *baλa*; Inkh. *baλ*; Bezht. *beλ-na*; Gunz. *beλ-no*.

PTsKh **baλ* (irregular: Inkh. *baλ* instead of **boλ*); PGB **beλ*.

| Lak. *malj-* eight.

2/4 class *malj-ra*, 3 class *malj-ba*.

| Darg. **k:ah-* eight: Ak. *gehel*; Chir. *k:al'al*.

| Lezg. **menλ:ā-* eight: Lezg. *mūzū-d*; Tab. *mirzi-b*; Ag. *muja-d*; Rut. *mije-d*; Tsakh. *moli-lā*; Kryz. *miyi-d*; Bud. *mija-d*; Arch. *mehe*; Ud. *muβ*.

Arch. *łimi* 'eighty' - with metathesis < **miłi* < **menλā-j*. Cf. Leksika 1971, 236; Giginayshvili 1977, 86.

| Khin. *ink* eight.

[] Reconstructed for PEC (however, a possibility should be considered of comparing this root with PWC **p(:)əŁə* 'four' q.v.). Lak. *malj-* is probably a transformation of **mallj-* < **mali-* (the source of pharyngealization is not clear). In Khin. the root has been transformed under the influence of the numeral "seven" (Khin. *jik*). In Darg. *k:* is the normal reflex of **Ł*; however, the reduction of initial labial and the source of **h-* is not yet clear (maybe **k:ah-* < **k:al-* is a result of a secondary transformation of **alk:-* which, in its turn, had been formed under analogy of **arβl-* 'seven' from the original **mak:-*?).

A very probable parallel is Hurr. *miri* - a numeral from the first ten (it can be either 'five', 'six' or 'eight'). If it denotes 'eight', it is a perfect match for PEC **būnŁe* (> **mūŁe* > *miri* with a regular reflex *-Ł-* > *-r-*).

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 242.

***būpV** bread: Nakh. **bāp-ik*; Tsez. **baba*; Lak. *p:ap:a*.

| Nakh. **bāp-ik* bread (made of wheat, barley): Chech. *bēpig*.

Cf. also Cheb. *bāpig*, Chech. obl. *bāpka-* (pointing to **-a-*).

| Tsez. **baba* bread: Bezht. *baba*; Gunz. *baba*.

PGB **baba*.

| Lak. *p:ap:a* bread (a nursery word).

[] A nursery word, thus the PEC antiquity is dubious.

***būšV** (~ **w-*) finger, hand: Nakh. **bišV*; Tsez. **baš:a* (~ -š-).

| Nakh. **bišV* a child's hand: Chech. *bisi*.

Attested only in Chech. with a possible Tsez. parallel.

| Tsez. **baš:a* (~ -š-) finger: Tsez. *baša*.

Isolated in Tsez. (with only a possible Chech. cognate).

[] A Nakh-Tsez. isogloss (present in only two languages), thus not very reliable.

***bVdV** side: Lezg. **p:at:*.

| Lezg. **p:at:* 1 side 2 near: Lezg. *p:ad* 1; Kryz. *badow* 2; Bud. *bodə* 2.

Tab. (Khiv.) *p:at*: 'side' is obviously a loanword from Lezghi. Kryz. *badow*, Bud. *bodə* = Lezg. *p:at:aw* 'near, at the side of'.

[] The PL form is compared (in Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 17) with Uart. *bedə* 'side; (postpos.) on the part of, by'.

*bVhV (~ w-) a k. of weed: Nakh. *bah; Av.-And. *bVHV.

| Nakh. *bah burdock: Chech. *baʕ*; Ing. *baʕ*; Bacb. *bah*.

Obl. stem *bahV- (Ing. *baʕo*, Chech. *baʕa-*, but in Uslar's recording *bɛʕi-*). 6th class in Chech. and Bacb., 5th class in Ing. In Chech. and Ing. -h > -ʕ by assimilation.

| Av.-And. *bVHV thistle: Av. *biḥā*.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *biḥā-dul*).

[] A Nakh-Av. isogloss.

*bVhankV (~ -m-) a k. of weed: Av.-And. *mVHVkV; Tsez.

*birki(-li); Lezg. *mVk-.

| Av.-And. *mVHVkV plantain: Av. *maʕāk*.

Av. paradigm C-B (*maʕkī-l*, *maʕāka-l*).

| Tsez. *birki burdock: Bezht. *biki*; Gunz. *birki-li*.

PGB *birki. Cf. also Bezht. *birki*, *birkali*, Tlad. *birkili*.

| Lezg. *mVk- sonchus, pastor's lettuce: Arch. *muka*.

Attested only in Arch., but having possible external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Not widely spread, and having a rare root structure (with the sequence -VHV- between two stops) - it is possibly an old compound of some kind, although it is hard now to make guesses about its components.

*bVHV big, many: Lezg. *p:VhIV- / *hIVp:V-; W.-Cauc. *bIA.

| Lezg. *p:VhIV- / *hIVp:V- 1 big 2 good: Ag. *ʕaba-ni-r* 1; Kryz. *bu* 1; Bud. *boʕlu* 1; Arch. *hiba-t:u-t* 2.

The Ag. word is from the Burshag dialect (in Richa the root is reduplicated: *baba-f*). The semantic shift 'big'/'good' is rather common. Vowels are hard to reconstruct (but probably there was *i in the first syllable).

| W.-Cauc. *bIA 1 many 2 thick 3 thumb, big toe: Abkh. -b 3; Abaz. -ba 3; Ad. *ba* 1; Kab. *ba-1* (in comp.); Ub. *blə* 2.

The root is preserved independently in Ad. (PAK *ba 'many'; Kab. preserves it only within compounds like *ba-ʕʔa-n* 'to increase, prosper' - see Шариков 1,70-71) and Ubykh. AT languages have kept the root only in compounds *macʔəqA-bA 'thumb' (Abkh. *a-nacʔχə-b*, Abaz. *macʔqa-ba*) and *ʕacʔəqA-bA 'big toe' (Abkh. *a-ʕacʔχə-b*, Abaz. *ʕacʔqa-ba*) = Ub. *qə(n)ʕa-blə*, *la(n)ʕa-blə*. Another common WC compound with the same component is *ʕa-bIA "foot's bulge" > Ad. *la-b* 'heel', Ub. *la-blə* (in compounds) - see Dumézil 1965, 235, Шариков 1, 248-249).

On the etymology of PAK *ba see Шариков 1,70-71 with literature (all attempts to separate this morpheme from Ub. *blə* and AA *bə seem to us superfluous).

[] A Lezg.-WC isogloss, thus the vocalism is difficult to reconstruct.

*bVλV corner: Av.-And. *biλa (~ -o); Tsez. *buλV; W.-Cauc.

*bLə-nə.

| Av.-And. *biλa (~ -o) 1 corner 2 edge, tip: Akhv. *baλa* 2; Cham. *bela* 1; Tind. *bela* 1.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *bela* id.

| Tsez. *buλV corner: Bezht. *buλo*.

Isolated in Bezht. (cf. also Tlad., Khosh. *buλo*), but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *bLə-nə 1 wall 2 angle, corner: Ad. *bLənə* 1; Kab. *bLən* 1; Ub. *bLən* 2.

PAK *bLənə.

[] The EC-WC comparison belongs to Abdokov (1983, 126: Tsez.-WC; Lak. *çira* 'wall', however, can not belong here).

*bVmKwE(IV) cake, bread: Av.-And. *mVkvVrV; Tsez. *bVgV(-Lu); Lak. *burki*; Lezg. *mak:al(a); W.-Cauc. *məgalə (~bə, k:).

| Av.-And. *mVkvVrV thin flat cake: Av. *makəri*.

| Tsez. *bVgV(-Ru) 1 bread 2 something eaten with bread: Tsez. *magalu* 1; Gin. *magalu* 1; Bezht. *bogoλ* 2.

PTsKh *magaRu (~ *bā-); cf. also Tsez. *magaλu* (= Bezht. *bogoλ*) 'cake stuffed with cheese'. This form, as well as Bezht. *bogoλ*, can go back to *bVgVrV-λu (with a locative suffix). The original vocalism is not quite clear.

| Lak. *burki* cake.

Cf. Khosr. *burki* id.

| Lezg. *mak:al(a) roasted grain: Rut. *magal* (Khnov.).

Attested only in Rut., but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *məgalə (~bə, k:) bread made of millet flour: Abkh. *a-mgāl*; Abaz. *mgal*.

PAT *məgalə.

[] Correspondences are basically regular. However, since this is a cultural word, interlingual borrowings are not excluded.

*bVmLVR / *bVrLVm funeral stretcher; ladder: Nakh. *bar(Ł)am; Av.-And. *mVIV; Lak. *bulrna*; Darg. *mik:eri; Lezg. *moł:or; Khin. *moγuz*; W.-Cauc. *bāla (~l-).

| Nakh. *bar(Ł)am funeral stretcher: Chech. *baram*.

Isolated in Chech. (thus *rŁ-, *rλ- or *r- are equally possible), but having very probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *mVIV ladder; funeral stretcher: Av. *malí*; Chad. *mill*.

Av. paradigm B (*moló-l*, *malá-l*). Since there are no related forms in Andian languages, the reconstruction is rather uncertain; however, the external parallels are quite reliable.

| Lak. *bulrna* pillar (of a building).

| Darg. *mik:eri ladder: Chir. *mič:ire*.

Cf. also Kait. *mik:eri* id.

| Lezg. **moλ:or* 1 ladder 2 funeral stretcher: Lezg. *gur-ar* 1; Rut. *miyir* 2; Tsakh. *miyir* 1 (*Mishl.*); Kryz. *miyir* 1; Bud. *jumur* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Nūt. *gur-ar* 'ladder'. 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. The syllable **mo-* in Lezg. has regularly disappeared. In Bud. there occurred a metathesis (*jumur* < **mujur*). The word probably meant originally 'wooden frame-like structure' (cf. also the external evidence).

| Khin. *moγuz* wooden frame.

| W.-Cauc. **bāla* (~-l-) 1 ladder 2 funeral stretcher: Abaz. *čʷə-mla* 1; Ad. *pχā-bLa* 2; Kab. *pχā-bLa* 2.

The Abaz. form goes back to **cʷə-māla*, where *cʷə-* is probably the PAT verb root **cʷə* 'to plane' ('planed ladder'). PAK **bLa* (with **pχa-* 'wood'; cf. also Kab. *qā-bLa* id. with **qa* 'grave'). The Adyghe compound **pχa-bLa* was also borrowed in Ub. *pχabLa*.

The root has absolutely nothing to do with **bLa* 'arm' or **bLa-* 'to plait' (see Shagirov 2,20).

[] The vocalism is hard to reconstruct (since there are no Andian or Tsezian reflexes, while in other languages there is a strong tendency of vowel reduction and assimilation in the first syllable). The form **bVrLVmV* is reflected in PN and Lak. (*bulrna* < **bulrLVma* with disappearance of -lafter -r- and assimilation **m-* > -n-; for the semantics cf. an analogous shift 'ladder, stairs' > 'pillar, support' in the reflexes of PL **morλ:ol* 'stairs, ladder' q.v.; the source of Lak. pharyngealization, however, is not clear). The Av. form *malī* probably goes back to **malrī* < **bVrLVre* (with a simplification of the cluster -lr-).

**bVnķʷλ* (~w-, -m-) belly, stomach: Av.-And. **bakʷoli*; W.-Cauc. **məgʷA* / **məkʷA*.

| Av.-And. **bakʷoli* 1 stomach 2 belly 3 spleen: Av. *bakʷali* 1; And. *bakʷolu-las:i* 3; Akhv. *bakʷali* 1; Kar. *bakʷal* 2; Bagv. *bakʷal* 2; God. *bakʷali* 1.

Av. paradigm B/C (*bakʷali-dul*, *bakʷala-bi*). The God. and Akhv. words may be loaned from Av., but it is less probable for Kar. and Bagv. In And. the pure root is not recorded, but is witnessed in the derivative *bakʷolu-las:i* 'spleen'.

| W.-Cauc. **məgʷA* / **məkʷA* belly: Abkh. *a-mgʷa*; Abaz. *mgʷa*; Ub. *nəkʷə*.

PAT **məgʷa*; Ub. def. *a-nəkʷ*. A complicated case of correspondences between AT and Ub.: we must assume a secondary deglottalisation in PAT (for reasons which are not yet clear) and a dissimilative change **m-* > -n- before a labiovelar in Ub. (we should note that roots of the type mVKʷV are indeed very rare in Ub.). Comparison of Ub. *nəkʷə* with PAK **ķʷāçə* 'intestines' (Шагиров 1, 217) is not persuasive.

[] An Av.-And.-WC isogloss. Correspondences are regular.

**bVrkʷV* enclosure; frame, staircase: Av.-And. **bV(r)ķʷo-IV* /-nV; Lak. *burķna*; Lezg. **p:c(r)ķʷ* (~i-, -u-).

| Av.-And. **bV(r)ķʷo-IV* /-nV 1 stairs 2 ladder: And. *barkʷol* 1; Cham. *bekʷana* 1,2; Tind. *bekʷana* 1.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. (Bok.) *bekʷana* 'funeral stretcher', (MSU) 'wooden ladder'.

| Lak. *burķna* tomb-stone.

| Lezg. **p:c(r)ķʷ* (~i-, -u-) enclosure (for calves): Rut. *buķ* (Ams.).

Isolated in Rut., thus the PL reconstruction is provisional.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. For the semantics in Lak cf. the meaning 'funeral stretcher' in some Andian languages ('funeral stretcher' > 'funeral device' > 'tomb-stone').

One could also compare Gunz. *bāki* 'enclosure for cattle'; there is, however, a possibility of its being borrowed from Georgian: cf. Georg. *baki*, Zan. *baki* 'enclosure for cattle' (compared by Kuipers 1960 with Kab. *baq* 'enclosure', which is phonetically improbable). This Kartvelian root itself may be connected historically with PEC **bVrkʷV*.

**bVrVdV* stick; axe: Av.-And. **birVda*; Tsez. **burVda*; Darg. **buret:a*.

| Av.-And. **birVda* (~ -o) 1 small stick 2 baluster 3 pole 4 stick: Av. *būrdi* 1,2; Kar. *berda* 3 (*L.-Enkh.*); Bagv. *b(ʷ)erda* 4 (*Tlond.*); God. *parada* 1.

Av. paradigm A ~ C (pl. *būrda-bi*). God. has an irregular p- - which, however, may be an archaism (cf. voiceless p- in the Iranian source, see below).

| Tsez. **burVda* stick for the wedding procession: Bezht. *bujda*.

A specific word, attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. **buret:a* axe: Ak. *barda*; Chir. *barat:a*.

Cf. also Ur. *burida*, Gapsh., Kharb. *buret:a*, Kait. *beret:a*, Kub. *bāt:a*, Tsud. *bart:a* id.

[] One of the common EC words probably early borrowed from Iranian. Cf. Ossset. *fārūt* 'axe', presupposing an Old Persian source **paraθu* (whence also Tokh. *peret*, *porat* and a number of Turkic and Fenno-Ugric forms) - see Abayev 1,451. It is interesting to note that the original meaning 'axe' is preserved only in Dargwa, while Av.-And.-Tsezian languages changed it to 'stick' (having preserved their own words for 'axe', see **kwirjā*, **hwālžV*).

**bVšV* (~ -s-, -š-) night, evening: Nakh. **bus-*; W.-Cauc. **bəsə* (~ p-, -š-).

| Nakh. **bus-* night: Chech. *bujsa*; Ing. *bijsa*; Bacb. *bujsa*.

The original root is well preserved in PN **bus-u* 'at night' (Chech. *busa*, Ing. *bus*, Bacb. *bujś*). The noun 'night' is a derivative **busu-ja* (> **bujsa*).

| W.-Cauc. **bəsə* (~ p-, -š-) evening: Ub. *zʷa-psə*.

A compound with *zʷa-* 'sky'. Attested only in Ubykh, but having probable Nakh parallels.

[] An interesting WC-Nakh isogloss.

**bVšwA* fish: Tsez. **bis:ə* A; W.-Cauc. **p:əšA*.

| Tsez. **bis:ə* A fish: Tsez. *besuro*; Gin. *besuro*; Bezht. *bisa*; Gunz. *bisə*.

PTsKh *bis^wəRo (cf. Tsez.Asakh. bes^wiro; the *-Ro is probably an original oblique base marker); PGB *bisə (cf. also Gunz. Nakh. bisə).

| W.-Cauc. *p:əʃA fish: Abkh. *a-psəʒ*; Abaz. *pslačwa*; Ad. *pca*; Kab. *bʒa*; Ub. *psa*.

PAT *pəʃə- (cf. also Bz. *a-psəʒ*, Ashkh. *psəʒ*). Both in Abkh. and Abaz. the root is present in compounds with unclear second components (-ʒ in Abkh., -lač^a in Abaz.).

PAK *p:c:a : the pure root has meant 'big fish'; most common is the diminutive derivative *p:c:a-žāʒə (Ad. *pcažəj*, Kab. *bʒažəj*).

We have to reconstruct initial *p: to account for the AK progressive assimilation (*p:c:a < *p:sa); both in PAT and Ub. the assimilation had been regressive. Numerous attempts to analyze the word on WC ground and to explain it as an IE loan (see Shagirov 1, 82 with literature) seem unsuccessful to us.

[] Correspondences are regular (although there is not enough evidence for vocalic reconstruction); the reconstruction seems reliable despite the fact that the root is not widespread in EC. See Shagirov 1, 82, Abdokov 1983, 113-114.

*bVtV hard, tough: Nakh. *butob; W.-Cauc. *p:Vt:V.

| Nakh. *butob hard, tough: Chech. *butū*; Ing. *butuw*.

| W.-Cauc. *p:Vt:V hard, tough: Ad. *pəta*; Kab. *bəda*.

PAK *p:ət:ā.

[] A Nakh-WC isogloss. See Старостин 1982, 202; Abdokov 1983, 145.

*bVχV spade, shovel: Nakh. *bahen; Av.-And. *biχumV / *biχun; Lezg. *p:iχ: (~ -o,-χ); Khin. *pəχu*; W.-Cauc. *baχa.

| Nakh. *bahen wooden shovel: Chech. *bāha*; Ing. *baha*.

6th class in both languages. Cf. also Cheb., Khild. *behe*, Shar. *behā* etc.

| Av.-And. *biχumV / *biχun 1 wooden spade, shovel 2 wooden spoon, ladle: Av. *buhūn* 1; And. *beχun* 1,2; Cham. *beχū* 1; Kar. *behum* 2; Botl. *beχun* 1; Bagv. *behun* 2.

Av. paradigm C (*buhna-l*, *būhna-l*). The root is homonymous with PA *biχumV 'shoulder-blade' (q.v.), which must be in this case considered a secondary merger (cf. the external evidence).

| Lezg. *p:iχ: (~ -o,-χ) hoc, mattock: Tsakh. *biχ*, *biχ*.

The Tsakh. forms are quoted from Khaidakov 1973; the dialect is unclear.

| Khin. *pəχu* wooden shovel.

Cited from Khaidakov 1973.

| W.-Cauc. *baχa shovel: Abkh. *a-bāha*.

Attested only in Abkh., thus the PWC antiquity is dubious. The word can be borrowed from Megr. *beha* 'shovel' - the reverse, however, is also possible (there is no PK etymology of the Megr. word).

[] The historical unity of the Nakh and Av.-And. forms is quite obvious, so the word goes back at least to PEC. Other forms are less secure: we could find the Tsakh. and Khin. forms only in Khaidakov's somewhat unreliable word-list, and the Abkh. form is isolated within WC.

Outside NC the same word is attested in Megr. (*beha*, see above) and Arm. *bah*. The Armenian word has no reliable IE etymology (its deduction from IE *bhrti- 'edge' is both phonetically and semantically quite dubious, see Walde-Pokorny 2, 159) and most probably has a Caucasian source.

*bV emphatic deictic particle: Tsez. *bV; W.-Cauc. *bə.

| Tsez. *bV a demonstrative stem: Gin. *hi-ba-go*; Gunz. *bə-d*.

Used (in conjunction with other deictic particles) for far deixis in Ginukh, but for near deixis in Gunzib.

| W.-Cauc. *bə a demonstrative stem: Abkh. *a-b*; Abaz. *a-b*; Kab. (*ā*)-*bə*.

PAT *(a)bə - an approximating deictic particle (Abkh. *ab-ni* 'that (nearer than *ani*)', Abaz. *abani* id. etc.). In AK the particle has survived only in Kab. within the pronoun *ā-bə* 'that'.

[] A Tsez-WC isogloss; not very reliable because of rarity of reflexes. It is not excluded that this is the same morpheme as the class marker *b- (q.v.).

*cargwɪ (~ -ə, -ā) weasel, marten: Nakh. *SVrɪqV; Av.-And. *carλ:u (~ s-); Lezg. *sa(r)λ:~ (~ s:-); W.-Cauc. *c:əγ(ʷ)V.

| Nakh. *SVrɪqV weasel: Chech. *satqa*; Ing. *šurtqa*.

6th class in Chech., 3d class in Ing. Vocalism is irregular.

| Av.-And. *carλ:u (~ s-) weasel: Av. *caλ:ú*; Chad. *šuλ:ú*; And. *sarλ:u*; Cham. *saλ:u* (*Gudava*); Kar. *saλ:u*.

Av. paradigm B (*caλ:ú-dul*, *caλ:á-bi*, Chad. *šuλ:í-l/šuλ:ú-l*, *šuλ:ú-bi*). Cf. also Kar. Tok. *sarλ:u* id.

| Lezg. *sa(r)λ:~ (~ s:-) weasel: Tsakh. *sok* (*sok:a*).

Isolated in Tsakh., but having good external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *c:əγ(ʷ)V 1 marten 2 mouse: Abkh. *a-cəb* 1; Abaz. *çəb* 1; Ad. *cəbʷa* 2; Kab. *zəbʷa* 2.

PAT *cəγə (with an irregular variant *cəγə; cf. also Bzyb. *a-cəb*, *a-çəb* 'marten'); PAK *c:əbʷá. The root should be kept distinct from Ub. *dəbʷə* 'mouse' which does not correspond phonetically and has a different origin.

[] The Nakh form belongs here rather probably, but has some irregularities: initial š- (*c- or *č- would be rather expected) and the cluster -ɪt- (the latter can represent old suffixation, as in some other cases: *SVrɪqV < *SVrɪq-TV). Forms of other languages correlate with each other very well, and the root is well reconstructable for PNC.

The Av.-And. and WC forms were compared by Klimov (1968, 229), who also adduced the Kartvelian material: Georg. *ciqwi* 'squirrel' (which must be a loan from some EC source). The Georgian word was, in its turn, borrowed in Bezht. (Khosh.) *ciqi*, (Tlad.) *çeqi* 'squirrel'.

*cEnV (~ *nEcV) a relative in the 2d/3d generation: Nakh. *nəcV (~ -ā-); Av.-And. *c:VnV; W.-Cauc. *(a)ca.

| Nakh. *necV (~ -ā-) maternal aunt or uncle: Chech. *neca*.

The original PN form is hard to reconstruct, because the root is attested only in Chech. and was obviously modified under the influence of *deca* 'paternal aunt'.

| Av.-And. *c:VnV second cousin: Av. *c:unaʹal*; Akhv. *c:ini-qa*.

And. *c:inaʹal* is most probably borrowed from some Avar dialect. The root is attested only in a compound with *qa- '(first) cousin' (see *-oc:i-qa-). Tind. and Cham. have rather strange reflexes: Cham. *s:eb-ā*, Gig. *ceb-a*, Tind. *s:eb-a*. While -b- may reflect a class marker (*c:VnV-b- + *qa-), the development *c:- > s:- in Cham. (U.-Gakv.) and Tind. is quite irregular. Av. > Tsez, Gin. *cinaʹal*, Bezht. *conaʹal*, Gunz. *cunaʹal*. Old Tindi > Inkh. *sebaha-w*.

| W.-Cauc. *(a)ca sister-in-law, daughter-in-law: Abkh. *āca*; Abaz. *ajca-la*.

PAT *(a)ca (cf. also Bzyb. *āca*). The initial vowel is probably a trace of the original pronominal prefix (aj- in Abaz. is a reciprocal prefix). Cf. also the synonymous PAT *taća (Abkh. *a-tāca*, Bzyb. *a-tāca*, Abaz. *taca*; for the first component *ta- cf. perhaps Abkh. *a-tā-kʷazʷ*, Abaz. *ta-zʷ* 'old woman'; or maybe *taća is an independent kinship term, corresponding to the isolated (within EC) Av. *durc* 'son-in-law' ? [other similar forms - God., Botl., Tind., Cham. *durc*, Gunz., Bezht. *durca* - are all more or less recent loanwords from Avar]). Despite Abdokov (1974, 62) the PAT root can not be related to PAK *nəsa 'daughter-in-law'; see the criticism in Shagirov 1, 288.

[] The comparison of the Chech., Av.-And. and WC forms seems rather probable, although the precise meaning of this PNC kinship term has been somewhat obscured by its usage in compounds and by the influence of other kinship terms. It may have denoted an aunt / uncle or his (her) family.

*cHə one: Nakh. *cha; Av.-And. *ci-; Tsez. *hās; Lak. *ca*; Darg. *ca; Lezg. *s:a; Khin. *sa*; W.-Cauc. *zV.

| Nakh. *cha one: Chech. *chaʹ*; Ing. *caʹ*; Bacb. *cha*.

The final glottal stop is probably secondary (like in other numerals), but it led to an assimilatory development *chaʹ > caʹ in Ing. (cf. without it forms like *chā* 'single', *cha-nne* /obl. base of caʹ/ etc.).

| Av.-And. *ci- one: Av. *co*; Chad. *so*; And. *se-w*; Akhv. *ce-be*; Cham. *se-b*; Tind. *se-b*; Kar. *ce-b*; Botl. *se-b* / *ce-b*; Bagv. *se-b* / *ce-b*; God. *se-b*.

Some languages have irregularly preserved the affricate *c- (Kar., Botl., Bagv.; cf. also And. Kvankh., Zil. *ce-b*). This should be probably explained by Avar influence.

Derived from the same root is the PA adverb *ca-ru / *ca-nu (~o-) 'together' (Kar. *sa-ru*, God. *sa-nu*, Cham. *sa-n*).

| Tsez. *hās: one: Tsez. *sis*; Gin. *hes*; Khvarsh. *has*; Inkh. *hos*; Bezht. *hōs*; Gunz. *hās*.

The PTs paradigm: *hās:, obl. *s:i-. The oblique base is preserved in Gunz. *si-d*, Bezht. *si-d*; it is also reflected in the Tsez form *sis* which is a contamination of former direct and oblique bases. Cf. also Gunz. *se-n* 'everything', *se-se* 'some', very probably derived from the same root.

| Lak. *ca* one.

| Darg. *ca one: Ak. *ca*; Chir. *ca*.

Cf. also Ur. *ca*, Kub. *sa* etc.

| Lezg. *s:a one: Lezg. *sa*; Tab. *sa*; Ag. *sad*; Rut. *sa*; Tsakh. *sa*; Kryz. *sād*; Bud. *sad*; Arch. *os*; Ud. *sa*.

Evidence for strong *s: : Ag. Bursh. *s:a-d*; Arch. (in compound numerals) *s:e-j*; Ud. *sa*. It is probable, that Rut. *sije-nā* 'all' is derived from the same root (as well as Rut. Ikhr. *sa-sa-na* 'every').

See Bokarev 1961, 69; Giginayshvili 1977, 89.

| Khin. *sa* one.

The root contains an irregular s- (c- would be expected), and thus may have been influenced by Lezg. languages.

| W.-Cauc. *zV 1 one 2 once: Abkh. *z-nə* 2; Abaz. *za-kə* 1; Ad. *zə* 1; Kab. *zə* 1; Ub. *za* 1.

PAT *zV; PAK *zə.

[] The initial cluster *cH may explain some irregularities in reflexation (the most severe ones - not explainable by interlingual borrowings - are strengthening *s- > *s:- in PL and voicing in PWC). It is possible that the monosyllabic structure *cHə itself is a contraction < *cəhV or *həcV - in which case the PTs form should be considered as the most archaic one. Cf. also \$(V)- in Urart. *s(V)-usə* 'first', as well as HU *suj- > Hurr. *sui(-ne)*, Urart. *suinə* 'all, every' (cf. a similar semantic development in several EC languages), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 38.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 274; Abdokov 1983, 153.

*cHo[II]GV maimed, cripple(d): Nakh. *ʔa-staʔa(n) (~st); Lak. *cullq:a*; Lezg. *sVq:V- (~ c-).

| Nakh. *ʔa-staʔa(n) (~st) lame, limping: Chech. *astaʔa*; Ing. *astaʔa*.

Cf. also Chech. *astaʔ* 'lamed person' (Uslar's recording, with an irregular devoicing).

| Lak. *cullq:a*- maimed, immobilised (of a hand).

| Lezg. *sVq:V- (~ c-) weak, sickly: Arch. *saqa-t:u*=.

Attested only in Archi, but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Medial -l- (based on the Lak. form) is not secure; Archi and PN speak rather in favour of *-j- (*cHōjGV), and Lak. -l- in this case may be a metathesis of a determinative suffix (*cullq:a*- < *cullq:V-la-).

*chwōlē (~ -ā) fox, jackal: Nakh. *chōkal; Av.-And. *sori; Tsez. *zər(V); Lak. *culča*; Lezg. *s:olla; Khin. *pšlā*; W.-Cauc. *šwV.

| Nakh. *chōkal fox: Chech. *chōgal*; Ing. *cogal*; Bacb. *coḡal*.

3d class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *sori fox: Av. *cer*; Chad. *ser*; And. *sor*; Akhv. *sari*; Cham. *sā*; Tind. *sari*; Kar. *sare*; Botl. *sari*; Bagv. *sar*; God. *sari*.

Av. paradigm C (*carā-l*, *cera-l/cūr-dul*, Chad. *sarā-l*, *šūr-dul*).

| Tsez. *zər(V) fox: Tsez. *ziru*; Gin. *zeru*; Khvarsh. *zaru*; Inkh. *zor* (*zoru*-); Bezht. *sora*; Gunz. *sə* (*səro*-).

PTsKh *zər(u), PGB *sərV (the direct base *sə* in Gunz. is a result of reanalysis of -ro as the oblique stem marker).

| Lak. *culča* fox.

Gen. *culk-lul*. Cf. also Khosr. *sulča*, *sulk-lul* id.

| Lezg. *s:olla fox: Lezg. *sik*; Tab. *sul*; Ag. *sul*; Rut. *sik*; Tsakh. *silwa*; Kryz. *sakul*; Bud. *sokul*; Arch. *s:ol*; Ud. *šul*.

The Tab., Ag. (cf. also Bursh. *s:ul*), Tsakh., Arch. and Ud. forms go back to the simple stem PL *s:olla (obl. base *s:ollā- > Tab. *sula*-, Ag. *sule*-). The Lezg. and Rut. forms reflect a derivate *s:oll-k, while the Shakhdag languages reflect *s:oll-Vk > *s:olkVl (probably with secondary deglottalisation of *-k). Cf. similar derivatives in Lak. and in Nakh. 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Bokarev 1961, 70; Leksika 1971, 154; Giginayshvili 1977, 69, 134; Талибов 1980, 295.

| Khin. *pšlā* fox.

| W.-Cauc. *šwV 1 red fox 2 jackal: Abkh. *ā-sʷa-bga* (Bz); Ad. *baʔa-s* 2; Ub. *blaḡā-sʷ* 2.

The root is attested only within a compound with PWC *blaga 'fox' (q.v.). Shagirov (1977, 72) supposed that the Ad. word was borrowed from Ubykh, which is hardly credible (we do not know of other loans in this direction). His reason was that the Ub. word can be analysed as *blaga* 'fox' + *sʷə* 'diminutive suffix', but the external evidence (cf. especially Abkh. *ā-sʷa-bga*) shows that this is a folk etymology, and *sʷə* here is an independent root.

[] Correspondences between EC and WC are regular except for unpredicted palatalisation in PWC (*šwV would be expected). This may be explained either by vocalic metathesis (*chwōlē / *chwelō) or, perhaps, by the original trisyllabic root structure (*chwōlē < earlier *cEhwōlē, cf. the probably connected - as a loan or as a common heritage from an earlier source - Semitic form *cuʔal 'fox').

PN, Lak and part of the Lezgian languages reflect an old diminutive derivate *chwōlV-ḡV (in PN and some Lezgian languages with metathesis *chwōḡVIV).

*cifV diarrhea, faeces: Lak. *c:ix*; Lezg. *ciḡʷ; W.-Cauc. *cəxʷV (~ c:-).

| Lak. *c:ix* diarrhea.

Cf. also Khosr. *c:ix*, gen. *c:ix-ildaral*.

| Lezg. *ciḡʷ 1 diarrhea 2 faeces; bird-dung: Tab. *ciḡ* 1; Ag. *cux* 2 (Bursh.).

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *cux* 'diarrhea'.

| W.-Cauc. *cəxʷV (~ c:-) 1 diarrhea, to have diarrhea 2 faeces: Abkh. *a-cxʷa-rā* 1; Ub. *cxə* 2.

The Abkh. form is a field recording from a Bzyb. dialect with no distinction between c and č.

[] An expressive, but undoubtedly common NC root. Its irregularity is tenseness of the first consonant and laxness of the second (we should expect reflexes of a tense *f: in PL as *λ:ʷ).

*cimcV a k. of insect: Nakh. *cāpcV-; Av.-And. *cic:ʷV-IV; Lezg. *cimc:(a); W.-Cauc. *cəcə (~c:,č).

| Nakh. *cāpcV- cricket: Chech. *cāpcalg*.

Attested only in Chech. (-al-g is a common expressive suffix), but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *cic:ʷV-IV beetle: Akhv. *c:oc:olo*.

Attested only in Akhv., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *cimc:(a) ant: Lezg. *c:egʷ*; Tab. *zimz*; Ag. *zabz*; Rut. *ziz-ixl*; Kryz. *ziz*; Ud. *iz-ak* (?).

3d class in Rut. and Kryz. Cf. also Lezg. erg. *c:ek:ʷre*-, Khl. *c:ʷez*, pl. *c:ʷec:ʷer* (all forms regularly < *c:ʷic: < *c:ʷicw: < *c:imc:), Ag. Bursh. *zewz*, Fit. *zibz*, Burk. *ziwz*.

One of several expressive reduplicated (and also close phonetically/semantically) roots (cf. **çimç*-, **mizmiz*), which all tend to contaminate with each other. The Ud. form *iz-ak*: may go back to a variant **çimc*: with expressive glottalisation.

| W.-Cauc. **čəčə* (~č:č) midge, swarm of midges: Abkh. *ā-cē*.

PAT **čəčə* (cf. also Bzyb. *ā-cē*).

[] One of several close phonetically and semantically insect names (cf. also **mizV* / **çimizV*, **čēlčū* etc.).

Abdokov (1983, 122) compares the Abkh. form with reflexes of PEC **w(i)nircē* 'moth' (q.v.), which is hardly possible for phonetic reasons.

**čīthV* tooth: Nakh. **ca*; Av.-And. **colu*; Tsez. **sil* A (~s-); Darg. **cula*; Lezg. **sil*; Khin. *culoz*; W.-Cauc. **c:A*.

| Nakh. **ca* tooth: Chech. *cerg*; Ing. *carg*; Bacb. *cark*.

The simple form **ca* is preserved in Ing. *ca* 'tooth' (besides the more common *cerg*) and Chech. *ce* 'horse's tooth' (vocalism levelled by analogy with the obl. base *cena*-). More widely spread is the original diminutive **car-ik* (4th class in all languages). Cf. also Cheb. *carig*, Shar. *cerig* etc.

| Av.-And. **colu* tooth: Av. *ca*; Chad. *si-bi*; And. *sol*; Akhv. *čilo*; Cham. *sal*; Tind. *salu*; Kar. *sale*; Botl. *salu*; Bagv. *salu*.

Av. paradigm B (pl. *ca-bi*). The vowel -i- in Akhv. is irregular. We should also note the anomalous form Cham. Gig. *suj* (pl. *su-bi*) which could suggest a PA form **colHV* with an archaic cluster.

| Tsez. **sil* A (~s-) tooth: Khvarsh. *sel*; Inkh. *sil*; Bezht. *sila*; Gunz. *sila*.

PTsKh **siR* (obl. **siRa*-, cf. Khvarsh. *sela*-, Inkh. *sila*-). PGB **sila* is originally the oblique base.

| Darg. **cula* tooth: Ak. *cula*; Chir. *cula*.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. *cula*, Kub. *sula* etc.

| Lezg. **sil*: tooth: Tab. *slib*; Ag. *sileb*; Rut. *silab*; Tsakh. *sili*; Kryz. *sil*; Bud. *sil*; Arch. *sot*; Ud. *uluḥ*.

Obl. vowel base unclear (in many languages only the original plural form 'teeth' is preserved and passed into singular, thus in Tab., Ag., Rut. and. Ud.). For PL *-l: cf. Arch. *sot*, pl. *sot:-or* (where -t:- < *-l:-). Belongs to the 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Leksika 1971, III; Giginshvili 1977, 70; Талибов 1980, 295.

| Khin. *culoz* tooth.

-oz is an original plural suffix (< *-or).

| W.-Cauc. **c:A* 1 tooth 2 fang, canine tooth: Abkh. *ā-c* 2; Abaz. *pā-c* 1; Ad. *ca* 1; Kab. *za* 1; Ub. *ca-kā* 1.

PAT **cā* (the pure root is preserved in Abkh. *ā-c*, Bz. *ā-c* 'fang'; the meaning 'tooth' is being rendered by the compound **pā-cā* lit. 'front tooth' > Abaz. *pā-c* or **qA-pā-cā* lit. 'head's front tooth' > Abkh. *a-ḡa-pā-c* (Bz. with secondary voicing *a-ḡa-bā-c*).

PAK **c:a*. In Ub. the element -ḡa is an original singularity marker.

[] One of the most reliable comparisons put forward by Trubetzkoy (1930, 277); see also Abdokov 1983, 85. Despite some authors (Dzhavakhishvili

1937, 419, Bghazhba 1948, 42, Klimov 1963, 223) this root has nothing to do with the PNC numeral 'one' q.v.

The only apparent irregularity is the strength of **c*: in PWC, while the PEC root vowel is short. This is probably due to the early vowel contraction after the (regular) loss of resonant+laryngeal in PWC.

**cojwɪlhV* autumn, winter (rainy season): Nakh. **sɪab(ʔ)V* / **bʔastV*; Av.-And. **cɪbirV*; Tsez. **sɪbə(rV)* A; Lak. *s:u-t*; Lezg. **cowil*; Khin. *cuwa-ž*; W.-Cauc. **č:ə* (~ **ʒə*).

| Nakh. **sɪab(ʔ)V* / **bʔastV* 1 autumn 2 spring: Chech. *bʔastē* 2; Ing. *bʔasti* 2; Bacb. *sɪabo* 1.

The Chech.-Ing. form is metathesized and has a *-jV-suffix (without it cf. Chech. *bʔasta* 'in spring'). Vowel length is not clear.

| Av.-And. **cɪbirV* 1 autumn 2 winter: And. *sibiru* 1; Akhv. *cɪbero* 2; Cham. *cib* 2; Tind. *cɪbar* 2; Kar. *cɪbero* 2; Bagv. *sibara* 2 (*Leksika*); God. *cɪburu* 2.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *cibur* 'winter'. Initial s- in And. is quite irregular; otherwise correspondences are normal. Note also Akhv. *c:oro* 'autumn' (its relation to *c:ibero* 'winter' is not quite clear: perhaps old interdialectal loans, which gave rise to an etymological doublet?).

| Tsez. **sɪbə(rV)* A autumn: Tsez. *sebi*; Gin. *sebe*; Khvarsh. *seba*; Inkh. *sibo*; Bezht. *sibowa*; Gunz. *sibər*.

PTsKh **sibə*; PGB **sibər(a)* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *sibora*). The final *-rV was probably reinterpreted in PTsKh as an obl. stem marker, and dropped.

| Lak. *s:u-t* autumn.

Historically -t is a suffix. Cf. also Khosr. *s:ut* id., *s:ut:i-l* 'in autumn'.

| Lezg. **cowil*: 1 autumn 2 spring: Lezg. *zul* 1; Tab. *čʷul* 1; Ag. *cul* 1; Tsakh. *cuwul* / *ciwil* 1; Arch. *sot:-aqI* 1; Ud. *zloḡul* 2 (?).

Cf. also Lezg. Yark. *gūl*, Akht. *zul*, Khl. *zul* (< Proto-Lezg. **zʷil*). The Ud. form raises some doubts (both semantically and phonetically). The word belongs to the 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. The Archi form is a historical locative (cf. the pure root in Arch. *sot* 'in autumn'). Voicing in Lezg. was probably caused by an early contraction (**cowil*: > **cʷil*), with following spirantization (**cʷil* > **s:ʷil*, regularly > **zʷil*).

See Giginshvili 1977, 70.

| Khin. *cuwa-2* autumn.

| W.-Cauc. **č:ə* (~ **ʒə*) 1 autumn 2 winter: Abkh. *ā-žən* 2; Abaz. *žnə* 1.

PAT **žə-nə* (cf. also Bzyb. *ā-žən*), with a usual temporal / locative suffix *-nə.

For phonetic reasons the PAT root should be kept apart from PWC **bɪV* 'winter' (PAK **bɪzə-hā* > Ad. *bɪzəha*, Kab. *bɪzəha*; Ub. *bɪzə*) (PAT **ʒ* can not go back to **ɪ* which is unmistakably reconstructed on basis of other forms).

[] Despite superficial dissimilarity, the EC-WC comparison is phonetically quite regular. The PWC form has regularly lost resonants, but the medial *-j- (reconstructed on basis of the PN reflex **sɪ*) has left a trace in the palatalisation of the PWC affricate. In most languages the root means 'autumn', but sometimes also 'winter' or 'spring'; it probably denoted the rainy season in general.

***cūjmV** (~ -ō-) thick, dense: Nakh. ***stam-u(n)** /-i(n); Av.-And. *-ic:V-; Lak. *c:un-*; Darg. ***c:uma-**.

| Nakh. ***stam-u(n)** /-i(n) thick, dense: Chech. *stomma*; Ing. *soma*; Bacb. *stamĩ*.

Cf. the pure root ***stam-** in Chech. *stam-dan*, Bacb. *stam-dar* 'to thicken'. Cf. also Cheb. *stamũ*, Shar., Itumk., Khild., Akk. *somma* 'thick'.

| Av.-And. *-ic:V- thick: Av. *-ic:á-ta-; Chad. *-icá-da-.

| Lak. *c:un-* dense.

| Darg. ***c:uma-** dense: Ak. *zuma-si*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Avar form can be related here if we assume secondary prefixation and loss of nasal before the *-ta-/*-da-suffix. Medial *-j- must be assumed to account for PN ***st-**.

***cVGVRV** shed, penthouse: Nakh. ***c(V)šar** (~ -χ-); Av.-And. ***cVšVRV**; Khin. *cuqa*.

| Nakh. ***c(V)šar** (~ -χ-) penthouse: Chech. *cšar*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. ***cVšVRV** corn-bin, barn: Av. *cabúr*;

Paradigm C (*cabrí-l*, *cášra-l*).

| Khin. *cuqa* shed, cattle-shed.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Not widely attested (therefore the vocalic reconstruction is not secure), but obviously archaic: cf. Hurr. *i-cšar* 'kitchen' (*subsidiary building), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 39.

***cwalV** a k. of insect: Lak. (p:ip:i)-s:alañ; Lezg. ***s(:)w'al-**.

| Lak. (p:ip:i)-s:alañ ladybird.

On the component p:ip:i- see under ***bāmbV**.

| Lezg. ***s(:)w'al-** a k. of insect: Tab. *s'ali-p:ep:e*.

Attested only in Tab., with a probable Lak. parallel.

[] The root is attested only in Lak. and Tab., but within a compound of two identical parts (***cwalV-bāmbV** ~ ***bāmbV-cwalV**). Further etymology is not clear.

***cwāʔmV** bear: Nakh. ***ča**; Av.-And. ***simhi**; Tsez. ***zih A**; Lak. *cuša*; Darg. ***s:inka**; Lezg. ***s:w'e?**; Khin. *psi*; W.-Cauc. ***məsʷV**.

| Nakh. ***ča** bear: Chech. *ča*; Ing. *ča*; Bacb. *ča*.

4th class in all languages. Short vowel is reconstructed on basis of forms like Chech. dat. *če-na*.

| Av.-And. ***simhi** bear: Av. *ci*; Chad. *si*; And. *seji*; Akhv. *šĩ*; Cham. *sehĩ*; Tind. *sĩ*; Kar. *sĩ*; Botl. *sĩ*; Bagv. *sĩ*; God. *sĩhi*.

Av. paradigm A (*ci-dul/ci-l*, *ci-jal*, Chad. *si-l/si-dul*, *si-l*). Cf. also Akhv.

Tseg. *šin*, Ratl. *šĩ*, Tlan. *simi* (an especially archaic form - preserving the original *-m-resonant), Cham. Gig. *sihĩ*, And. (Tsertsvadze) *sēj*.

| Tsez. ***zih A** bear: Tsez. *ze*; Gin. *ze*; Khvarsh. *ze*; Inkh. *zē*; Bezht. *si* / *sĩ*; Gunz. *sĩ*.

PTsKh ***zĩj** (cf. also: Tsez. (Imnaishvili, Kh.) *zej*, Gin. gen. *zej-s*, Khvarsh. obl. *zeʔi-*); PGB ***sĩh** (cf. also: Bezht. Khosh. *sih*, Tlad. *si*).

| Lak. *cuša* bear.

Gen. *cux-lul*; cf. also Khosr. *cuša*, *cux-lul*.

| Darg. ***s:inka** bear: Ak. *sinka*; Chir. *sika*.

Cf. also Tsud. *s:inka*, Ur. *sinka*, Kub. *sika*.

| Lezg. ***s:w'e?** bear: Lezg. *sew*; Tab. *s'e?*; Rut. *si*; Tsakh. *šo*; Kryz. *sar*; Bud. *sor*; Ud. *suje*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *sew* (with metathesis of labialisation < ***s:w'e?**), Tab. Düb. *s'e?e*, Tsakh. Gelm. *soj*. Strong ***s:w-** is suggested by Ud. *š-* (all other languages present do not show a clear distinction of ***s** and ***s:w**). 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. The oblique base may be safely reconstructed as ***s:w'e?-rV-**, cf. Lezg. *sewre-*, Tab. Kand., Düb. *s'e?ra-*, Rut. *siri-*. The oblique base superseded the direct one in Kryz. and Bud.

See Bokarev 1961, 70; Leksika 1971, 155-156; Gigineyshvili 1977, 134; Талибов 1980, 295.

| Khin. *psi* bear.

| W.-Cauc. ***məsʷV** bear: Abkh. *á-mšʷ*; Abaz. *mšʷə*; Ad. *məša*; Kab. *məša*; Ub. *məsʷá*.

PAT ***məsʷə** (cf. also Bzyb. *á-mšʷ*); PAK ***məša**; Ub. def. *á-mšʷa*.

[] One of the long established common NC roots. The PWC form is metathesized (***məsʷV** < ***šʷVmV**), otherwise corresponding quite well to EC reflexes. The Lak. and Darg. forms reflect a rather unique suffixed variant ***cwām-ʔV** (such a lateral suffix is unknown elsewhere), and thus raise some doubts; but it is hard to separate these forms from all the rest. See Bork 1907, 26-27, 30, Trombetti 1923, 364, Rogava 1956, 28, Shagirov 1977, 273, Abdokov 1983, 119-120. All the authors link the EC and NC forms also with PK ***da(š)tw-** 'bear' which is hard to justify phonetically, as well as the attempts to make an inner morphological analysis of the PWC form (made in Rogava 1956, 28, 36, Lomtadze 1961, 118).

***cwājmē** gall; anger: Nakh. ***stim**; Av.-And. ***s:imi**; Tsez. ***s:imə A**; Lak. *s:i*; Darg. ***sumi**; Lezg. ***s:ām:a**; W.-Cauc. ***šʷə**.

| Nakh. ***stim** gall: Chech. *stim*; Ing. *sim*; Bacb. *sem*.

Obl. base ***stima-** (Chech. *stima-*, Ing. *simo*); 5th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing.

| Av.-And. ***s:imi** gall; anger: Av. *c:in*; Chad. *cim*; And. *s:im*; Akhv. *s:imi*; Cham. *s:im*; Tind. *s:imi*; Kar. *s:ime*; Botl. *s:imi*; Bagv. *s:im*; God. *s:imi*.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. *c:i-dá-l*, Chad. *cimí-l*).

| Tsez. ***s:imə A** gall: Tsez. *semi* (*Kid.*); Gin. *seme*; Khvarsh. *semi* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *simo* (*Tlad.*, *Khosh.*); Gunz. *simi* (*Nakh.*, *Gunz.*).

PTsKh ***s:imə** (~i); PGB ***simV**. Inkh. *sime* 'gall' is an Andian loan (otherwise ***simo** would be expected); cf. also Gin. *cim* 'anger' < Av.

| Lak. *s:i* gall; anger.

Cf. Khosr. *s:i* id. The Lak. word also means 'rust', which is probably a secondary semantic development (but cf. Av. Andal. /cited from Mikailov 1959/ *suʔi* 'rust' – perhaps a historically different root?).

| Darg. **sumi* gall, anger: Ak. *himi*; Chir. *sume*.

Cf. also Ur., Muir. *himi*, Sirg. *simi*, Kub. *time* id.

| Lezg. **s:ām:a* gall: Lezg. *seb*; Tab. *seb*; Ag. *seb*; Rut. *seb* (*Shin.*); Arch. *s:am*.

Cf. Lezg. pl. *sep:-erar*, Lezg. Khl. *seb* (*sep:-erar*) 'abuse', Tab. Kand. *sib* 'gall', Düb. *s:iw* 'gall bladder', Ag. Bursh. *sew* (probably a misspelling instead of **s:ew*); Rut. *sāb* 'gall secreted while vomiting'. 3d class in Rut. and Arch.; obl. base **s:ām:ā-* (cf. Ag. *sebi-*, Rut. *sābā-*).

| W.-Cauc. **zʷə* 1 anger 2 hidden anger, malice 3 revenge: Abaz. *gʷə-zʷ* 2; Ad. *gʷəha-gʷə-zʷ* 1; Kab. *gʷə-zʷ-bazʷ* 2; Ub. *gə-zʷ* 3.

The root is attested only in an old compound with **gʷə* 'heart'. Cf. also Ab. *gʷəzʷ-k* 'anger'. In Abkh. we have *a-gʷə-pzʷ-á-ra* 'anger, resentment' which is obviously a later contamination of the same stem with Abkh. *a-pzʷ-a-rá* 'to tear asunder'.

[] Correspondences are regular. In most languages the root combines the meanings "gall" and "anger", so they must have existed simultaneously already in PNC.

Abdakov (1983, 84) compares the EC forms with PWC **ca* 'to burn', which is not plausible for both phonetic and semantic reasons (see PNC **=ercA*).

**cwīwHV* oat flour: Nakh. **cu*; Lezg. **s:iw*; Khin. *psi*.

| Nakh. **cu* 1 oat flour 2 flour made from roasted corn: Chech. *cu*; Ing. *cu*; Bacb. *cu*.

For short **ū* cf. Chech. dat. *cu-na*. 5/6th class in Chech., 5th class in Ing., 6th class in Bacb.

| Lezg. **s:iw* oat flour: Lezg. *saw*; Tab. *su*; Ag. *musu*; Rut. *su*; Tsakh. *su*; Kryz. *suw*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *saw*, Ag. Bursh. *mus:u* (pl. *mus:uw-ur*). Ag. *mus:u* < **mi-s:iw* with a secondary **mi-* (none of the other languages has any trace of it), obviously under the influence of the semantically close *miki* < **miłij* (**winłij*) 'malt'. The obl. base can be reconstructed as **s:iwi-*, cf. Lezg. *sawu-*, Rut. *suji-* (< **siwi-*).

See Талибов 1980, 314.

| Khin. *psi* oat flour.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**cwi* in front, before: Av.-And. **s:i-*; Darg. **sa-*.

| Av.-And. **s:i-* in front, before: Av. *c:e-bé*; Chad. *ce-χ*; And. *s:e-du*; Akhv. *s:i-gt*; Cham. *s:i*; Tind. *s:e-ri*; Kar. *s:i-gt*; Botl. *s:e-ʔa*; Bagv. *s:e-*; God. *s:e-ba*.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. *s:e*, L.-Enkh. *s:i* (representing the pure root), Cham. *Gig. s:e-q*, *s:e-χa*.

| Darg. **sa-* front, front side: Ak. *ha-la*; Chir. *sa-la*.

Cf. also Chir. *sa-mat:e* 'in front', Ur. *hala* 'front'. The same root is used in Dargwa as a preverb denoting motion out of smth. ('to the front'): Ur. *ha-b-* / *ha-d-*, Kait. *sa-r-*, Kub. *ta-j-*.

[] An Av.-And.-Darg. isogloss. It is not quite clear, whether we should also add a Nakh parallel: PN **s/o* 'here, towards here' (Bacb. *so* 'towards) here', *siwhe* 'here, to this side'; Chech. *sha* '(towards) here', *sha-* 'a preverb denoting motion towards the speaker', Ing. *ha-* (< **sha-*) id.).

**cwirV* a k. of fruit: Lak. *s:iru*; Lezg. **s:ir(a)*; W.-Cauc. **sʷərə*.

| Lak. *s:iru* young pods of peas and black beans.

| Lezg. **s:ir(a)* dried fruits: Lezg. *zur-ar*; Ag. *sur-ar*.

Both the Lezg. and the Ag. forms are pluralia tantum. In Lezg. cf. also Akht. *zur*, Nüt. *gürer* id. A loan from some Lezg. dialect may be Ud. (Vart.) *zurul* 'wild pear' (although there are some doubts as to the meaning of the word).

| W.-Cauc. **sʷərə* fruit(s): Abkh. *a-sʷər*; Abaz. *sʷər*.

PAT **sʷərə* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-sʷər*). PAT **sʷ* can go back to PWC **sʷ*, **sʷ* or **χʷ*, thus the PWC reconstruction is rather tentative (**sʷ* is the best match for PEC **cʷ*).

[] The comparison seems rather likely, but the original meaning is not quite clear (probably some kind of wild fruits which were good for drying).

**cāc*V sieve, winnow: Nakh. **caca*; Lezg. **č:āč*:(a).

| Nakh. **caca* sieve, winnow: Chech. *caca*; Ing. *caca*; Bach. *cac*. 6th class in all languages.

| Lezg. **č:āč*:(a) trough for grain winnowing: Arch. *čāč*:i.

Attested only in Archi, but having probable Nakh parallels.

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss. Resemblance to Georg. *saceri* 'sieve' (whence Osset. *sasir* id., see Abayev 1979, 37) is probably fortuitous.

**čakw*V- white, yellow: Av.-And. **č:ak*:u-; Lezg. **č:ak*:*ar*V-.

| Av.-And. **č:ak*:u- yellow: And. *cak*:u; Botl. *č:ak*:u; God. *č:ak*:u.

Rather strange is c- in And. (Leksika 103 has the notation *čak*:u).

| Lezg. **č:ak*:*ar*V- white: Ag. *žag**ar*-f; Rut. *žag**ar*-di; Tsakh. *žag**ara*-n.

[] An And-Lezg. isogloss. As usual, in a root with two stops there occurred assimilations: in PA **čakw*V- > **č:ak**ar*V- > **č:ak*:*ar*V-; in PL **čakw*V- > **čak**ar*V- > **č:ak*:*ar*V-.

**čād*V̄ (~ *č-*) leather sack, bellows: Tsez. **š*:(*i*)idV (~ *ž-*); Lezg. **č:at*; W.-Cauc. **čadā*.

| Tsez. **š*:(*i*)idV (~ *ž-*) wineskin, leather sack: Bezht. *sede*; Gunz. *bišid*.

PGB **š*/*i*/dV (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *šeda*, Tlad. *šedā*). The Gunz. form is actually a compound *beš* 'leather' + **šid* 'sack'.

| Lezg. **č:at*: 1 bellows 2 smithy: Lezg. *č:ad* 2; Tab. *žadan* 2; Ag. *žad* 2 (*Fil.*); Rut. *žad* 1 (*Khov.*).

Obl. base **č:at*:i- (cf. Lezg. *č:at*:u-); the Tab. form contains a productive suffix -an. Cf. also Ag. Burk. (with metathesis) *daž* 'bellows', Bursh. plur. tant. *žanar* (< **žadn-ar* = Tab. *žadan-ar*) id.

| W.-Cauc. **čadā* bellows: Ad. *šadā-bīā*; Kab. *sadā-bī*.

PAK **čadā-bīā* (the second component is not clear). PAK **č-* presupposes PWC **č* or **č̣*.

[] The root is not very widely spread, but seems reliable both phonetically and semantically. In PL there occurred a usual assimilation (**č:at*: < **čat*:). For PNC we could also reconstruct **č-* - if we would suppose that this assimilation occurred already in PEC (**čād*V > **žād*V): since the PTs form is reconstructed only on Gunz. and Bezht. evidence, it could contain either **š*:- (< PEC **č-*) or **ž*- (< PEC **ž*-).

**čāqwā* ~ **čāqwā* scoop, spoon, wooden vessel: Av.-And. **č:ik*:(*i*)V-rV; Tsez. **čux*:ro (~ -*č*-); Lak. *kiču*; Darg. **kučul*; Lezg. **čaq* (~ -*č*-); W.-Cauc. **č*:(*i*)aqV.

| Av.-And. **č:ik*:(*i*)V-rV spoon: Av. *č:ikāro* (*dial.*).

| Tsez. **čux*:ro (~ -*č*-) wooden gutter, kennel (on the roof): Bezht. *čuxrō* (*Khosh.*).

Isolated in Bezht. (cf. also Tlad. *čuxurō* id. < **čux*:Vr-ro with a productive dental suffix), but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *kiču* slop-basin, basin.

Cf. also *kičala* 'scoop'.

| Darg. **kučul* spoon: Ak. *kučul*; Chir. *kučul*.

Cf. also Ur., Kub. *kučul* id.

| Lezg. **čaq* (~ -*č*-) 1 wooden jar 2 spoon; wooden shovel for winnowing: Tab. *čāqā* 1 (*Dub.*); Ag. *čaq* 1 (*Tr.*); Arch. *čaq* 2.

4th class in Archi. Obl. base unknown. There exists also a Lezg. (Khl.) form *čux-ar* 'gutter, kennel': it can go back to the same root with a reflection of deglottalised *q (> PL **χ*-). Semantically (and formally) cf. Bezht. *čuxrō* 'gutter' (see above).

| W.-Cauc. **č*:(*i*)aqV 1 wooden scoop with a handle 2 basin, tureen: Abkh. *a-čaq**ā* 1; Ub. *čaq**ā* 2.

Cf. also Abkh. Bzyb. *a-čaq**ā* 'wooden scoop'. Abkh. *č* points to **č-*, but Ub. *č* - rather to **č̣*. This is probably explained by a secondary labialising assimilation in the prehistory of Ub.

[] Besides some metatheses (of the glottalisation feature, and of root consonants as such), which are usual in roots containing two stops, correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems quite satisfactory. Note the frequent use of the derivate in *-IV in EC (reflected in Av. *č:ika-ro*, Lak. *kiča-la*, PD **kuču-l*).

**čel*V / **čel*V fish; lizard: Av.-And. **č*Vnč:V / **č*:Vnč:V; Tsez. **č*:(*i*)čel (~ -*č*-); Lezg. **čel* / **čel*; Khin. *činkaz*.

| Av.-And. **č*Vnč:V / **č*:Vnč:V lizard: Chad. *čec*; And. *čerč:in* (Khaidakov); Kar. *anč*:u.

The root has clearly a lateral initial (with some variations in strength) and should be kept distinct from PA **konč*:V q.v. (however, the two roots may have mutually influenced each other). Cf. also Av. Andl. *šinč*; Unt. *šenčro* id.

| Tsez. **č*:(*i*)čel (~ -*č*-) frog: Gin. *loči*.

Attested only in Gin., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **čel* / **čel*: 1 fish 2 green: Tab. *čič* 1 (*Kand.*); Ag. *ček*: 1; Kryz. *čuk-nu* 2.

There is a certain instability of laryngeal features (rather usual for roots with two occlusives): Tab. points to PL **čel* (in Tab. there occurred a secondary dissimilative deglottalisation; -*č* is a normal reflex of **č* probably indicating that the original vowel base had a front Auslaut vowel), but Ag. -k: and Kryz. -k- point rather to **č*: (there is, however, also a recorded variant Kryz. *čuk-ni* with *k* pointing to **č*). The semantic correlation "fish" : "green" is rather common in Caucasian languages.

| Khin. *činkaz* lizard.

The word is presently analyzed as "sweet snake" (*čin-kaz*), which is obviously a folk-etymology.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive root with many irregular changes (metatheses, as-/dissimilations etc.). The reconstruction

is complicated by contaminations with another root, PEC **kVm(V)čV* 'lizard' (which explains the nasal resonant in PA and Khin.).

**čimV* young goat, goat: Av.-And. **čimV*; W.-Cauc. **pč:VmV* / **pč:VnV*.

| Av.-And. **čimV* kid: Av. *č:in*.

Besides Av. the root is possibly attested in And. (Khaid.) *reblo-č:i* 'he-goat' (as the second part of the compound < **čim*; for the first part cf. And. /Tsertsvadze/ *rebła* id.). Cf. also Av. Kuyad. *č:amā* > Archi *čama* 'young goat (less than 2-3 y. old)'.

It is also not excluded that a relic of this root can be found in PGB **toq-či* 'young he-goat' (although the regular reflex would be **-s:i(m)* or **-š:i(m)*, it could be distorted in a compound after a previous consonant; etymology of the first part, **toq-*, see under **dVrōwV*).

| W.-Cauc. **pč:VmV* / **pč:VnV* goat: Abkh. *ā-žma*; Abaz. *žma*; Ad. *pčana*; Kab. *bzan*.

PAT **žama*; PAK **pč:anā*. In spite of irregular -n- in PAK (probably result of dissimilation), this comparison (proposed by Rogava 1956, 75) seems reliable enough and better than the comparison of PAT **žama* with PAK **č:amā* 'cow' (see Shagirov 1, 85, 192).

[] The EC-WC comparison is quite plausible phonetically and semantically; its only drawback is the root's very sparse representation in the EC area. See Abdokov 1983, 116 (Av. : WC, with admixture of many unrelated forms). However, all other etymologies of the WC material (comparison with Cham. *čala* 'goat' [Rogava 1956, 75], with PEC **čūhnV* 'goat' [Balkarov 1964, 97-98], with Iranian (Avest. *būza-*, Pers. *buz* 'he-goat') [Shagirov 1, 85]) are improbable for phonetic reasons.

**čutV* (~ **čwVtV*) lizard: Av.-And. **čutV*; Tsez. **šutrV* (~ **š-*).

| Av.-And. **č:utV* lizard: Av. *č:ut*.

Av. paradigm A (*č:uti-l*, *č:uta-l*). This root should be distinguished from *š:ut*, *č:ut*, present in other Av. dialects; although the forms with -t and -j are actively contaminating, they are historically separate.

| Tsez. **šutrV* (~ **š-*) lizard: Tsez. *šet*; Gin. *šotra*.

PTsKh **šutrV* (~ **š-*).

[] A local Av.-Tsez. isogloss. Abdokov (1983, 125) compares also Kab. *səndərχ'a* 'lizard', but the form is expressive and isolated within WC, thus the comparison is rather dubious.

**čVnV* sickle: Av.-And. **ničo*; Tsez. **niš:u* (~ **š-*); Lezg. **čin*; Khin. *čin*; W.-Cauc. **čana* (~*č:-,č-c:-*).

| Av.-And. **ničo* 1 sickle 2 dagger 3 scythe: And. *ničo* 3; Akhv. *niča* 1; Cham. *niša* 1,2; Tind. *niča* 1,2; Kar. *niča* 1; Botl. *niča* 1,2; God. *niča* 1.

Cf. also Cham. *Gig. niča* id.

| Tsez. **niš:u* (~ **š-*) sickle: Tsez. *nešu*; Gin. *nešu*; Inkh. *nišu*.

PTsKh **nišu*. It is interesting to note Khvarsh. (Radzhibov) *niču* id. obviously a modification of **nišu* under the influence of PA **ničo* (q.v.).

| Lezg. **čin* sickle: Tsakh. *čin* (*Mishl.*); Kryz. *čin*; Bud. *čin*.

3d class in all languages. Obl. base **čini-* (cf. Tsakh. *čini-*).

| Khin. *čin* sickle.

May be borrowed from Kryz. *čin*.

| W.-Cauc. **čana* (~*č:-,č-c:-*) sabre: Ub. *canā*.

Attested only in Ub., but having probable EC parallels.

[] The Ub.-EC correspondence is quite probable (although the vocalism is not quite clear). Av.-And.-Tsezian languages reflect a metathesized variant **nVčV*.

A suffixed form of the same root can be reconstructed for PNC as **čVnV-kwV* 'a k. of sickle, scythe'. It is reflected in PEC as **činVkwV* (with assimilation), and in PWC as **čVnVgV*. Cf. for PEC: Av. Chad. *činik*, And. (Khaidakov) *činik*, Bezht. Tlad. *činik*, Khosh. *činik*, Gunz. *činik* (PTs **činik*), Lak. *činik*, Darg. Chir. *činak* 'scythe', PL **činak* (Ag. *činek*), Lezg. Khl. *čanag* 'sickle', Rut. *činak*, Tsakh. *činak*, Arch. *činik* 'scythe'. Some of these forms may be borrowed from neighbour languages, but at least the PL form and either Av. or Lak. are probably genuine and go back to PEC. For PWC cf.: PAT **čabagV* (Abkh. *a-čbāga*, Abaz. *čbāg*), PAK **čamāgā* (Ad. *šamaž*, Kab. *šamaž*), Ub. *čamāg*. The Ub. form is probably borrowed from Ad., but the PAT and PAK forms are genuine cognates.

Osset. *cāwāg* 'scythe' is explained by Abayev (1, 306) as a derivate from *cāwin* 'to beat' (which itself is etymologically obscure, see *ibid.*); therefore he regards the WC forms as borrowed from Ossetian, and this hypothesis is accepted by Shagirov 2, 137. However, the Ossetian source can not explain many phonetic features of its Caucasian counterparts (in particular, nasalisation present in most NC forms). It seems to us much more reasonable to suppose that the Ossetian form itself was borrowed from a Caucasian source (cf., e.g., PAT **čabagV* with secondary denasalisation). Later it was, in its turn, borrowed in some EC languages: cf. Cham. *čag* (*Gig. čagi*), God. *čogi* 'scythe' - forms that are absolutely irregular compared to other EC forms, and can be easily derived from a source like Proto-Ossetian **čavag*. See Starostin 1985, 81.

**čVtVrV* mint: Av.-And. **im-čirja* (/~*c:-*); Lezg. **čitrV*(q).

| Av.-And. **im-čirja* (/~*c:-*) mint: And. *inc:irja*; Cham. *ičita* (*Gig.*); Tind. *ečet*.

A PA compound (etymology of the first part see under **HmiñwV*). In Cham. and Tind. -t- > -t- through assimilation. The root reveals some irregularities (variation between strong **c:* and weak **č*). Tind. *ečet* > Inkh. *ečet* in *ečet-muql* 'mint'.

| Lezg. **čitrV*(q) mint: Lezg. *čudru*; Rut. *šidiq*; Kryz. *čerje*; Bud. *čurja*?

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *čudri*. In Auslaut there's an unclear correlation Lezg. -0 : Rut. -q : Kryz. -s : Bud. -2. The original **č-* is reflected in Rut. as *š-*, in other languages it was assimilated by the following **t* and became *č* (note that in Lezg. and Rut. **-t-* itself was dissimilated > **t:-* > -d-). This is a rather usual situation in roots containing two stops. 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Khaidakov 1973, 63.

[] An And.-Lezg. isogloss. There is little doubt that the Andian and Lezghian forms are related, although the structure of the root (trisyllabic, containing two stops) makes the reconstruction, particularly vocalic, rather difficult.

***cwijo** man, male: Nakh. *psju; Av.-And. *čVjV; Tsez. *zi-kʷə A; Lak. čuw; Darg. *s:ub; Lezg. *s:ij; W.-Cauc. *čə / *čə.

| Nakh. *psju bull: Chech. *stu*; Ing. *ust*; Bacb. *psju*.

Ing. has a secondary prothesis (*ust* < **u-stu*). Obl. base **pstare-* (cf. Chech. *stera-*, Ing. *istar-o*, Bacb. *psjari-*). 6th class in all languages. The same historical root (with loss of **p-*) is present in the compound **st-ak* 'man, person' q.v.

| Av.-And. *čVjV man: Av. *či*; Chad. *či*.

Av. paradigm B (pl. *čaʿi*). The root was generally lost in Andian languages; it is, perhaps, preserved within an old compound **miʕi-ča-* 'young man, male' q.v.

| Tsez. *zi-kʷə A / *zi-kʷə A man: Tsez. *z-ekū*; Khvarsh. *z-ikwa*; Bezht. *s-uko*; Gunz. *s-uku*.

Cf. also Tsez. Asakh. *zekʷi*. PTsKh **zikʷə*, PGB **suku*. The word is originally a compound **zi-hikʷə* (see **hikʷə*); the vacillation **z*/*z* is rather often a reflex of PEC palatal sibilants.

| Lak. *čuw* man.

Cf. also the compound *čiw-ark* 'people, men'.

| Darg. **s:ub* male, man: Ak. *sub*.

Cf. also Kait. *suw* id.

| Lezg. **s:ij* man: Lezg. *-wi*; Tab. *zʷi*; Ag. *šuj*; Kryz. *firi*; Bud. *furi*; Ud. *išu*, *iš-q:ar*.

Lezg. *wi* (cf. also Nūt. *γū*) is used presently only in compounds (like *lezgi-wi* 'a Lezghian' etc.); also rare is it in Tabasaran (in compounds like *murgu-zʷi* 'a brave man' etc.). The obl. vowel base had been probably **s:ija-*, cf. Ag. *šuj*, *šuwa-*, Fit. *xūj*, *xūja-*. For initial **s:* cf. also Ag. Burk. *s:uʕ*. Kryz. and Bud. have suffixed forms (originally probably plurals). See Khaidakov 1973, 99.

| W.-Cauc. **čə* / **čə* 1 person 2 people, persons: Ad. *čə-fə* 1; Kab. *čə-xʷ* 1; Ub. *čəca* 2.

PAK **čə-xʷə*; the second component probably goes back to PWC **λʷA* 'be born' q.v. The Ub. form is reduplicated. Like some other roots, this one reveals a variation in glottalisation, reasons for which are not yet clear.

[] One of very widely spread common NC roots. Correspondences are quite regular (Nakh **p-* reflects labialisation, while **sʔ* is a result of the following -j-). There may have existed an early variant **čiwə* (or **čiwjo*) which would account for Nakh forms without **p-* (**st-ak*) and the PWC absence of labialisation.

A possible HU parallel is **s(u)wa* in Hurr. *tar-z(u)wa-nna*, Urart. *tar-šua-na* 'man, human being' (where **tar-* is probably connected with **tur-* 'male', see **liwLV*); see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 39.

***cwilV** (~ -i-, -ə-) wax, honeycombs: Nakh. *(p)šal; Av.-And. **s:iru*;

Lak. *šʷal*.

| Nakh. *(p)šal propolis: Chech. *šal-maz*.

A compound with the second component *-maz* 'honey' (independently *moz*).

| Av.-And. **s:iru* wax: Akhv. *s:iro*; Cham. *s:irʷ*; Tind. *s:iru*; Kar. *s:iru*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *s:iru*.

| Lak. *šʷal* honeycombs.

Lak. > Darg. (Ak.) *šali* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The correlation PA **s:-* : Lak. *šʷ-* points to **cw-* with tenseness; it is interesting to compare this root with PK **cwil-* 'wax'.

***cwirsV** (~ -ā-) gullet: Av.-And. **čʷirs:V*; Tsez. **ZiZV* (~ -i-); Lak. *čars:a*; Darg. **s:urs*.

| Av.-And. **čʷirs:V* gullet: God. *čors:a*.

Isolated in God., but obviously archaic (cf. the external evidence).

| Tsez. **ZiZV* (~ -i-) inner side of mouth: Inkh. *zize*.

Isolated in Inkh., but with probable external parallels.

| Lak. *čars:a* necklace.

4th class.

| Darg. **s:urs*: 1 throat 2 neck: Ak. *surs* 1; Chir. *sus* 2.

Chir. *sus* is probably a misspelling instead of *s:us*; cf. Tsud. *s:urs*: 'gullet' and the Lak. loanword *s:urs:u* 'neck'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PTs form should have been **zis:V* (**zis:V*), but there occurred an assimilation (obligatory in this structure).

***cwiwV** (~ -b-, -t-, -ā-) muscle: Av.-And. **s:ubu-r*; Tsez. **s:(:)ub* (~ -o-); Lak. *biši*.

| Av.-And. **s:ubu-r* muscle: Av. *č:obóri*; God. *s:ubu-λi*.

Av. paradigm C (*č:obóri-dul*, *č:órba-l*). Cf. also God. *s:ubur-λi* 'thigh, haunch' (one wonders if it is not the same word as *s:ubu-λi*), Zib. *s:ubur* 'muscle'.

| Tsez. **s:(:)ub* (~ -o-) calf (of leg): Inkh. *šub*.

Attested only in Inkh., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *biši* muscle.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for metathesis in Lak., correspondences are regular.

***cwVtV** a biting insect: Av.-And. **č:uʔV*; Lak. *suʔ*; Lezg. **s:uʔ* (~ -o-).

| Av.-And. **č:uʔV* bee: Av. *č:uʔ* (*Ants.*).

Cf. also Av. Karakh. *čuf* 'fly'.

| Lak. *suʔ* tick.

The form is quoted from Khaidakov 1973; the literary Lak. form could be **suʔ* or **šuf* (the real lit. form is *s:uʔ*, belonging to another root).

| Lezg. *s:uʃ (~ -o-) bug, bed-bug: Lezg. *suʃ*; Rut. *sit*; Tsakh. *sin*; Kryz. *suʃ*; Bud. *suʃ* / *sud*.

Cf. also Lezg. Kur. *ziʃ* (pointing to *s:-). 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages.

One of several insect names, actively contaminating with each other. Kryz. *suʃ* and Bud. *suʃ* clearly point to *s:uʃ (with *-ʃ). However, Lezg. dialectal forms and Rut. seem to indicate PL *-ç: (cf. Lezg. Khl. *sit*, pl. *sit:-ar*, Rut. *sit* with -t) - this is due to contamination with PL *s:ʷäç: 'midge, mosquito' q.v. Finally, Tsakh. *sin* and the Bud. variant *sud* are results of contamination with PL *çun: 'flea' (Tsakh. *çin*, Bud. *çid*) q.v.

See Khaidakov 1973, 18.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The etymology is not very certain, because there is much confusion within the Lezghian reflexes, and we have only dialectal (not very secure) recordings in Av. and Lak. In other EC languages there exists also a number of words, close to this root, but very aberrant phonetically: cf. And. (Khaid.) *c:uʃa* 'dung-beetle', Gunz. (Khaid.) *çada* 'beetle', Darg. *çuzdagi* (< *çut:- ?) id. Cf. also Av. *ôchuʃ* 'dung-beetle', possibly also belonging here, but folk-etymologically transformed (meaning literally "ox-worm" in modern Avar).

č

*čĀrHV (~-l-) stomach, abomasum: Nakh. *čVwV; Av.-And. *rVčV-l; W.-Cauc. *ča.

| Nakh. *čVwV 1 in, inside 2 belly: Chech. *čō 2*, *čō 1*; Ing. *čē 2*; Bacb. *čuw 1*.

The pure root is observed in Chech., Ing., Bacb. *ču* "in, inside". Other forms are derivatives: cf. Chech. *čō* "belly", *čō* "inside" (= Khild. *čʷjē*, Ing. *čē*), Ing. *čuʔa* 'inside (n.)', Bacb. *čuw* "inside, intestines", *čuwa* "own house, dwelling". Cf. also a further derivate *čVwe-r- > Chech. pl. *čūr-as* 'intestines', Ing. *čur-as* 'offal'.

| Av.-And. *rVčV-l intestine: And. *ručol*.

Isolated in And., with possible external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *ča abomasum, rennet: Abkh. *ā-ca*; Abaz. *cara*.

PAT *ča, *ča-ra (cf. also Bzyb. *ā-čar*, *ā-čər* id.); PAT *č may go back to *č or *č̣.

[] The comparison seems quite plausible both phonetically and semantically; however, since the root is known only in a few EC languages, (PN and And. with metathesis), the reconstruction remains somewhat uncertain.

*čāmaGū jaw: Nakh. *čĭamuʃ / *mačuʃ; Av.-And. *čanaʃV; W.-Cauc. *ʒamaʃʷa.

| Nakh. *čĭamuʃ / *mačuʃ 1 cheek-bone 2 jaw 3 cheek: Chech. *moččaʃal 1,2*; Ing. *močχal 2*; Bacb. *čamaʃ 3*.

The word demonstrates some phonetic irregularities: metathesis in Chech. and Ing. (with expressive gemination in Chech. and assimilative devoicing -ʃ > -χ- in Ing.); unclear glottalisation in Bacbi. The Chech. and Ing. forms have a suffixed *-al. 3d class in Chech. and Ing., 8th class in Bacb.

| Av.-And. *čanaʃV jaw: Av. *čanāʃ*; And. *čanaʃi* (Khaidakov).

Av. paradigm C (*čanʃi-l*, *čanʃa-l*).

| W.-Cauc. *ʒamaʃʷa 1 cheek 2 chin: Abkh. *a-ʒāmʷa 1*; Abaz. *ʒamʷa 1*; Ub. *ʒāmʃa 2*.

PAT *ʒamaʷa (cf. Bzyb. *a-ʒāmʷa*). Ubykh has a regular delabialisation ʃʷ > ʃ after a labial.

Within PAK it seems probable to relate here the stem *ʒaʃʷə (Ad. *ʒaʃʷə* 'chin', Kab. *ʒaʃʷ* 'base of the lower jaw'), although regularly one would expect a form like *ʒa(m)ʃʷə or *ʒa(m)ʃʷə. The irregularity should be explained by a secondary influence of the PAK root *ʒa 'mouth' (q.v.).

[] The PNC reconstruction seems secure both phonetically and semantically. Cf. also Osset. *ʒoniʃ* 'jaw' - obviously from a Cauc. source and having nothing to do with the wandering word for 'sleigh' (despite Abayev 1958, 397-398).

*čāmpV sand, road metal: Nakh. *čim; Av.-And. *š:ibi; Lak. š:ama;

Lezg. *š:ām; Khin. šum.

| Nakh. *čim 1 ashes 2 snow-flake: Chech. čim 1,2; Bacb. čim 1.

Obl. base *čima- (Chech. čima-). 5th class in Chech., 6th class in Bacb.

| Av.-And. *š:ibi 1 round stone, boulder 2 a fastening stone on roof: Akhv. š:ibi 1; Tind. š:ibi 2.

| Lak. š:ama road metal.

Cf. Khosr. š:amā id.

| Lezg. *š:ām 1 road metal 2 sand: Lezg. šim 1; Tab. šim 1; Ag. šim 1; Rut. šim 1; Kryz. ? šin-šil 1; Ud. ša 2.

Cf. also Rut. Ams. šim 'small stone', Ag. Bursh. š:im. The Kryz. form raises doubts (suffixation is unclear); cf. also the Khin. loan činšil with unclear (archaic?) č-. 4th class in Kryz. and Rut. Judging from the Udi form (reflecting *š), the original paradigm had been dir. *š:ām, obl. *š:imV-; in most languages the former oblique base became direct.

| Khin. šum sand.

[] Reconstructed for PEC. Correspondences are regular (except the vowel in Lak.: š:ama instead of š:ima. Perhaps the Lak. form reflects *čwāmpV with assimilative labialisation).

*čāntwV wart: Nakh. *čint; Av.-And. *ču(n)ti; Lak. čunt-lu; Darg.

*čint.

| Nakh. *čint wart: Chech. čint.

Isolated in Chech. (thus PN *čf- or *čf- are also possible), but with some external parallels.

| Av.-And. *ču(n)ti freckles: God. čuṭi (Zib.).

Isolated in God., but having external parallels.

| Lak. čunt-lu wart.

Gen. čunt-ul-lu-l. The word contains a frequent suffix -(u)lu.

| Darg. *čint a nipple (as on the tongue etc.): Ak. čint.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except for assimilations: in PN - progressive, in PA - regressive).

*čĕxwA urine; excrements, rubbish: Nakh. *čVχ-ar; Lezg. *čuλ (~ čol); Khin. čx-ir; W.-Cauc. *čaxʷə.

| Nakh. *čVχ-ar rubble, quarry-stone: Chech. čxar; Ing. čxar.

The combination čx- in Chech. and Ing. can only be explained as a result of vowel elision; unfortunately there is no Bacb. parallel, so the vowel quality is impossible to establish.

| Lezg. *čuλ (~ čol) 1 urine 2 dung (of a horse, donkey): Lezg. čux 1; Tab. čux 1; Rut. čuxʷ-an 2.

| Khin. čx-ir a pile of dry dung.

| W.-Cauc. *čaxʷə 1 urinate 2 rain 3 hail: Abkh. a-čxʷ-rā 1; Ad. q:e-šxə-n 2; Kab. q:e-šxə-n 2; Ub. rʷa-šx 3.

PAT *čaxʷə (cf. also Bz. a-čxʷ-rā). PAK *čxə 'to rain' (cf. also the noun *wa-čxə > Ad. wašxə, Kab. wašx, where the first component is *wa 'sky'). Ubykh has

š instead of the expected č since combinations of affricates + fricatives are forbidden; for a possible etymology of rʷa- see under *rʷa 'liquid'. Comparison of the AK and Ubykh forms see in Abdokov 1973, 70; AK and Abkh. - in Klimov 1967, 304.

The semantic shift 'urinate' > 'rain' is quite acceptable (cf. russ. мочить - мочиться etc.); therefore Shagirov's (2, 228) criticism of Klimov's etymology is hardly justified.

[] The comparison is satisfactory both phonetically (although - because of insufficiency of data - the vocalic reconstruction is rather tentative) and semantically.

*čərbV / *bərčV (~ č) a k. of dog: Av.-And. *čiba (~ -o); Lezg.

*p:arč.

| Av.-And. *čiba (~ -o) bitch: Cham. čiba; Tind. čiba; Kar. čiba (Tok.); God. čiba.

Tind. > Khvarsh. (Ram.) čeba 'bitch'.

| Lezg. *p:arč- tracking dog, bloodhound: Tab. bərči.

Quoted from Khaidakov 1973, thus not very reliable.

[] Except for the metathesis in Tab. (which is not an unfrequent phenomenon), correspondences are quite regular. However, the Tab. form is isolated within Lezghian and quoted from Khaidakov 1973, which makes the comparison with PA much less reliable.

*čHapV(-IV) left: Darg. *čipil; Lezg. *čalpVl-

| Darg. *čipil left: Chir. čipil.

| Lezg. *čalpVl- left: Lezg. čapla; Ag. čalplan-f.

Cf. also Ag. Burk. čalpul, Tp. čipil (not quite clear are the laryngeal features in Lezg. Khl. č:abla).

[] A Darg-Lezg. isogloss. The word has a certain resemblance to Pers. čap 'left', and could be considered as an Iranian loanword (although the phonetic and morphologic side of this hypothesis raises several objections), if not for an obvious HU parallel: Hurr. šapxalā 'left' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 54), which makes the PEC reconstruction much more reliable.

*čHartV (~ -č-) dirt: Av.-And. *čarta (~ -o); Darg. *čalrt.

| Av.-And. *čarta (~ -o) 1 dirt 2 clay: Akhv. č:atara 1; God. čarta 2.

Akhv. č- is either a misspelling, or an expressive irregular reflex of *č (original *č: > Akhv. c:).

| Darg. *čalrt dirt: Ak. čalrt.

Cf. Ur. čalrt id.

[] An And.-Darg. isogloss.

*čHaxV to be wet, flow: Nakh. *č(ʷ)uxčarV (~ -h-); Av.-And. *čʷax: (~ -o-); Darg. *čaxl-čaxli; Lezg. *čax:li- / *čax:li-.

| Nakh. *č(ʷ)uxčarV (~ -h-) waterfall: Chech. čuxčari.

Nakh > Osset. cixcir / cuxcur 'water flowing down the drain' (see Abayev 1958, 327-328).

| Av.-And. **čax*:- (~ -o-) 1 to flow, pour 2 urine: Av. *čax*:- 1; Akhv. *čax*:- 1; God. *čuxu* 2 (Zib.).

Cf. also Av. *čax*:- 'current; waterfall', Unt. *čax-tiro* id.

| Darg. **čaxl-čaxli* waterfall: Ak. *čalħčalħi*.

| Lezg. **čax:li* / **čax:li*- 1 to wash 2 to smear, rub into 3 to flow, pour: Lezg. *čuxu*- 1; Tab. *k-čaxl*- 2; Tsakh. *gi-za-xla*- 1; Arch. *čaxl* (*bos*) 3.

Cf. also Lezg. pret. *čux^we-na*, Tab. Kand. *al-žaxl*- 'to rub, smear', Arch. *čax:lar*- 'to be very wet'. The Tsakhur verb means precisely 'to wash before a prayer'. An expressive verb with a variation **č*- / **č*-.

[] An expressive root, reconstructed for the PEC level (one of the few rare verbal stems with the structure *CVCV).

**čHaŋu* earth, ground, sand: Nakh. **č(h)il* (~ -i-); Av.-And. **s:VIV*; Lak. *s:allu*; Lezg. **č:il*.

| Nakh. **č(h)il* (~ -i-) ashes, dust: Ing. *čil*.

Isolated in Ing., but with rather probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **s:VIV* silt, slime: Av. *s:aláj*.

Paradigm B (gen. *s:aláj-dul*). The word is also attested in God. (*s:ale*), but here it is most probably a loanword from Avar.

| Lak. *s:allu* earth, ground.

4th class. The stem is used also in a reduced form *s:al*- (*s:al-w* 'on the earth, on the ground', *s:al-bikan* 'to sit'), but the external evidence clearly shows that the form with -l- is original.

| Lezg. **č:il* 1 earth 2 floor: Lezg. *čil*; Tab. *zil*; Ag. *zil*; Rut. *žil*; Tsakh. *žil*.

PL **č:il*, obl. base **č:ili*- (cf. Lezg. *čili*, Tab. *žili*, Ag. *zili*, Rut. *žili*, Tsakh. *žile*-). See Талибов 1960a, 299.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (-H indicated by Lak. pharyngealization). In PL we should expect a paradigm **č:il*, **č:ili*-; the oblique base obviously superseded the former direct one.

**čHiχwV* (~ -f-) diarrhea: Lak. *čilχ*; Darg. **čaxl* (~ -χ:l); Lezg. **čix^w(a)*.

| Lak. *čilχ* diarrhea.

Gen. *čilχ:u-n*.

| Darg. **čaxl* (~ -χ:l) diarrhea: Ak. *čalh*.

Cf. also Kait. *čalh-ni* id.

| Lezg. **čix^w(a)* diarrhea: Tab. *čix* (*Kand.*).

Cf. Tab. Düb. *čux* id. Attested only in Tab., but having probable parallels in Lak. and Darg.

[] An expressive root, spread in the Eastern Dagestan area. It should be probably kept apart from a synonymous **ci/V* (q.v.), but the two roots could have influenced each other (in particular, tense *č*:- in Lak. may be due to such a

contamination); another source of influence can be seen in PEC **čHaχV* 'to be wet, flow' (q.v.). We should also mention the common Darg. name for 'urine': Ak. *ziħ*, Kad. *zeh*, Kharb., Tsud. *č:eh* < PD **č:eh* (or **č:exl*), which resembles the Lak. form in having a tense **č*:-.

**čHwVr(V)ŋV* a k. of bird (swallow, starling): Nakh. **č²orŋ* (~ -ō-); Lak. *čifu*; Darg. **č^warŋa*; Lezg. **č^wVrŋ* / **čVŋrŋ*; W.-Cauc. **č^warəd^wV*.

| Nakh. **č²orŋ* (~ -č²-, -ō-) lark: Ing. *čqord*.

Attested only in Ing., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *čifu* swallow.

| Darg. **č^warŋa* swallow: Ak. *čarŋa*.

Cf. also Ur. *čuŋa*, Gapsh. *ar-čifu*, Kharb. *čarŋa* id. The Chir. form *zar:a* is quite aberrant phonetically (probably for expressive reasons).

| Lezg. **č^wVrŋ* / **čVŋrŋ* 1 bird 2 nestling, young of birds: Tab. *čarŋ* 2; Tsakh. *siŋ* 1.

The Tab. and Tsakh. forms are probably related (cf. perhaps also Rut. *č^wed* 'jackdaw, rook'), although the correspondences between initial consonants and vowels are irregular (due to the root's expressive nature).

| W.-Cauc. **č^warəd^wV* starling: Abkh. *ā-z²ard^wəna*; Ad. *pləndaχ^w*; Kab. *bzandaχ^w*.

Cf. also Abkh. Bzyb. *a-z²ard^wəna* (PAT **z²ard^wəna*). PAK **p:č:anda-χ^wə* (the component -χ^wə is not quite clear). The original resonant within the root is -r-, as seen from the PAT form and from external evidence; -n- in PAK may be due to assimilation (e.g. **p:č:ardəna* > **p:č:anda*-). In general the Abkh. and PAK forms are in very good correlation, thus their different etymologies in Shagirov 1987, 86 are hardly justified (the etymologies are: "growing up together with goats" for PAK **p:č:andaχ^wə* and "cow's thrush" for Abkh. *ā-z²ard^wəna*; both seem folk-etymological, although in the latter case Abkh. *ard^wəna* 'thrush' could have influenced the form *ā-z²ard^wəna*).

[] Except Lak. *čifu* (which may be a loan from Darg.), all other forms seem to be genuine and the root is worth reconstructing for PNC - although, of course, one must take into account numerous irregularities typical for names of birds and small animals.

**čHaŋe* enclosure, fence: Av.-And. **čalV* (~ -o-); Darg. **čalli*; Lezg. **čal* / **ar-čal* (~l:).

| Av.-And. **čalV* (~ -o-) 1 fence, wattle-fence 2 enclosure 3 enclosure for milking sheep: Av. *čalí* 1,2; Tind. *čali* 3.

Av. paradigm B (*čoló-l*, *čalá-l*). For the Tindi word borrowing from Av. is not excluded. Tind. > Inkh. *čali* 'enclosure for milking sheep'.

| Darg. **čalli* fence: Ak. *čalli*.

| Lezg. **čal* / **ar-čal* (~l:) 1 fence 2 enclosure for milking sheep: Tab. *arčil* 1; Rut. *čal* 2 (*Ikhr.*); Ud. *čal* 1.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *arčal* 'fence'. The Tab. form contains a prefixed **ar*- (the meaning of which is not clear).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*čhārV skin, shell: Nakh. *č̣ōr; Tsez. *šōrV (~ *š:-); Lezg. *č:ar(a); Khin. žar.

| Nakh. *č̣ōr 1 skin, envelope 2 shell, peel: Chech. č̣ōr 1; Ing. čor 2; Bacb. čar 1.

3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing., 5th class in Bacb. Chech. and Ing. point to an obl. stem *č̣ōru- (Chech. č̣ōru-, Ing. čoro). However, there must have existed an obl. base with Ablaut *č̣ārV- reflected in Bacb. as the direct base.

| Tsez. *šōrV (~ *š:-) lamb's skin (for making hats); a k. of Tsez shoes: Tsez. šoru.

Attested only in Tsez., but having probable external cognates.

| Lezg. *č:ar(a) 1 (milk) skin 2 sour cream 3 cream 4 mould: Lezg. č:ar 1,3; Ag. zar 1; Rut. žar 2; Kryz. žer 3,4.

Cf. also Ag. Burk. žar 'film, membrane (in meat)', Bursh. žar 'flat bread'. There is not enough information to reconstruct the PL obl. stem (only Rut. žarā-). 3d class in Rut., 4th class in Kryz.

A Lezg. loanword (probably, from Ag.) is Darg. Chir. zer 'bark, skin'.

| Khin. žar sour cream.

This Khin. word, because of its specific meaning, can be a loanword from Shakhdag languages.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (some doubts are raised by PTs *č̣-: one would rather expect *č̣-). Cf. also Hurr. šari(y)-anna 'coat of mail' (> Akkad. š/sirijam, Hebr. sirjōn), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 42.

It is tempting to compare the reconstructed form *čhārV with East Iranian forms meaning 'coat of mail', 'armour': Osset. ẓār / āsqār, Afg. ẓara etc. (see Abayev 1989, 309), which are etymologically rather obscure. A more recent loan from Nakh is Osset. čar / čarā 'skin, bark' (see Abayev 1958, 330).

Shagirov (1983, 134) compares the Lezg. forms with some WC forms meaning 'milk'; this is obviously wrong, both for semantic reasons (the meaning 'cream' in some Lezg. languages is secondary) and for phonetic reasons (see the discussion under PNC *ṛhāwV).

*čhV̄m-jēṛwV whip: Nakh. *ẓ̌ormak (~ -a-); Av.-And. *č̣an̄:il (/ ẓ-); Tsez. *č̣urī / *č̣uri; Lak. č̣alpti; Darg. *č̣alṛuma[k:]; Lezg. *č̣ilmrā: / (-l̄); Khin. č̣ūčon.

| Nakh. *ẓ̌ormak (~ -a-) strap, thong: Chech. ẓormak.

The word also means 'a piece of leather wherein the stone is put (a detail of the sling)'. It is attested only in Chech., but has probable parallels in EC languages.

| Av.-And. *č̣an̄:il (/ ẓ-) whip: And. č̣artil; Akhv. č̣il̄:e; Cham. šajfā; Tind. ẓan̄:al; Kar. ẓar̄:el; God. ẓor̄:in.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. č̣an̄:el, Ratl. č̣in̄:el, Cham. Gig. č̣ašan, Kar. Tok. ẓor̄:el. The word, because of its initially complicated phonetic structure, demonstrates rather complicated assimilational / dissimilational processes: dissimilation -l̄:- > -l̄- (before the final *-l) in And. and Cham., with shift of the tenseness feature to the initial consonant (Cham. šajfā <

*č̣:ar̄:an < *č̣ar̄:al; in And. - with further dissimilation č̣:artil > č̣:artil; voicing *č̣- > ž- in Tind., Kar. and God. Tind. > Inkh. ẓan̄:el.

| Tsez. *č̣urī / *č̣uri whip: Tsez. č̣uri; Gin. č̣uri; Khvarsh. č̣uri; Bezht. č̣uri; Gunz. č̣uri.

PTsKh *č̣urī / *č̣uri (cf. also Tsez. /Bokarev/ č̣uref, /Imnaishvili/ č̣uref, č̣uri); PGB *č̣urī / *č̣uri (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. č̣uri, Khosh. č̣urā).

| Lak. č̣alpti whip.

| Darg. *č̣alṛuma[k:] whip: Ak. č̣alṛumag; Chir. č̣umaq̄l.

Cf. also Mek. alṛumag, Gapsh. č̣ar̄umag, Kub. alr̄emalk, Kharb. al̄umag, Tsud. alr̄imah. Correspondences are somewhat distorted because of the word's complicated phonemic structure and expressive meaning. Loss of the initial syllable in Chirag may be secondary, or may be explained by Lezghian influence (see below).

| Lezg. *č̣ilmrā: / (-l̄) whip: Rut. č̣umk; Tsakh. č̣ulmk; Kryz. šimāq; Bud. išmeq.

Cf. also Kryz. Al. šimraq id. (preserving the archaic -r-, lost elsewhere). 3d class in all languages. The root reveals a variation between *č̣- (> Rut., Tsakh. -k) and *č̣- (> Kryz., Bud. -q).

| Khin. č̣ūčon whip.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. A very complicated case. It is probable that the word is a PEC compound, and it is possible to decipher PEC *jēṛwV 'belt, leather strap' in its second part. The first part, in that case, can be reconstructed approximately as *č̣hV̄m(V)-, but it is difficult to identify this morpheme with any independent EC root. The original polyconsonantal structure *č̣hV̄m-jēṛwV, having an expressive meaning ('whip'), naturally underwent very complicated and irregular changes in most daughter-languages.

*č̣idV̄nk̄wV a bird of prey: Av.-And. *č̣idu(n)k̄V; Lezg. *č̣:inerk:~.

| Av.-And. *č̣idu(n)k̄V eagle-vulture: Av. č̣udūk.

Av. paradigm C (č̣udk̄l-l, č̣udka-l).

| Lezg. *č̣:inerk:~ 1 hawk 2 owl: Lezg. č̣:inerug 1; Tab. ẓ̌ūnerg 1; Ag. ẓ̌inirḡaj 2; Rut. ẓ̌inug 1.

In Ag. the word is witnessed only in the Fite dialect. Rut. has variants ẓ̌inik̄ / ẓ̌inuk / ẓ̌inug (cf. also Ikhr., Khniukh. ẓ̌inug); glottalisation is obviously secondary, although its source is not clear. 3d class in Rut. See Khaidakov 1973, 17.

[] An Av.-Lezg. isogloss with somewhat irregular correspondences (one has to postulate several assimilations); not quite reliable.

*č̣ir̄x̄wV to slide, slip: Lak. č̣il̄x̄; Lezg. *č̣ir̄x̄ā-.

| Lak. č̣il̄x̄ to slide, slip.

A compound verb (= Khosr. č̣:ix̄l ik̄a-n). The first part is also used as a noun: č̣il̄x̄ (gen. č̣il̄x̄:u-l) 'skating-rink'.

| Lezg. *č̣ir̄x̄ā- to slide, slip: Tab. ul-č̣u-x̄; Ag. k̄:e-č̣er̄x̄-; Rut. č̣u-x̄e-.

Cf. also Tab. Düb., Kand. č̣u-x̄, Ag. Bursh. č̣ar̄x̄a-. An expressive verb

with some violations of phonetic correspondences.

[] An expressive Lak-Lezg. isogloss.

*čiw_xV stomach; crop, craw: Av.-And. *čVx^wV; Lak. čux; Darg. *čiw_x (~x:~); Lezg. *š(ʷ)iλ; Khin. šax.

[] Av.-And. *čVx^wV belly, stomach: Av. čex; Chad. čex.

Av. paradigm B (čoxó-l, čaxá-l).

[] Lak. čux crop, craw.

Historically *x: would be expected, thus in the gen. pl. čux-irdal we have a late adequation to the direct base.

[] Darg. *čiw_x (~x:~) crop, craw: Ak. čiw_x.

[] Lezg. *š(ʷ)iλ: large intestine; stomach (of a man): Ag. šix.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. šax; Fit. šix. The world is isolated in Agul, but has reliable external parallels.

[] Khin. šax belly.

Erg. čx-i.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*čölči (~-e) fringe, hair-lock: Av.-And. *čičV; Lak. čurči.

[] Av.-And. *čičV fringe: Tind. čeca.

Attested only in Tind., but probably archaic.

[] Lak. čurči hair-lock, hair-tuft.

[] An And.-Lak. isogloss.

*čorχV body: Nakh. *čarχ (~ā-); Av.-And. *čVrχV; Lak. čurχ; Darg. *čarχ.

[] Nakh. *čarχ (~ā-) carcass: Chech. čarχ.

Obl. stem *čarχu- (Chech. čorχa-).

[] Av.-And. *čVrχV body: Av. čerχ; Chad. čerχ.

Av. paradigm C (čorχó-l, čurχ-dul, Chad. čorχó-l, čerχa-l). Av. čerχ is borrowed in Cham. Gig. čerχ(i). The Chad. form is also influenced by lit. Avar (otherwise -h would be expected).

[] Lak. čurχ: body.

Cf. gen. čurχ:a-l; Khosr. čurχ, čurχ:a-l.

[] Darg. *čarχ: body: Ak. čarχ; Chir. čarχ.

Cf. also Ur., Kad. čarχ etc.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Darg. form may be borrowed (e.g. from Old Lak before the shift a > u); this would explain the irregular *χ: in PD. Certainly borrowed (from Av.) is Arch. čerχ 'body'.

*čowqī (~ č-, -ə) drizzle, rain: Av.-And. *čVq:V; Lak. čalwqa; Lezg.

*čawχ:-un.

[] Av.-And. *čVq:V drizzle: Av. čiq.

[] Lak. čalwqa shower, heavy rain.

[] Lezg. *čawχ:-un 1 snow-storm 2 short rain 3 cold, ice: Kryz. čewχun 1; Arch. čubχ:un 2; Ud. čax 3.

3d class in Arch. and Kryz. Archi has č- (< *č:-) as a result of

assimilation in tenseness.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Pharyngealization in Lak. is probably expressive; otherwise correspondences are regular.

*čürhV (~-?) hair, plait, mane: Nakh. *čo; Tsez. *čo A; Lak. čuru;

Darg. *čuri.

[] Nakh. *čo hair: Chech. čo; Ing. čo; Bacb. čo.

6th class in all languages.

[] Tsez. *čo A 1 long hair 2 mane 3 hair in horse's tail: Gin. čud 1; Khvarsh. čoda 1; Inkh. ču 2; Bezht. čoj 3.

A rather complicated case. The PTs paradigm must have looked like *čo, *čorV-; the direct base is preserved in Inkh. ču (PTsKh *ču), and the oblique one (having passed to direct) - in Bezht. čoj (PGB *čorV). The Gin. and Khvarsh. forms are results of contaminating this root (PTsKh *ču) with PTsKh *kədV 'long hair' q.v.

[] Lak. čuru fringe.

[] Darg. *čuri plait; single hair: Ak. čuri.

Cf. also Kad. čuri, Kub. (an original plural form) ču-me 'fringe, tassel'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*č[ū] self, oneself (3d-4th class): Lak. cu; Darg. *če- / ču-; Lezg. *ič(ʷ); W.-Cauc. *čʷə.

[] Lak. cu self, oneself.

Cf. Khosr. cu id. Lak. has stems cu (pl. ci-w) and ca- (gen./erg. ca-l).

[] Darg. *če- / ču- (one)self (reflex. pronoun): Ak. ču-; Chir. čej.

Cf. also Chir. gen. čin-na. In lit. Dargwa the stem is used only in plural (erg. ču-li, gen. ču-la, dat. ču-s); in singular a morpheme sa(j) (of obscure origin) is used.

[] Lezg. *ič(ʷ) self, oneself (reflexive pronoun): Lezg. wič; Tab. uč; Ag. uč; Tsakh. čī-n(a) (gen.); Ud. ič.

In Tsakh. the stem is used only for the 3d/4th classes (opposed to 3u-/3e-, see PL *iž); in Lezg. and Tab. it is used for the 3d person (while the stem *iž is used for the 1st and 2d persons). The original usage is probably the Tsakhur one.

The PL paradigm can be reconstructed as *ič(ʷ) (dir. stem), *ča- (obl. stem, cf. Tab. gen. ča-n, Ag. Bursh. ičʷ, če-).

[] W.-Cauc. *čʷə for oneself (prefix of the subject version): Abkh. č(ə)-; Abaz. č(ə)-.

PAT *čə-.

[] The opposition of *ji 'self' (1-2 cl., animated) : *čū 'self' (3-4th cl., unanimated) is well preserved in PL. Most other languages have preserved only one of these roots.

The development *č- > c- in Lak. is irregular (typical for pronominal morphemes, cf. *čwi 'who, what' > Lak. cu-, ci-). It is unclear also, whether we should relate here PN *sā '(one)self' (Chech. sā, Ing. se, Bacb. sā-jrwa) - phonetically absolutely irregular [perhaps it should be rather compared with PL *sā- 'demonstr. pronoun, that']. The semantics of the PAT subject version is well explained if we assume its origin from a pronoun; the phonetic side is quite satisfactory.

*čVčV red: Av.-And. *č:ič:V-; Lezg. *č:Vč:V-.

| Av.-And. *č:ič:V- red: Tind. č:eč:u-b; Bagv. s:iš:u-b.

Cf. also Bagv. Tlis. č:ič:o-b.

| Lezg. *č:Vč:V- red: Ud. č:olč:a.

Isolated in Ud., with possible Andian parallels.

[] An And.-Lezg. isogloss. Not certain because of poor attestation in Lezghian. It is possible that this is the same root as PNC *čVrčV (/ *čVrčV) 'lizard, snake, worm' q.v., but with expressive phonetic transformations (the semantic derivation "worm" > "red" is rather usual typologically).

*čVqV / *qVčV to scratch, rub: Av.-And. *χ:Vč-; Tsez. *čāχ- (~ -b-); Darg. *išq-; Lezg. *čix:an-.

| Av.-And. *χ:Vč- / *q:Vč- to scrape: Av. χ:ačá-; Chad. qičí-š-.

| Tsez. *čāχ- (~ -b-) to write: Bezht. čāχ- (Tlad.); Gunz. čāχ-.

PGB *čāχ-.

| Darg. *išq- 1 to scratch, scrape 2 to tear: Ak. išq-; Chir. =išqI-.

Cf. also Ur. =išq- / išq- id., and an expressive nominal derivative in Ak. qalbs-bares, Chir. qIams i 'to scrape'.

| Lezg. *čix:an- 1 to scrape, rub 2 to fidget 3 to peel 4 to tear: Tab. ču=šI- 1; Ag. čāχan- 4 (Bursh.); Rut. ša-či=χa- 2; Tsakh. čirχam aʔa- 1; Bud. očo=χn- 3.

The Bud. verb means 'to peel (e.g. an apple); to hew, trim'; cf. also wo-čo=χn- 'to press'. An expressive PL root belonging to the strong verbal class, sometimes (e.g. in Tab.) with emphatic pharyngealisation. It seems probable to relate here, besides Tsakh. čirχam (which is a noun meaning 'scratch') also another nominal derivative: Rut. čixIi-d 'rake'. Cf. also (with irregular development) Rut. ča=qʷa- 'to itch, scratch', Arch. χašá-s (3d cl. ba=χčá-s) 'to tear (off)'.

[] One of the few expressive verbal stems with the structure CVCV, demonstrating numerous metatheses and irregularities. Precise PEC reconstruction is rather difficult (but it is not excluded that the root is an expressive derivative from *VwqV 'to scratch, scrape' q.v.).

*čVrčV / *čVrčV lizard; snake, worm: Darg. *čičála; Lezg. *čirč-; W.-Cauc. *ča(n)čášá (~č,š:).

| Darg. *čičála snake: Ak. čičála.

Cf. also Ur., Gapsh., Tsud. čičála id.

| Lezg. *čirč- 1 lizard 2 worm: Lezg. čurčul 1; Tab. čurčul 1; Kryz. čič 2; Bud. čič 2.

Tab. and Lezg. have a frequent -VI-suffix.

| W.-Cauc. *ča(n)čášá (~č,š:) lizard: Abkh. ajnčʷás; Abaz. arcás; Ub. ca(n)čáš.

An expressive and very irregular stem (cf. also Abkh. Bz. aʷánčʷás,

ajənčʷás); details of its morphological structure and history of transformations are not clear yet, but if the root is *ča(n)čá- (as suggested by the Ub. form), it probably has some parallels in EC languages.

[] An expressive reduplicated root with many irregularities; seems, however, to be genuine (although the reconstruction is very uncertain).

*čVχV / *šVbV to fade, wither: Av.-And. *č:Vχ-; Tsez. *čojb-; Lezg. *čoχar- / *č:obār-; Khin. čibi-.

| Av.-And. *č:Vχ- to fade, wither: Tind. kʷan-č:ax-.

Attested only in Tindi, with an unclear first part; the PA reconstruction is highly dubious.

| Tsez. *čojb- to fade, wither: Tsez. čašI-ił- (Radzhibov); Gunz. čob-.

| Lezg. *čoχar- / *č:obār- to fade, wither: Lezg. el-čax-; Tab. ču=χ-; Ag. tuχa- (Tp.); Rut. ži=šIa-; Tsakh. sa-či=χIar-; Arch. tuχ-.

An expressive root with irregular transformations of the initial consonant (due to its reinterpretation as an expressive preverb). There are some other irregular reflexes: Tab. Khiv. k-cu=χ- 'to curdle, coagulate', Kand., lit. ču=χ- (used along with ču=χ-).

| Khin. čibi- to fade, wither.

[] An expressive root with highly irregular transformations; nevertheless, because of the rather good Tsez.-Lezghian match, the PEC antiquity is probable.

*čwāpi (~ -e) bread: Nakh. *čuṭa; Av.-And. *čVdV; Tsez. *š(:)oti (~ -z-); Lak. čaṭ; Darg. *čut:ʷi; Lezg. *čat.

| Nakh. *čuṭa flat cake stuffed with force-meat: Chech. čuda.

| Av.-And. *čVdV bread: Av. čed; Chad. čed.

Av. paradigm C (čadi-l, čada-l).

| Tsez. *š(:)oti (~ -z-) flat bread: Bezht. šoti (Khosh).

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. čaṭ bread.

Cf. Khosr. čaṭ id.

| Darg. *čut:ʷi cake: Ak. čudu.

Cf. also Ur. čudu, Muir., Sirg., Kait. čut:u id.

| Lezg. *čat 1 bread (made from millet flour) 2 stuffed cookie: Lezg. čat 1; Rut. čad 1; Kryz. čeṭ 2; Bud. čat 2.

3d class in Kryz. and Bud. Obl. stem unknown. In Rut. there occurred a dissimilation in glottalisation.

[] A cultural word, spread in many Caucasian languages (cf. also PK * (m)čad- 'bread' > Old Georg. čadi, Georg. mčadi; Georgian is the immediate source of Gunz. čodo 'corn bread'), Osset. čata 'bran' (see Abayev 1958, 330). Some irregularities (loss of glottalisation in Av., Bezht., Darg., weakening *č: > č- in Avar, assimilation *č- > č- in PL) are probably due to the root's structure (these are processes frequently occurring in roots containing two stops); some of them, however, can be explained by interlingual borrowing. Above we have listed reflexes

that are most likely to be genuine. Besides them, there are more or less obvious loanwords: Lak. *čut:u* 'cake', Chech. *čutta* 'stuffed boiled cake', Av. *čudú* id., Lezg. *kut* (< *č^wit) 'a k. of bread'. Judging from the phonetic side, all of these words have ultimately a Dargwa source (PD *čut:^wi, see above).

*čwēn[?]V (~ -fi-) game, wild animal: Av.-And. *čonHi; Darg. *č^weja; W.-Cauc. *č^wa / *č³a.

| Av.-And. *čonHi 1 game, wild animal 2 deer 3 chamois 3 mount. goat: Av. *čan* 1,2; And. *čon* 1; Akhv. *čani* 1,3; Cham. *čāj* 3 (*Gig.*); Tind. *čani* 3; Kar. *čane* 1; God. *čāji* 3.

Av. paradigm C (*čani-l/čaná-l, čāna-l/čūn-dul*). A loan from some Av.-Andian language is probably Tsez. *čan* / *čanja* / *čalnja* 'goat' (although it means now 'domestic goat' - obviously under the influence of the common Tsez. word *čan 'goat' which was lost in Tsez.).

| Darg. *č^weja ram: Ak. č^we (*Muir.*); Chir. *čuja*.

Cf. also Kharb., Gapsh., Kait. *čuja* id. All these forms hardly go back to PD *k^wiha 'ram'.

| W.-Cauc. *č^wa / *č³a 1 female deer 2 deer, roe: Abkh. *a-čá* 1; Ub. *z^wa* 2.

The Abkh. and Ub. words are hard to separate from each other, although reasons for secondary voicing in Ub. are not clear.

[] Except for the secondary voicing in Ub., correspondences are quite regular, and the listed forms certainly go back to a common NC source.

*čwǝrgu (~ -l-) sheep, lamb: Nakh. *čuxV; Av.-And. *čVq:u; Darg. *čaq:a.

| Nakh. *čuxV lamb: Chech. *čuxa*; Bacb. *čujxí*.

Final vowel not quite clear: Chech. points to *čuxa, while Bacb. - to *čuxe.

| Av.-And. *čVq:u 2-year-old sheep, sheep (in general): Av. *čaq:ú*.

Paradigm B (*čaq:dá-l, čaq:á-bi*). Isolated in Av., but with some external parallels. Av. *čaq:ú* > Darg. Chir. *čaqu* id.

| Darg. *čaq:a sheep:

Attested only in Kharb. *čaq:a*, thus the PD antiquity is dubious.

[] The root is, actually, an Avar-Nakh isogloss (the Darg. form may be borrowed). However, the correspondences seem to be regular and the PEC form can be reconstructed (although with some doubt). Neither PN nor Av. have Inlaut resonants here, but the presence of *-r- or *-l- is suggested by the correspondence -χ- : -q- (without the resonant -q- would be preserved in PN).

*čwi an interrogative pronoun: Av.-And. *ču-, *čo-mi; Tsez. *č³-m³; Lak. *ci, cu*; Darg. *čV-; Lezg. *č^wi; Khin. č:u, č:i-m.

| Av.-And. *ču-, *čo-mi 1 who, what 2 how many: Av. *čan* 2; Chad. *čam* 2; And. *čom* 2; Akhv. *ču-* 1, *čami* 2; Cham. *sā* 2; Tind. *č^wami-la* 2; Kar. *čam* 2; Boll. *čamu* 2; Bagv. *čamu* 2; God. *čamu* 2.

In the meaning 'who, what' the root has been preserved only in Akhvakh (with changeable class suffixes); all other languages reflect only the old derivate

*čo-mi (or, perhaps, *č^wo-mi, cf. the Tind. form) 'how many'.

In Akhvakh the root serves also for building quantor pronouns (*čubi-da, čuga-dala* 'all' etc.).

| Tsez. *č³-m³ how many: Tsez. *somo*; Gin. *somo*; Khvarsh. *somu* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *somo*.

PTsKh *šo-mo. The stem is obviously related to other Dagestanian forms (reflecting *č^w[č]mV), but has š- (č- would be expected) under the influence of the widely spread PTs interrogative pronoun *š:i (q.v.).

| Lak. *ci, cu* interrogative pronoun.

Lak. *ci* 'what', *cu* 'who' (Khosr. *ci, c^wu*) (cf. also *cu-kun* 'how', *cu-k-s:a* 'how many', Khosr. *ci-mi, ci-k-s:a* id. etc.) A regular reflex with čis preserved in *čuw*, Khosr. *ču* 'where'; reasons for the shift č- > c- are not clear (cf. the same development in *ču > cu '(one)self').

| Darg. *čV- interrogative pronoun: Ak. či; Chir. ča.

Ak. či, Chir. ča 'who'. Cf. from the same root PD *čum 'how many' (Ak., Chir. *čum* etc.).

| Lezg. *š^wi what: Rut. *ši-w(i)*; Tsakh. *erg. ni-se*; Kryz. *ši*; Bud. *ši*.

This root should not be confused with another PL interrogative, *š:i q.v. It serves as a base for PL *š^wimV- 'how many' (Lezg. *šumu-d*, Tab. *š^wnu-b*, Rut. *šumu-d*, Arch. *šume-jtu*; Ud. Vart. *ema*, Nidzh. *hema* is partially contaminated with another PL interrogative stem, *ha-/hi- q.v.). A loan from Lezg. is probably Khin. *sam* 'how many'.

See Giginshvili 1977,91; Alekseyev 1985, 75.

| Khin. č:u, č:i-m an interrogative stem.

Khin. č:u 'where (to); č:i-m 'how; which'. Cf. also či-n- as the obl. base of ja(za) 'what'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. As an independent pronoun this root probably served for the direct base of the inanimate pronoun 'what'; it also served as the root of the derived PEC *čw[č]-mV 'how much' and in some other derived interrogative pronouns.

*čwǝrGwV (~-l-, -ā-) hole: Nakh. *čorčV (~-a-); Tsez. *č³ič^w (~-χ^w); Darg. *čaq:^wa.

| Nakh. *čorčV (~-a-) kennel, gutter; ravine: Chech. *čorčē*.

Attested only in Chech., thus the vocalic reconstruction (including the vowel length) not quite certain.

| Tsez. *č³ič^w (~-χ^w) window: Bezht. *zuč*; Gunz. *zoč*.

PGB *zuč / *zoč (the variation u/o probably pointing out a former *č³ič^w).

| Darg. *č³aq:^wa pit: Chir. č³aq:^wa.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive root with two stops - which explains the assimilation of the first consonant to the second in PTs and PD.

Other EC languages also have similar words which can ultimately go back to the same source - but with severe violations of phonetic correspondences due to the expressive nature of the root.

One can mention PL *č³ič^w 'buttock, anus' (Tab. *č³uq*, Ag. Fit., Burk. *č³uq*) and Lak. *cuq* (pl. *cuqa-l*) 'hole'; Av. *seq:er*, Chad. *čuq:ur* 'throat, larynx' (Av. > Akhv. *seq:e* 'Adam's apple', Gin. *seger* 'gullet'); Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *čāχrō* 'furrow'.

*Ç^hΛwnV dark: Av.-And. *b-VçV-; Lak. çan; Darg. *çalb- (~p-); Lezg. *VçVn-; W.-Cauc. *ç^ha.

| Av.-And. *b-VçV- dark: Av. béça-.

Isolated in Av., but with reliable external parallels. Av. > Tsez. beçaw id.

| Lak. çan darkness.

4th class. Also adjective: çan-s:a 'dark'.

| Darg. *çalb- (~p-) dark: Ak. çalb-si.

Cf. also Ur. çalb, Kub. çalb-b 'darkness', Kharb. çab-se, Kait. çalm-çil 'dark'.

| Lezg. *VçVn- dark, darkness: Ud. b-eling.

Cf. also Ud. Vart. b-ajinq: id. The PL reconstruction is highly hypothetical (since Ud. intervocalic zero can reflect many PL consonants): it just means that the Ud. form can correspond to the other EC reflexes of *çVwnV-.

| W.-Cauc. *ç^ha black: Abkh. á-jk^ha-ç^ha; Abaz. k^ha-jç^ha; Ad. s^ha-ç^ha; Kab. fə-ç^ha; Ub. ça.

The PAT form is a compound *jak^ha-ç^ha (for the first part cf. Abkh. a-jk^ha dark). ç^ha can not be treated here as the same root as PAT *jaç^ha 'blue, green' (q.v.) for accentological reasons: a-jk^há(j)ç^ha would be expected in Abkh.).

The PAK word *ç^həça 'black' goes back (as proposed by Шарипов 2, 103) to *ç^hə 'black' + *pça- 'thick, dense' with secondary elision of -p-; the root *ç^hA 'black' is used also in a number of other compounds.

Since exactly the same correspondence is present in the word for 'fire' (q.v.) one can not separate the Ub. form from the rest, but problems remain: we have to account for deglottalisation and delabialisation of the root consonant. We can, however, suppose that the original form is still preserved in the word for 'coal': Ub. gá(n)-ç^ha, cf. PAK *ç^ha-məçə id.

[] As seen from the Lak. and Darg. forms, the use of this root with class prefixes (*w-, reflected in Av. and Ud.) is probably secondary. Medial *-w- is reflected in Darg. as -b- and in PWC as labialisation. Pharyngealisation in Dargwa may be secondary (expressive); if it is not, *ç^hΛwnV should be reconstructed. See Abdokov 1983, 142.

*Ç^hΛwnV dirt, dungwash; urine: Nakh. *çVwVn (~ -b-); Tsez. *cimə; Lezg. *çVm(a); W.-Cauc. *ç^hV.

| Nakh. *çVwVn (~ -b-) dungwash: Chech. çun; Ing. çun.

3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing. We have to suppose a contraction to account for the Chech. vowel length (old long vowels are shortened in a closed syllable).

| Tsez. *cimə urine: Bezht. cima (Tlad., Khosh.); Gunz. cumo.

PGB *cimə. In Gunz. also used as a verbal stem (cum- "to urinate").

| Lezg. *çVm(a) 1 sperm 2 dung (of sheep): Lezg. çimil (Khl.) 2; Tab. çama 1 (Düb.); Ag. çimil-ar 2 (Fit.).

The first vowel is impossible to reconstruct, because in all languages it is assimilated to the vowel of the suffix (-il in Lezg., Ag., -a < -aj in Tab.). The semantic variation is well explained by the external evidence (the original meaning of the root was probably "dungwash", "filthy secretion").

| W.-Cauc. *ç^hV 1 dirt, dirty; excrements 2 to become dirty: Ad. ş^ha-jə 1; Kab. fə-j 1; Ub. qə-ç^h- 2.

PAK *ç^ha-jə; Ub. sə-qə-ç^h-ə-n. Both PAK and Ub. have compounds: in PAK with the stem *-ja "bad" (see Shagirov 1977, 2, 102); in Ub. the first component goes back to PWC *qə 'dirt, dung' q.v. We should relate here also the Ub. reduplicated stem ç^haç^h- (ç^haç^h-ə-n "cela fait mal", ç^haç^h-ə "mal, douleur"). For the semantic shift "dirty" > "bad" cf. PAK *ç^ha-jV "bad" (< *qə-ja) where *ç^ha = PAT *qə 'dung' and Ub. qə-.

Shagirov's supposition that PAK *ç^ha- here = PAK *ç^hə "good" is unacceptable.

[] Correspondences are quite regular, but there is not enough information to reconstruct the vocalism (we can only say that the first vowel was short and back).

*çädV rain, drizzling rain: Nakh. *derç; Av.-And. *ç:a[d]i; Lezg. *çat:(a), *çat:a-l; Khin. çu.

| Nakh. *derç 1 drizzling rain 2 bad weather: Chech. derz 1; Ing. darz 1; Bacb. darçol 2.

Obl. base *darçe- (Chech. derza-, Ing. darzo). Differences in vocalism between Chech. and Ing. are explained by vowel levelling of direct/oblique bases. Length of the vowel in Bacbi (Kadagidze gives variants: darçol, dərçola, dərçina) is unclear (Bacbi does not normally distinguish between short and long vowels, and, anyway, in this case Chechen obviously points to a short vowel in PN). Cf. also dialectal forms with assimilation: Khild. 3ar3, Shar. 3jer3, Akk. çjerc. Imnaishvili has a notation for Ing.: djerc: - which points to PN *ç. The word belongs to the 3d class both in Chech. and in Ing.

| Av.-And. *ç:a[d]i rain: Av. ç:ad; Chad. çad; And. ç:a; Akhv. ç:ari; Cham. şa; Tind. c:a; Kar. ç:aj; Botl. ç:aj; God. c:a:ji.

Av. has an irregular accent paradigm (gen. ç:ada-l, pl. ç:ada-l). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan., Ratl. ç:a, Cham. Gig. ç:aj. The Av. and Akhv. forms contain historical suffixes (probably reflecting old obl. stems *ç:adV-IV- and *ç:adV-rV- - cf. the external evidence). Loss of medial *-d- in Andian languages is quite strange, but there seems to be no reason to suppose that *-d- is a suffix in all languages outside the Andian family (cf. a similar case in PA *la[d]i < PEC *ladV 'a k. of berry' q.v.).

| Lezg. *çat:(a), *çat:a-l 1 drop 2 dew 3 liquid: Lezg. ştal 1; Tab. çadal 1; Ag. çar 2 (Tsirkh.); Kryz. çadi 3.

Lezg. ştal is a reduced form from *ç(a)l:al. Cf. also Tab. Düb. çawul 'drizzle, drizzling rain', Ag. Bursh. çaral 'dew'.

| Khin. *çu* drop.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PN form **derç* is a metathesis < **cerd* (cf. also some modern forms reflecting **çerç* with assimilation), probably going back to the oblique base **cādV-rV-* (other languages reflect also **cādV-rV-*, cf. e.g. Akhv. *ç:ari*, as well as **cādV-lV-*, cf. PL **cat.al*). The metathesis could also be favoured by analogy with **darc* 'snowstorm' (see **3wVncV*).

**cāji* fire: Nakh. **çe*; Av.-And. **ca?i*; Tsez. **çə* A; Lak. *çu*; Darg. **ça*; Lezg. **çaj*; Khin. *čä*; W.-Cauc. **mAc'a*.

| Nakh. **çe* fire: Chech. *ce*; Ing. *ci*; Bacb. *çe*.

PN paradigm: **çe*, **çari-* (Chech. *cera-*, Ing. *çero*, Bacb. *çari-*); 4th class.

| Av.-And. **ca?i* fire: Av. *ça*; Chad. *čä*; And. *ca*; Akhv. *çari*; Cham. *ça*; Tind. *čä*; Kar. *çaj*; Botl. *çaj*; Bagv. *çaj*; God. *çaji*.

Av. paradigm C (*ce-l/ca-dúl*, *cāja-l*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *çaj*, Gad. *la*, Kar. Tok. *çe*, Archo., Rach. *çaji*. The Akhv. form reflects an archaic oblique base **çari-*.

In most Andian languages the verb 'burn' is derived from this root (cf. And. *ça-to-*, Akhv. *čə-ru-*, Cham. *cah-*, Tind. *cahal-* etc.).

| Tsez. **çə* A fire: Tsez. *ci*; Gin. *čē*; Khvarsh. *ca*; Inkh. *çə*; Bezht. *çə*; Gunz. *çə*. PTsKh **çə*, PGB **çə*.

| Lak. *çu* fire.

4th class. Obl. base *çara-*.

| Darg. **ça* fire: Ak. *ca*; Chir. *ca*.

Cf. also Ur., Kub., Tsud. *ca* etc.

| Lezg. **çaj* fire: Lezg. *çaj*; Tab. *ça*; Ag. *ça*; Rut. *çaj*; Tsakh. *ça*; Kryz. *čä*; Bud. *çə*; Arch. *oc*; Ud. *arux*.

The oblique base must be reconstructed as **çoli-* with Ablaut (cf. Lezg. *çu*, Khl. *jiči*, Tab. *çi*, Ag. *ci*, Rut., Kryz. *ci*; with vowel levelling Tsakh. *çaji*, Bud. *çaji*). There also must have existed a parallel **-r*-base **çoj(j)-rV-*, cf. Arch. loc. *çere-qi* and the Udi *ə-r-uχ* (originally a plural form). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 83; Leksika 1971, 193; Giginayshvili 1977, 100; Талибов 1980, 296.

| Khin. *čä* fire.

| W.-Cauc. **mAc'a* fire: Abkh. *á-mca*; Abaz. *mca*; Ad. *mās'a*; Kab. *māfa*; Ub. *māžā*.

PAT **māca* (cf. also Bzyb. *á-mca*). PAK **mac'a*. Ub. def. *á-mžā*. The root presents some irregularities. The PAT and Ub. forms reveal a secondary delabialisation (PAT **māca* < **māc'a*; Lomtadze (1942, 862, 865) is probably right in assuming that the original labialized form is preserved in PAT **mac'a* 'lightning' ('fire'+ 'beat'); Ub. *māžā* < **māž'a*). The same languages also have lost glottalisation. The most archaic form (judging from the external evidence) is PAK **mac'a*.

Cf. also PAT **c'a-* in **c'a-māsa* 'tinder' (= PL **çoji-mās*, see under **māsA*); this is probably the only trace of the prefixless stem in WC languages.

[] One of the most reliable and stable common NC lexemes. The PWC form has a prefixed **ma-* of somewhat obscure origin; the labialisation of **ç* must be explained either by the labialising influence of **m-* or by the former oblique base vocalism **ū-* (suggested by PL obl. base **çoji-* / **ca(j)-rV-*). See Trubetzkoy 1930, 276; Abdokov 1983, 98.

Many languages reflect an old oblique base formed with the **-rV* suffix (**çaj-rV-*), cf. PN **çari-*, PA **çari-* (reflected in Akhv. *čari*), Lak. **çara-*, PL **ça(j)-rV-*. The same stem with reduplication is probably reflected in PL **çarçar* 'luster, glitter' (Tab., Lezg. *çarçar*) exactly corresponding to PAT **caracəra* 'to glitter' (Abkh. *a-carəcar-ra*, Abaz. *cərcəcar-ra*) (with the same loss of glottalisation and absence of labialisation as in **māca* 'fire').

Another old derivate of the same root is probably PNC **çaj-IV* 'brilliance, lightning' reflected in PN **stela* (**st-*) (> Chech. *stela-ʹad* 'rainbow', *stela-χästig* 'lightning', /Usl./ *stela* 'thunder', Ing. *sela-ʹad* 'rainbow'), Lak. *çaj* 'brilliance, glitter', PD **çala* (Ak. *çala* 'sparkle', Chir. *çala-laIm* 'lightning') and PAK **çə-wə-* (with a verbal stem **-wə-*) 'to shine, glitter' (Ad. Bzhed. *çə-wə-*, Kab. *çə-wə-*). Note that **-j*, having passed to word-medial position in PN, has caused the shift **ç-* > **st-* (**st-*); note also the absence of labialisation in PAK **ç* (without the prefixed **mV-*).

**çanē* thorny bush: Nakh. **çon-*; Av.-And. **ç:anV*; Lezg. **çančan* / **çamçam*.

| Nakh. **çon-* a k. of bush: Chech. *çuna deçig*; Ing. *çon*.

It is not quite clear, what kind of bush is meant. In the Ing.-Chech.-Russ. dictionary both words are glossed as 'a k. of bush'; in the Chech.-Russ. dictionary (where the form is *çulla deçig*, probably < **cun-la*; *deçig* = 'wood, tree') the gloss is 'a k. of bush with hard wood'.

| Av.-And. **ç:anV* 1 thorn, prick 2 blackthorn 3 juniper: Av. *ç:iní* 3; And. *ç:ana* 1,2; Akhv. *ç:ana* (Tseg.) 1; Cham. *šan* 1; Tind. *ç:ani* 1; Kar. *ç:ana* 1; Botl. *ç:ana* 1; Bagv. *ç:ana* 1; God. *ç:ani* 1.

Av. paradigm B (*ç:iní-dul*). Cf. also Kar. Tok., Cham. Gig. *ç:ani*.

| Lezg. **çančan* / **çamçam* 1 sweetbrier 2 sweetbrier berry: Tab. *çamçam* 2 (*Dub.*); Kryz. *çinça-k'ak'aj* 1.

A reduplicated root; meaning of the second component in Kryz is not quite clear.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Not quite clear is the *-o*-vowel in PN; otherwise correspondences are regular, and the root seems to be reliable.

**čəpV* hook, buckle: Av.-And. **čapa-l* (~ *o*); Tsez. **čapi*; Lezg. **čap*.

| Av.-And. **čapa-l* (~ *o*) button: Cham. *capal* (Gig.).

Attested only in Cham., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. **čapi* a metallic breast ornament: Bezht. *çapi*; Gunz. *çapi*.

PGB **çapi*.

| Lezg. **çap* 1 bend, crook 2 catapult 3 latch (in a mouse-trap): Lezg. *çap-an* 2; Tab. *çap* 1; Kryz. *çip* 3.

In Lezg. the suffixless root is preserved in the Khl. dialect: *çap* 'button' (< 'hook, clasp'). The Kryz. vowel is probably explained by Ablaut (reflecting the oblique base **çopV-*, with later assimilation -p > -b). 4th class in Kryz.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

çāqV* strength, power: Nakh. **ni-çq* (ni-çH*); Av.-And. **ç:Vq:V*; Lak. *çaq*; Darg. **çaq*.

| Nakh. **ni-çq* (**ni-çH*) strength, power: Chech. *niçq*; Ing. *niz*; Bacb. *niçq*.

5th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing. and Bacb. Cf. also Shar. *niçð* id.

| Av.-And. **ç:Vq:V* very, strongly: Av. *çaq*; Chad. *çaq*.

The lit. Av. form is dissimilated < **ç:aq*: (weak **ç* would give *ç* in Chad.). Av. *çaq*: > Cham. *çaq*; Inkh., Gin., Bezht., Gunz. *çaq*. Tsez. *çaq-tow* 'very'.

| Lak. *çaq* strength, power.

| Darg. **çaq* strength, power: Ak. *çaq*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Lak. word may be borrowed from Darg. (or vice versa), but one of these forms is still genuine. The PN form has a very specific structure - with a prefix **ni-* and reduction of the second part. The prefix should be perhaps analyzed as the PEC reflexive pronominal stem **HinV-* - i.e. **HinV-çāqV* 'one's own power'.

**çax(w)V* / **çax(w)V* to scrape, scratch: Tsez. **çax(:)w-*; Lezg.

**çaxVr-*.

| Tsez. **çax(:)w-* to write: Tsez. *çaxw-*; Gin. *çax-*.

PTsKh **çax(:)w-*. For phonetic reasons the root should be kept distinct from PGB **çāx-* 'to write' (see PEC **çVqV*).

| Lezg. **çaxVr-* 1 to scratch, scrape 2 to gnaw 3 scratch (n.): Lezg. *çarx* 3; Tab. *ça-x-* 1; Ag. *çurxa-* 2 (*Bursh.*); Kryz. *tu-xr-/çu-xr-*.

An expressive verb (**ç-*, being reinterpreted as an expressive preverb, varies with *t-* in Kryz.); cf. also Tab. Düb. *ca-x-* 'to scrape', *ka-ca-x-* 'to gnaw'.

[] An expressive Tsez.-Lezg. isogloss (cf. also the synonymous PEC **çVqV*).

**çāk wV* sour, raw: Av.-And. **ç:ik:wV-*; Tsez. **d[i]q-* / **d[i]k-*; Lak. *cixku-*; Darg. **çikw-*; Lezg. **çāk w-i-*.

| Av.-And. **ç:ik:wV-* sour: Av. *ç:ēka-b*; Chad. *çēka-b*; And. *ç:ik:u*; Akhv. *ç:ik:u-da-*; Cham. *çiku-b*; Tind. *c:ik:u-b*; Kar. *ç:ik:o-b*; Botl. *ç:ik:u*; Bagv. *ç:iku-*; God. *c:ik:u*.

For Avar the Av.-Rus. dictionary gives *ç:ēka-b* (with *k*), but Gudava (1964, 105) writes *ç:ēka-b*; the variant with weak -*k-* may be due to dissimilation. Unclear is *ç:-* in Akhvakh (all other languages uniformly point to **ç:-*).

| Tsez. **c[i]q-* / **c[i]q̄-* sour: Tsez. *ceq(i)ju*; Gin. *ceqqu*; Khvarsh. *caqu*; Inkh. *caqu*.

PTsKh **c[i]qV-ju* / **c[i]q̄V-ju*. The vowel correspondence is irregular (unclear is -a- in Khvarsh. and Inkh.). The variation **q*/*q̄* is rather typical for reflexes of PEC glottalized consonants in "tense" words.

| Lak. *c:ixku-* sour.

Attested only in Khosrekhe. The normal Lak reflex of PEC **çāk wV-* would be **c:iku-*. -*χk-* is not clear (perhaps under influence of *c:ix* 'manure, dung?').

| Darg. **çikw-* sour: Ak. *cik-si*.

Cf. also Tsud. *çikw-se*, Kharb. *çak-se*, Kait. *çig-dihaw* id.

| Lezg. **çāk w-i-* 1 raw 2 rank, bitter: Lezg. *ciki* 1; Arch. *çegw-du* 2.

Arch. predic. *çekw* 'to be rank, bitter'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. A possible WC parallel see under **hmVjçwA* 'sour'.

**çāmçV* piece, crumb: Nakh. **çinç-*; Av.-And. **çVçV*; Lak. *çinç*.

| Nakh. **çinç-* a piece of smth.: Chech. *çinçolg*.

An expressive diminutive form.

| Av.-And. **çVçV* a little piece, bump, lump, scirrhous: Av. *çeç*.

Av. paradigm B/C (*çoçô-l*, *çéça-l* / *çúç-dul*).

| Lak. *çinç* rubbish, litter.

[] An expressive reduplicated root. The development in PN is irregular (-*nç-* in Chech. instead of expected -*tt-*), which should be obviously explained by the root's expressive nature. The root is similar phonetically and semantically to **çôçV* 'tip, spout' (q.v.), and the two roots could have merged in some subgroups.

**çānV* new: Nakh. **çin-*; Av.-And. **çinhV-*; Tsez. **içVn-* A; Lak. *çu-*; Darg. **çi-*; Lezg. **çenjā-* / **çenwā-*; W.-Cauc. **çA*.

| Nakh. **çin-* new: Chech. *çina*; Ing. *çena*; Bacb. *çini*.

For the pure stem cf. Chech. *çin-dan* "to renew". The full form in PN shows vacillation between **çin-a(n)* (Ing. *çena*) and **çin-e(n)* (Bacb. *çini*); Chech. *çina* may go back to either.

| Av.-And. **çinhV-* new: Av. *çija-b*; Chad. *çija-b*; And. *çiw*; Akhv. *çĩ-da*; Cham. *çiw*; Tind. *çihu-b*; Kar. *çijo-m*; Botl. *çiu*; Bagv. *çinu-b*; God. *çiju*.

Cf. also Kar. Arch., Anch. *çino-b*, Tok. *çinu-b*.

| Tsez. **içVn-* A new: Tsez. *eçno*; Gin. *eçendiju*; Khvarsh. *eçnu*; Inkh. *içnu*; Bezht. *içijo*; Gunz. *ičçu*.

PTsKh **iç(i)n-*, PGB **iç-* (**içn-*).

| Lak. *çu-* new.

| Darg. **çi-* new: Chir. *çize*.

Cf. also Kharb. *çi-se* 'new'.

| Lezg. **çenjā-* / **çenwā-* new: Lezg. *çiji*; Tab. *çiji*; Ag. *çajif*; Rut. *çindi*; Tsakh. *çedin*; Kryz. *çijā*; Arch. *maçat:ur*; Ud. *ini*.

-*j-* and -*w-* are probably class suffixes (-*w-* postulated on basis of the Arch. form: **çenwā-* > **çemā-* > *maça-*). The Udi form goes back to **çenjā-* quite

regularly, thus the assonance with Azer. *jeni* is coincidental. See Bokarev 1961, 70; Giginayshvili 1977, 100; Талибов 1980, 296.

| W.-Cauc. **čA* 1 new 2 young 3 small, little: Abkh. *a-čə-c* 1; Abaz. *čə-c* 1; Ad. *čə-k"ə* 3; Kab. *čə-k"* 3; Ub. *ča* 1,2.

PAT **čə-čə* 'new' - cf. Abkh. Bz. *a-čəč*. Historically this is probably a reduplication (with dissimilative loss of glottalisation in the second part). In the Abzh. dialect and in Abaz. the word was transformed to *čəc* under influence of another root, **ča* q.v. The pure root **čə* is preserved in Abkh. *a-j-č-rá* (Bz. *a-j-č-rá*) 'to be younger, smaller', *a-j-č-bá* (Bz. *a-j-č-bá*, Abaz. *ajčba*) 'junior'.

The AK languages preserve this root only within the compound **čə-k"ə* 'small, young, youngster' (*čə* regularly < **čə*; the precise meaning of the second component is not quite clear yet).

[] One of the most widely spread common NC roots. It is adjectival, but usually does not have class prefixes (the situation in some Tsez. languages must therefore be considered as a secondary innovation). In Khin. the root is preserved within the compound *či-nas* 'bride' (see **nūsA*).

Cf. Urart. *s(V)-uṣə* 'new' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 34-35). See Trubetzkoy 1930, 275; Abdokov 1983, 142.

**čänHV* bow, arrow: Av.-And. **činHu*; Tsez. **čē*; W.-Cauc. **čə*.

| Av.-And. **činHu* 1 arrow 2 bow: And. *čiwu* 2; Akhv. *čīwo* / *čīho* 1; Cham. *čīw* 1; Tind. *čīhu* 1; Kar. *čijun* (Tok.) 1; Bagv. *či* (*Leksika*) 1.

The word for 'fork' in some Andian languages is derived from the same root: **činHu-b* or **činHu-r* > **čimHu-r* ('arrow-like'): cf. Tind. *činob*, Akhv. *čume* (Tseg., Tlan. *čumer*, Ratl. *čumeri*), And. *čumur* 'fork'.

| Tsez. **čē* 1 bow 2 arrow: Gin. *niču* 2; Inkh. *čē* 1.

PTsKh **čē*, obl. **čeno-* (Inkh. *čeno-*); Gin. *niču* reflects a metathesised oblique stem (coincidence with *niču* 'reed' is obviously secondary, because the latter is borrowed from Av. *nuč* q.v.).

| W.-Cauc. **čə* 1 bow 2 arrow: Abkh. *a-χə-c* 1; Abaz. *χri-χəc* 1,2.

PAT **χə-čə* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-xəč* 'bow', Ashkh. *χəc* 'arrow'). This compound, actually meaning 'arrow+bow', is an exact parallel of EC forms like Akhv. Ratl. *lar-člīō* 'bow and arrow' etc. (see under **λAl(H)V*).

[] An important common NC root; not very widely represented, but both phonetically and semantically quite reliable.

**čänqV* lynx, panther: Nakh. **čəq*; Av.-And. **čirq*; V; Lak. *činiq*; Darg. **čirq*.

| Nakh. **čəq* ounce, snow leopard: Chech. *čəq*; Ing. *čəq*.

The Chech. word is recorded only in the Russian-Chechen and Ingush-Chechen-Russian dictionaries (the standard source - Chechen-Russian dictionary - records only the synonymous compound *čəq-berg*, and Uslar has only another compound, *čəq-erzaw* 'eagle'), but vowel length can be securely postulated on the basis of a derived adjective: Chech. *čəqə* 'variegated (of animals)'. The oblique stem can be reconstructed as **čəqə-* (Chech. [in the Ingush-Chechen-Russian

dictionary] *čəqə-*, Ing. *čəqə*). The word belongs to the 3d class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **čirq*:V 1 lynx 2 ounce, snow leopard: Av. *čirq*: 1; Akhv. *čiq:ə* 1; God. *čirq:u* 2.

Av. paradigm A (gen. *čirq:i-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tlan. *čiq:i* 'lynx'. We should note the preservation of *č-* in Akhv. (regularly *č-* would be expected): this is either a misspelling of Magomedbekova (in which case the correct form is *čiq:ə*, and *č-* should be explained by early assimilation in tenseness), or the Akhvakh form was influenced by Avar *čirq*:. Certainly borrowed from Avar are the forms: Akhv. Tseg. *čirq*:, Tind. *čirq*: 'lynx'.

| Lak. *činiq* tiger, leopard.

Khaidakov (1966) has recorded also some interesting dialectal forms: Arak. *čire?*, Bartkh. *čnalq"* id.

| Darg. **čirq* panther: Ak. *čirq*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Medial *-r-* in Av.-And. is not quite clear (we would rather expect here a loss of medial resonant); also rather strange is the paradigm A in Avar (Nakh languages do not show any trace of laryngeals). These irregularities can be perhaps explained by interlingual borrowing - but in general the antiquity of the root is beyond doubt.

**čEnXV(n)* to search, ask: Nakh. **χəft-*; Av.-And. **čix*:Vn-; Lak. *ču=χ:i-*; W.-Cauc. **čəbə-*.

| Nakh. **χəft-* to ask: Chech. *χətt-*; Ing. *χətt-*; Bacb. *χətt-*.

The PN length is established on basis of forms like Chech. pret. *χətti-ra* and Ing. pres. *χətt*, pret. *χəttə-d*. The durative stem is **χəft-* > Chech., Ing. *χətt-*, Bacb. *χətt-*.

| Av.-And. **čix*:V(n)- 1 to search 2 to ask: Av. *čex:ē-* 1,2; Tind. *čix:i-* 1; Kar. *čex:-* 1.

In Av. Chad. cf. perhaps *čəχ-* 'to count' (normally *č-* would be expected, but initial **č-* was probably assimilated and transformed to *č:-* > Chad. *č-*).

| Lak. *ču=χ:i-* to ask.

G. pr. *ču=χ:unu*. From Old Lak. the form was borrowed into Archi: Arch. *čix:ə-kes* 'to ask' - which shows that the original vowel in Lak. was *-i-*, and *-u-* appeared probably because of interaction with class infixes.

| W.-Cauc. **čəbə-* to ask: Abkh. *a-čə-rá*; Abaz. *čə'a-ra*; Ub. *žəa-*.

PAT **čə'a-* (cf. Bzyb. *a-čə-rá*); Ub. *sə-žəa-n*. The word is obviously connected with EC forms like Av. *čex:ē-ze* etc., thus a hissing Anlaut is probable for PWC. We may assume that Ub. *žəa-* is a modification of **žəa-* (since Ub. *ž* does not occur in any consonant clusters), which, in its turn, is assimilated from **č(ə)ba-*.

[] The cognateship of the EC and WC forms seems quite probable, although in PWC we must assume a secondary voicing (*-χ-* > *-b-*). The PN form is metathesized: **χəft-* < **χənc-* < **čənχ-* (probably with a secondary length, because other languages suggest rather a short vowel). All these irregularities are explained by the exceptional root structure **CVRVCV*, very rare for verbs.

*čĖrcV marten, weasel: Nakh. *čic; Av.-And. *zVzV; Lezg. *čor(o)čol; Khin. čiza-šxer; W.-Cauc. *č:V3V.

| Nakh. *čic 1 weasel 2 rat: Chech. čeca-joqqurg 1; Ing. cic-xolg 2.

On basis of Chech. čeca- and Ing. cic- (with assimilation < čic-) a PN paradigm *čic, *čaci- can be reconstructed. The simple root is not attested; it is present only within a compound *čaci-joqqV-rik (*čic-joqqV-rik), distorted phonetically in Ing. cicxolg, and meaning literally "a big *čic" (*j-oqqa 'big').

The same root with a simple diminutive suffix *čic-ik (and with assimilation > *cic-ik) means "cat" in Chech.-Ing. (Chech. cicig, Ing. cisk).

| Av.-And. *zVzV squirrel: Av. zazl-unk-.

The form is qualified as 'dialectal' in the Avar-Russian dictionary, so the precise source is unknown. This is most likely a contamination of the original root *čVrcV with the dialectal Av. name for "hedgehog" (which in many languages of Dagestan is described as "prickly mouse" (cf. Lak. c:ac-kulu) or "prickly cat" (cf. Arch. caclin gatu). It is not quite clear, how this root correlates with Kar. z'anž'a 'squirrel' (perhaps it should be rather compared with Bud. ža'žu 'hedgehog' - but since both Kar. and Bud. forms are quite isolated, the question remains open).

| Lezg. *čor(o)čol marten: Lezg. čučul; Tab. čurčul; Ag. čurčul; Rut. siričal; Tsakh. suleč-man.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. ččil, Akht. ččil, Tab. lit. curčul, Düb. čurčul, Tsakh. Gelm. sirača, Tsakh. šurčima 'marten'. In Rut. and Tsakh. there occurred a dissimilatory spirantisation č > s-. 3d class in Rut., 4th class in Tsakh.

| Khin. čiza-šxer hedgehog.

| W.-Cauc. *č:V3V 1 weasel 2 marten 3 beaver: Abkh. a-pš-žā 1; Abaz. žāžā 1; Ad. čāza 2; Kab. žāžā 2; Ub. čāca 3.

PAK *č:žā. In the Abkh. dialects the root underwent significant changes, cf. also Bzyb. a-pš-žā / a-pš-žā 'weasel'. The PAT form must have been *čāžV or *čāžV; with metathesis and partial reduplication it is preserved in Abaz. žāžā. In Abkh. it was used in a compound, most probably with *pāšā 'red': *a-pāšā-č()žā (with reduction) > a-pš-žā / a-pš-žā.

In Ub. we have čāza 'marten', which is certainly an Ad. loan; the genuine word, cited by Vogt 1963 from Dumézil 1959, is čāca 'beaver'.

If we take all the said into account, correspondences between the three branches will be quite regular (we have only to assume an assimilation *čāza > čāca in Ub.).

The correct comparison of all three branches see in Абдоков 1973, 50. Shagirov's (1977, 168) attempt to derive the AK form from Turkic (Kirgh. sūsar etc., ultimately from Pers. susmar) is, of course, untenable for phonetic reasons.

[] Although the root is expressive and, therefore, behaves not quite regularly (the PWC form presupposes rather a NC protoform like *čĖrcV), there is no doubt in the historical identity of the EC and WC forms.

*čēbV (/ *čēpV) (~ -ā-) big stone; hard: Av.-And. *č:aba (~ o);

Tsez. *šipi (~ s:-z-); Darg. *čupi; Lezg. *čep:V-.

| Av.-And. *č:aba (~ o) big stone: Akhv. č:aba.

Attested only in Akhv. (cf. also Tsez., Ratl. č:aba), but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *šipi (~ s:-z-) stone for fastening the roof: Bezht. šipi (Khosh.); Gunz. šipi (Gunz.).

PGB *šipi (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. šipi).

| Darg. *čup:i big pan, trivet: Ak. čubi.

Cf. also Muir., Tsud., Sirg. čup:i, Kub. čip:e.

| Lezg. *čep:V- 1 hard 2 thick (of a flat object): Ag. čup:e-f; Tsakh. čoba-n.

Cf. also Bursh. čube-r, Burk. čup:e-f, Fit. čep:i-t / čebbi-t (the latter form showing that the stem actually consists of the root čeb- + suffixed -b-).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for the metathesis of laryngeal features in PTs (a rather usual phenomenon in roots containing two stops), correspondences are regular.

*čēlčū a k. of insect: Nakh. *čoç (~ -ž-); Av.-And. *čorča; Tsez.

*čāç- (~ a, -V-); Darg. *čerc; Lezg. *čilç(a); Khin. čičin; W.-Cauc. *čāžā.

| Nakh. *čoç (~ -ž-) locust: Chech. čoz; Ing. čoz.

3d class in both languages. Oblique base *čaci- (*čāzi-), cf. Chech. čeza-, Ing. čezo.

| Av.-And. *čorča butterfly: And. čorča (Khaidakov).

Isolated in And., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *čāç- (~ a, -V-) glow-worm, firefly: Bezht. čāčaka (Khaid.).

Attested only in Bezht., but having possible external parallels. The Bezht. word also means 'spark' and may in fact be a contamination of the present root with another one (cf. Gunz. čākā-tma 'fire-brand', see under PEC *čwi/Vkwō).

| Darg. *čerc cricket, locust, grasshopper: Ak. čerc.

Cf. also Ur. čirč, Tsud. čerc 'grasshopper, locust'.

| Lezg. *čilç(a) grasshopper: Lezg. čič; Tab. čič; Ag. čirčir ali; Rut. čič; Kryz. čilčāng.

4th class in Kryz. and Rut. The Ag. word is from the Bursh. dialect (there also exists a variant čirčin ali there). Cf. also Kryz. Al. činčal 'grasshopper' (in Kryz. proper the word čilčāng means both 'grasshopper' and 'butterfly'). It is not clear, how to relate here Bud. čig 'grasshopper'. An expressive reduplicated root with some irregular changes.

| Khin. čičin grasshopper.

| W.-Cauc. *čāžā 1 nit 2 flea 3 beetle, bug: Abkh. a-čāž 1; Abaz. čāž 2; Ad. čāžā 3; Kab. čāž 3.

PAT *čāžā (cf. also Bzyb. a-čāž 'nit'); PAK čāžā (cf. also Ad. Tem. čāžā 'a k. of fly'). Kab. > Abaz. čāžā 'maggot of a gadfly'. In PAT we should expect *čāžā; there probably occurred an assimilation *čāžā > *čāžā.

[] A rather widely spread common NC expressive reduplicated root.

*çetɛçĩ (/ -r-) stick, branch: Nakh. *çārç; Av.-And. *ç:VIVç:V; Tsez. *çiçu; Lak. çalçi; Lezg. *çerç.

| Nakh. *çārç a tree species: Chech. çarç.

Vowel length established because of -ä- in plural (pl. çärz-naš). The root is attested only in Chech., but has probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *ç:VIVç:V besom, broom: Av. ç:ilic̣:

Av. paradigm C (ç:ilic̣:-l, ç:ilç-a-l).

| Tsez. *çiçu 1 bough; thin stick 2 wattle: Bezht. çico 2; Gunz. çicu 1.

PGB *çiçu (cf. also Gunz. Nakh. çicə 'thin stick').

| Lak. çalçi shaving, chip.

| Lezg. *çerç 1 brushwood, dry branch 2 branch 3 flap, lap 4 bunch: Lezg. çerç 1; Tab. çirç / çiriç 2; Rut. çeç-bi (Khnov.) 3; Tsakh. çeç (Ibragimov) 4.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. çirçir 'small branch'. Obl. base *çerçe- or *çerçi- (to judge from Lezg. Khl. çerçi-).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. A reduplicated stem (possibly related - with Ablaut? - to PNC *çätV 'branch; tree' q.v.).

*çənɐV (~ *çənɐwV) fat (adj.): Av.-And. *çinɐV- (~ -ɐ-); Darg. *çerx:-.

| Av.-And. *çinɐV- (~ -ɐ-) fat: Tind. çinɐu.

Attested only in Tindi, with probable parallels in Dargwa. Tindi > Inkh. çiniɐɐu id.

| Darg. *çerx:- fat: Ak. çerx-si; Chir. çerx:-ze.

Cf. also Ur. çirx id.

[] An And.-Darg. isogloss.

*çəɬV (~ -ö-) branch; tree: Av.-And. *ç:ilV; Lezg. *çal; W.-Cauc. *çəɬa.

| Av.-And. *ç:ilV 1 rod 2 whip: Av. ç:al 2; Chad. çal 2; Tind. ç:ela 1; God. ç:eli 1.

Av. paradigm C (ç:alá-l, ç:ála-l; Chad. çoló-l, çál-dal - but also çalá-l). In Av. one would rather expect *ç:el - perhaps we deal with vowel levelling by analogy with the obl. stem.

| Lezg. *çal 1 branch, shoot 2 (pot-herb) leaves: Ag. çal 2 (Bursh.); Kryz. çili 1; Bud. çile 1.

4th class in Shakhdag. The Kryz. and Bud. forms go back to a suffixed form *çalV-j.

| W.-Cauc. *çəɬa tree: Abkh. á-çla; Abaz. çla.

PAT *çəɬa (cf. also Bz. á-çla). Abdokov (1983, 133) proposes a connection with a-çia 'vegetation', thus suggesting a root *çə-; however, accentology speaks against this analysis.

[] The etymology seems plausible both phonetically and semantically (cf. also *çelɛçĩ). Cf. HU: Hurr. çarr- (spelled sar-me) 'wood', also çarçarr- (> Akkad. lexical gloss çarçaru 'wood, grove'), Urart. çara 'orchard' (perhaps > Arm. çar 'tree'; see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 44).

NC origin is probable for Osset. çilin / çilin 'besom, broom' (see Abayev 1958, 339).

*çəmbi god; mercy: Nakh. *çəbV; Av.-And. *ç:VbV; Lak. çimi; Darg. *çum.

| Nakh. *çəbV 1 idol, god 2 heathen deity 3 priest: Chech. çū 2; Ing. çuw 3; Bacb. çijb 1.

The final vowel is not quite clear; however, Bacb. -ij- can only go back to *çə, thus the Inlaut vowel is clear.

| Av.-And. *ç:VbV mercy, grace: Av. ç:ob.

Av. paradigm A or C (pl. ç:oba-l). Cf. And. ç:ob 'god' (borrowed from Avar, but retaining the original meaning).

| Lak. çimi grace, mercy, pity.

| Darg. *çum pity: Ak. çum.

Cf. also Tsud. çum id.

[] An interesting term (reconstructed for the PEC level). Phonetic correspondences are regular (except for vocalic reflexes in Darg. and Lak., which are usual for contexts with labialised consonants; perhaps we should attribute it to the proximity of labial -m-). Cf. also Hurr. azammi 'image, figure' (= 'idol'), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 22.

*çəɬV (~ -ö-, -ě-) sharp: Tsez. *çəɬV- (~ -o-); Darg. *çəɬ.

| Tsez. *çəɬV- (~ -o-) sharp: Tsez. çəɬiju; Khvarsh. çəɬqu (Radzhibov). PTsKh *çəɬ-iju.

| Darg. *çəɬ- sharp: Ak. çəɬ-si.

[] A Tsez.-Darg. isogloss.

*çəwre (~ -a) pointed stick: Nakh. *çur (~ -ū-); Tsez. *rɛkɐ (~ l-); Lezg. *çura (/ *ruça); W.-Cauc. *çəwə.

| Nakh. *çur (~ -ū-) arrow: Bacb. çur.

Isolated in Bacb., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *rɛkɐ (~ l-) 1 wedge 2 beam: Tsez. riçu 1; Gin. riçu 1; Khvarsh. raçu-čan (Radzhibov); Inkh. raçu-čan 2.

PTsKh *Rɛkɐ; the second part of the Khvarsh. and Inkh. compound is not quite clear.

| Lezg. *çura (/ *ruça) 1 vertical lock; bracelet 2 woman's adorned belt: Tab. çur 1; Tsakh. çura 2.

The original meaning is probably "wedge serving as a lock" (with a secondary development > "bracelet, adorned belt"). 3d class in Tsakh. The Tab. Kand. dialect has actually two words: çur 'vertical door-lock; bracelet; loop of the lock' and ruç 'lock with a hook'. Since there are no reasons to suppose two originally different roots, one of these two words is obviously a result of interdialectal borrowing.

| W.-Cauc. *çəwə 1 spit, thick needle 2 bolt; plug, spigot: Abkh. a-çəwə 1; Abaz. çəwə 2.

PAT *çəwə. Abdokov (1983, 133) compares also Kab. janç 'long pole, stick' (with possibly the same first component as in jan-ɬər 'log'), which is somewhat dubious

(at any rate, we would expect -ʃ in Kab., and the reason for delabialisation is not clear).

[] Except for metatheses in PTs and (occasionally) in PL, correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems reliable. Abdokov (1983, 133) compares the WC forms with another EC root (see *čwīlθV 'stick'), which seems less convincing both for phonetic and semantic reasons.

*čHwēkĖ (~ -k-) straw, chaff: Darg. *čuk; Lezg. *čel[k]; W.-Cauc. *čVĥV / *čVĥV.

| Darg. *čuk straw: Ak. čuk.

Cf. also Tsud. čuk id.

| Lezg. *čel[k] 1 chaff 2 ashes: Lezg. ček 1; Rut. čuql 2; Tsakh. čoql 1.

The correspondence between Lezg. velar and Rut., Tsakh. uvular is quite irregular and requires explanation. The supposed Proto-Rut.-Tsakh. form must be reconstructed as *čeqł 'chaff' (with a secondary semantic development > 'ashes' in Rut.), and was probably modified from earlier *čelk (= Lezg. ček) under the influence of a widely spread common Lezghian root *nāq 'chaff, straw' q.v.

| W.-Cauc. *čVĥV / *čVĥV 1 chaff 2 weed 3 fruit stone: Ad. šāča 2; Kab. šāča 1; Ub. čək 3.

PAK *čakā (from the PWC variant *čVĥV); Ub. čək (< *čVĥV). The Adygh and Ub. forms can be compared if we assume the common meaning "waste (of fruit, grain)", and a shift of labialisation (not uncommon in roots with two stops).

[] Despite some phonetic difficulties (due to assimilations and contaminations, see above), the EC-WC comparison looks satisfactory. As seen from the variety of meanings, the common NC semantics may be assumed to have been "waste (of grain, fruit)".

*čfiwēme (~-ā-, -i) eyebrow: Nakh. *ča-č²Vm; Lak. čani; Lezg. *č²em.

| Nakh. *ča-č²Vm eyebrow: Chech. čočqam; Ing. čačqam.

| Lak. čani eyebrow.

A compound with it:a- 'eye' (see ja).

| Lezg. *č²em eyebrow: Lezg. rčam; Tab. ulč²im / ulč²am; Rut. uli-zen (Shin.); Kryz. ūl-čām.

PL has only compounds *h²il(i)-č²em (cf. also Lezg. Khl. gilčam, Tab. Düb. urč²um / urč²im; Rut. -zen also belongs here, but is irregular phonetically) and *čil(V)-č²em (see *čilV).

[] This EC root is not attested separately, but only in compounds *čilV-čwēme (q.v.) or *wīl²i-čwēme ("eyelash-eyebrow" or "eye-eyebrow"). Interlingual borrowings: Arch. darčan < Lak. it:a-čani.

*č[i]ju house: Nakh. *čā; Av.-And. *ča(ʔV) (~ -o-); Lak. čija-lu; Lezg. *jičV; Khin. č²a; W.-Cauc. *č:əwV / *č:əjV.

| Nakh. *čā house, room: Chech. ča; Ing. ča; Bacb. ča.

Obl. base *čē-ni-, cf. Chech. čina-, Ing. čeno. 3d class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *ča(ʔV) (~ -o-) house, household: Av. čā-ra-ki; Akhv. ča-ri-ko.

Both the Av. and North. Akhv. form reflect the oblique base čari- (~ -o-) from a noun, preserved in Akhv. Tlan.: ča 'household'; cf. also the Av. compounds q:aji-čā 'house belongings' (q:aji 'thing(s)'), ča-r²a 'vessels, plates and dishes' (ra² 'pitcher'). The latter compound was borrowed in Cham. (Gig.) as čara²i, and in Bezht. (Khosh.) as čara² (reflecting an earlier Av. form, without reduction).

| Lak. čija-lu earthen roof.

The root č(i)j- is also present in či-w 'onto the roof', čija-tu 'from the roof'. Cf. also Khosr. čijalu 'earthen roof'.

| Lezg. *jičV sty, cattle-shed: Tsakh. jiča.

The word is isolated in Tsakh., but has probable external parallels.

| Khin. č²a house.

| W.-Cauc. *č:əwV / *č:əjV 1 village, settlement 2 house, room: Abkh. ā-cu-ta 1; Ub. c²əjā 2.

PAT *čəwə (cf. Bzyb. ā-cu 'village'). The relationship between the Abkh. and Ub. forms is very probable, although we have to suppose a metathesis of labialisation and palatalisation (*č:əwV / *č:əjV).

[] Despite some metatheses (possibly variants *čiwV / *čūjV can be reconstructed), the WC-EC comparison seems quite likely for both phonetic and semantic reasons. See Dumézil 1933, 50, Abdokov 1983, 133.

*čik²i skein, hank: Darg. *čik²a; Lezg. *čik².

| Darg. *čik²a skein, hank: Chir. čik²a.

| Lezg. *čik² skein, hank: Tab. čik²; Ag. ček² (Bursh.); Rut. čik²; Tsakh. čik².

Cf. also Tab. Düb. čuku, Ag. Fit. čik² id. 3d class in Tsakh., but 4th class in Rut. Obl. base *čik²i-, cf. Rut. čiku-, Tsakh. čiku-.

[] A Darg.-Lezg. isogloss.

*čilV (~-č-, -t-) eyelash (in comp.): Nakh. *ča-č²Vm; Tsez. *čič A; Darg. *čimičali; Lezg. *čil-č²em.

| Nakh. *ča-č²Vm eyebrow: Chech. čočqam; Ing. čačqam.

| Tsez. *čič A eyebrow, eyelash: Tsez. čeč; Gin. čeč; Khvarsh. čeč (Radzhibov); Gunz. čič.

PTsKh *čič.

| Darg. *čimičali eyelash: Ak. čimičali.

A quite irregular form is Chir. muzara 'eyelash'.

| Lezg. *čil-č²em eyelash: Tab. čilčim.

Isolated in Tab., but with rather probable external parallels. [Words for 'eyelash' in other Lezghian languages may go back to the same source, but are completely distorted for expressive reasons: Lezg. Khl. čepčepaj, Tab. Khiv. mičmič, Ag. bičbič, Bursh. pinč, Fit. čipčip, Kryz. čāp / čāp.]

[] The root occurs only within an old compound *čilV-čwēme which has been best preserved in Tab. and PN. The Darg. form is quite irregular (probably because of the expressive and reduplicated nature of the stem). PTs *čič is probably an analogous simplification of *či(i)-čV - cf. the obl. base Tsez. čēcmo- which preserves the old structure better.

***çindV** (~ 3-, -ā-, -ī-) dry stalks as fuel: Av.-And. ***ç:VdV-rV**; Lak. **çinna**.

| Av.-And. ***ç:VdV-rV** fuel: Av. **ç:adāri**.

| Lak. **çinna** dry stalks as fuel.

Cf. also Khosr. **çajnda** (< ***çindV-ja**) 'straw'.

[] An Av.-Lak. isogloss.

***çirqa** carpet; coverlet: Lak. **çiqā**; Lezg. ***çirχ(a)**; W.-Cauc. ***q:əza** (~q:-, -z-).

| Lak. **çiqā** floor-cloth, door-mat.

Cf. Khosr. **çiqā** id.

| Lezg. ***çirχ(a)** rag: Lezg. **çirχ**.

Attested only in Lezg., but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. ***q:əza** (~q:-, -z-) coverlet, blanket: Abkh. **a-χəza**; Abaz. **qəza**.

PAT ***qəza** (cf. also Bzyb. **a-χəza**).

[] With the exception of metathesis in PWC (a rather frequent phenomenon in roots with two stops), correspondences are regular and the etymology seems generally reliable. The Lak. form probably was borrowed in Avar: Av. **ç:axā** (not genuinely related because of the irregular **ç:-**), which, in its turn, was borrowed by Archi (**çaxa** id.). It is, however, not clear whether we should relate here also the phonetically aberrant Darg. forms: Ak. **carka** 'floor-cloth'; Ak., Ur. **çuqan** 'floor-mat'.

The word has possible parallels in Iranian: Osset. **sarγ**, Afg. **sarγ**, Sogd. **s'yr** 'saddle' (> Arab. **sarǧ** > Pers. **sarǧ**), Pam. **sirekh**, **siregh** 'woollen blanket, mattress', see Abayev 1979, 34-35.

***çirVχV** caterpillar; snail: Av.-And. ***cVrVχV**; Lezg. ***çir(u)χ:(a)**; W.-Cauc. ***çərḅə**.

| Av.-And. ***cVrVχV** a k. of caterpillar: Av. **caráhoj**.

The original form - whatever it was - was distorted in Avar under the influence of folk etymology (the word **cará-hoj** means literally "fox-dog").

| Lezg. ***çir(u)χ:(a)** 1 caterpillar 2 chain, row, line: Lezg. **çirḅ** 2; Tab. **çirḅ** 1; Rut. **çirux** 1.

Cf. Lezg. erg. **çirḅ-ini**, Tab. Düb. **çirḅi** 'caterpillar'. The semantic development in Lezg. is easily explainable; there exists, however, also Lezg. **çarnaχ** 'caterpillar' (< ***çirχ:-an** with a suffix). The words **çirḅ** and **çarnaχ** obviously reflect dialectal mixture, which is rather common for the Lezghian language.

| W.-Cauc. ***çərḅə** snail: Ad. **çərḅə** (*Shaps.*).

See Kuipers 1975, 21. The word is quite isolated among WC languages; it seems, however, worth mentioning Abkh. **a-ç'aḅ'a** 'line' (if the original meaning was 'caterpillar' - cf. the external evidence, the semantic development in Abkhaz would be just the same as in Lezghian).

[] The unity of the PL, Avar and Adyg forms seems probable, although phonetic correspondences are violated in an expressive root like this.

***çibV** a k. of berry: Av.-And. ***ç:VbV-IV**; Lezg. ***çip:**.

| Av.-And. ***ç:VbV-IV** grape: Av. **ç:ibil**; Chad. **çibil**.

Av. paradigm B-C (gen. **ç:olbó-l**).

| Lezg. ***çip:** 1 blackberry 2 juniper: Lezg. **çp:az** (*Khl.*) 1; Rut. **çib** 2; Tsakh. **çib** (*Mishl.*) 2.

Obl. base ***çip:i-** (cf. Rut. **çibi-**, Tsakh. **çibi-**); suffixation in Lezg. is not quite clear. 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh.

[] An Av.-Lezg. isogloss. Seems both phonetically and semantically plausible.

***çōçV** (~ ç) tip, spout: Nakh. ***çuc-** (~ -o-); Lezg. ***çoç(a)**.

| Nakh. ***çuc-** (~ -o-) spout (of a tea-pot, jar): Chech. **çuzam**.

Attested only in Chech. (-am is a frequent nominal suffix), but having probable Lezghian parallels.

| Lezg. ***çoç(a)** 1 spout (of a tea-pot) 2 clitoris; ring-stone: Lezg. **çuç**; Kryz. **çiç** 2.

Lezg. obl. stem **çuca-**; there is not enough evidence to reconstruct the PL oblique stem. 4th class in Kryz.

[] An expressive Nakh-Lezg. isogloss. However, may be archaic: cf. Hurr. **zizzi** 'mamma, female breast', **zizz-u/oχχə**, **zuzz-u/oχχə** 'spouted jar' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 44).

***çūmV** (~ 3-) tip, point: Nakh. ***çōm**; Av.-And. ***ç:umV-**; Tsez. ***cime** (~ -i-); Lak. **çun**.

| Nakh. ***çōm** trunk: Chech. **com**.

Obl. base **çōma-** (< ***çōmi-**). Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. ***ç:umV-** sharp, pointed: Cham. **ṣūku-b**; Kar. **ç:umo-b**.

The root is also used as verbal: **ç:um-ala** 'to sharpen'. The Cham. form contains a suffix and goes back to ***ç:um-kV-**.

| Tsez. ***cime** (~ -i-) corner (inner): Tsez. **cemi**; Gin. **cemi**.

PTsKh ***cime** (~ -i-).

| Lak. **çun** spout (of a vessel).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

***çupV** sucking: Nakh. ***çup-**; Lak. **çup**; Darg. ***çup**.

| Nakh. ***çup-** to suck: Chech. **çub-dan**; Bacb. **çup-dar**.

A compound verb (cf. also Bacb. **çup-alar**) id., with the nominal component ***çup** 'sucking'.

| Lak. **çup** to suck.

Also **çupa fun** (Khosr. **çupa fun**) id. A compound verb with the first component **çup** 'sucking'.

| Darg. ***çup** to suck: Chir. **çup barqī**.

[] An expressive EC root; besides the PN, Lak. and Darg. forms (which correspond to each other quite well), there is a number of rather distorted reflexes in Lezghian languages: Ag. **sup-as**, Kryz. **çuw jeriž**, Bud. **çup-**; cf. also Khin. **sib-k'i**.

***çũbnV** goat: Nakh. ***çin** (~ -i-); Av.-And. ***çinHV**, ***çinHa-λ:u**; Tsez. ***can**; Lezg. ***çeh**; Khin. **ço-l**; W.-Cauc. ***ẓʷə**.

| Nakh. ***çin** (~ -i-) 1 sheep (about 1 y. old) 2 ram (about 1 y. old): Chech. **çin-tō** 2; Ing. **çun-to** 2; Bacb. **çin l**.

In Chech. and Ing. the root is present only in compounds (cf. also Chech. **çin-zī** 'sheep about 1 y. old'). Since the root is homonymous with ***çin-** 'new' (having a quite distinct origin), these compounds may now be reinterpreted as 'new sheep' or 'new ram'; however, a separate usage of the stem **çin** in Bacb. shows that this is a secondary situation. Cf. also Osset. **çinār / çinār** 'dry (goat, cow or sheep)', probably borrowed from Nakh.

| Av.-And. ***çinHV**, ***çinHa-λ:u** goat: Av. **ç:e**; Chad. **çe**; And. **ç:ija**; Akhv. **ç:onoλ:i**; Cham. **çinaλ:**; Tind. **ç:enaλ:**; Kar. **ç:enaλ:o**; Botl. **ç:inaλu**; Bagv. **ç:eneλ:a**; God. **ç:inaλ:u**.

Av. paradigm B (gen. **ç:e-l**, pl. **ç:ani**; Chad. **çel/çe-dul**, pl. **çint**). Cf. also Akhv. Rikv. **ç:īja**. In most languages (except Av. and And.) the singular of this noun is formed with a suffix ***-λ:u**, while the plural goes back to a form ***çinHa** (cf. Akhv. **ç:ana**, Cham. **çine**, Tind. **ç:ena**, Kar. **ç:eni**, Botl. **ç:ine**, God. **ç:ine**).

The North. Akhv. dialect (recorded by MSU) has a specific stem **ç:ir-**: sing. **ç:iriλ:i**, pl. **ç:ere**; Magomedbekova notes only plur. **ç:iriba** (together with **ç:oni-ba** and **ç:ana**). The form **ç:onoλ:i** in the MSU recordings is used only in the meaning 'young goat (less than 2-3 y. old)'. It is possible that the stem **ç:ir(i)-** reflects the archaic obl. base ***çinHV-rV-**, parallel to the oblique base in some Lezg. languages.

| Tsez. ***can** goat: Gin. **can**; Khvarsh. **can**; Inkh. **can**; Bezht. **can**; Gunz. **can**.

PTsKh, PGB ***can**. On the origin of Tsez. **can/çalnja** 'goat' (which for phonetic reasons must be kept distinct) see ***čwēnhV**.

| Lezg. ***çeh** goat: Lezg. **çeh**; Tab. **çeh**; Ag. **çeh**; Rut. **çih**; Tsakh. **çē**; Kryz. **çeʰ**; Bud. **çeʰ**; Arch. **çaj**.

Cf. also Tab. lit. **çih**, Düb. **çih**, Ag. Burk. **çāh**, Bursh. **çih**, Tsakh. Gelm. **çeʰ**, Arch. pl. **çah-ur**. Obl. base ***çeha-** or ***çehe-** (cf. Rut. **çih-**, Tsakh. **çē-/çeʰe-**). 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. Another oblique base reconstructable for PL is ***çeh-rV-** reflected in Lezg. **çehre-**, Tab. **çihra-**.

See Talibov 1960a, 297; Leksika 1971, 152; Giginayshvili 1977, 134.

| Khin. **ço-l** goat.

-l is probably a suffix, cf. pl. **çi-tan**.

| W.-Cauc. ***ẓʷə** 1 kid 2 young, small (in comp.): Abkh. **ā-3(ə)s l**; Abaz. **3-sə l**; Ad. **-ẓəj 2**; Kab. **-ẓej 2**.

PAT ***ẓə-sə**, pl. ***ẓə-ra**: cf. Abkh. pl. **ā-3a-ra**, Bzyb. **ā-3(ə)s**, **ā-3a-ra**, Abaz. pl. **3a-ra**. PAK ***ẓə-jə** (used only as an element of composita). The comparison belongs to Abdokov (1983, 118).

[] The original meaning of the root may have been 'young goat', 'kid' (preserved in PWC; shifted to 'young small cattle' > 'young sheep' in PN; shifted to 'goat in general' in the majority of EC languages). Phonetic correspondences are regular.

This root is not preserved in Lak, being superseded by **çuku** < PEC ***ẓikV** 'kid'. It is interesting to note, however, that in the Khosr. dialect the plural form from **çuku** is **çu-rt:u**, where the root ***çũhnV** may be preserved (as **çu-**); the lit. Lak has already a new form **çuk-ri**.

There is some evidence pointing to a PEC oblique stem ***çũhnV-rV-** (cf. Akhv. **ç:ir(i)**, PL ***çeh-rV-**, perhaps also Lak. **çu-r-** in the plur. Khosr. **çu-r-t:u**).

Abdokov (1983, 118) compares the WC root with PEC ***λāhīz** 'lamb', which is impossible for phonetic reasons. The same author (1983, 124) compares the EC forms with Kab. **çāqʷa** 'antelope' (which he explains as a compound: **ça** + **qʷa** 'goat' + 'pig'). We were unable to find this exact form in dictionaries; only in Nogma 217 there is a word **ūakʷh** [= /çāqʷa/] 'a k. of antelope, джейпан', which is interesting (see Turchaninov's notes *ibid.*, as well as Abayev 1979, 58-59 on Osset. **sāb** 'goat' = Old Ind. **chāga-**, IE ***skʷago-**), but isolated and has obviously nothing to do with EC ***çũhnV**.

***çVdułV** a young kinsman: Tsez. ***çu[d]ula**; Lezg. ***çot:ol(:)**.

| Tsez. ***çu[d]ula** bride-groom, bride: Gunz. **çutula** (Nakh.).

Attested only in Gunz., with possible parallels in PL. Gunz. -t- is irregular (both PTs ***-t-** and ***-d-** should give Gunz. -d-); perhaps this is a trace of some early consonant cluster.

| Lezg. ***çot:ol(:)** grandchild: Tab. **çudul**; Kryz. **çidil**; Bud. **çidil**.

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss. Since words for 'bride' in Caucasian languages are often derived from ***çānV** 'new' (cf. Khin. **çi-nas**, Arch. **maçat:ur**), we may think that this is in fact a derivate = ***çān-dułV** 'youngling', which would explain the semantic development (> a) 'bride, bride-groom'; b) 'grandchild'.

***çVnVke** (~ ***ẓ-, -i**) wart: Av.-And. ***ç:ankV-rV**; Tsez. ***çVkʷV(=V-)**; W.-Cauc. ***çə(nə)ka** (/ -k-).

| Av.-And. ***ç:ankV-rV** 1 wart 2 boil, furuncle: Av. **ç:inkír l**; And. **ç:akara 2**; Akhv. **ç:akara l** (Ratl.); Cham. **sančara 2** (Gig.).

Av. paradigm C (pl. **ç:inkra-l**). The Gig. form is obviously a result of assimilation (or misrecording?) of ***šančara** (< ***ç:ankara**).

| Tsez. ***çVkʷV(=V-)** 1 abscess 2 pimple: Tsez. **çakʷa l**; Gin. **çekʷa l**; Khvarsh. **çekʷa** (Radzhibov); Inkh. **çekʷa 2**.

PTsKh ***çVkʷa** (vowel correspondences are irregular).

| W.-Cauc. *čə(nə)ka (/k-) wart: Abkh. *a-kančəčəra*; Abaz. *čənkra*; Ad. *q:am-čəč*; Kab. *ham-čərača*.

PAT *čənkə-ra / *kančə-ra (cf. also Bzyb. *a-kančəčəra*, Ashkh. *kančəra*); PAK *čəka / *čərača (meaning of the component: Ad. *q:ām-*, Kab. *ham-* is unclear).

An expressive root with metatheses and some irregular changes; however, obviously archaic (cf. external data).

[] An expressive root; not very widely spread (within EC present only in Av.-And.-Tsez.) and liable to irregular changes. Nevertheless, the protoform can be more or less securely reconstructed. [For metathesized variants in WC cf. some similar EC forms: Gunz. *konču* 'tumour', Akhv. *q:āča* 'abscess'; there is, however, hardly enough evidence to reconstruct a separate root].

*čVχV grey: Av.-And. *č:VχV; Lezg. *čVχ(:)V-.

| Av.-And. *č:VχV 1 grey 2 green: Av. *č:ahila-b* 1; Chad. *čahila-b* 2; God. *c:uxu* (Zib.) 1.

Vocalism is hard to establish (insufficient evidence); -χ:- in God. is probably a result of assimilation.

| Lezg. *čVχ(:)V- grey: Tab. *çiçi*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *çuçi*. The word is isolated in Tab., but has reliable external parallels.

[] An Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss. Correspondences are regular, but there is not enough evidence to reconstruct the precise vocalism. EC > Osset. *čāx* 'grey, blue' (see Abayev 1958, 333-334).

*čwājnV (~ č-) fruit: Nakh. *stōm; Lezg. *č(ʷ)Vn-; W.-Cauc. *čʷa.

| Nakh. *stōm fruit: Chech. *stom*; Ing. *som*; Bacb. *som*.

Obl. base *stōme- (cf. Chech. *stōma-*). 5th class in all languages.

| Lezg. *č(ʷ)Vn- 1 fruit 2 barberry: Lezg. *činič* 1 (Khl.); Bud. *čunu* 2.

The Lezg. form is reduplicated (a frequent feature in names of cultural plants).

| W.-Cauc. *čʷa apple: Abkh. *a-čʷá*; Abaz. *čʷa*.

PAT *čʷa.

[] The comparison is probable, although not without problems: just as in the case with 'pear' (PNC *qūrHV q.v.) the expected strengthening (*čwā- > *čʷa-) did not occur in PWC. Still, the PWC form rather belongs here than to PEC *āmcō 'medlar, apple' q.v. (despite Trubetzkoy 1930, 276).

*čwāmʷV / *ʷār-čwāmʷV eagle: Nakh. *ʷarčiw; Av.-And. *č:umʷi (~*čʷi-); Tsez. *cūhV B; Lak. *barzu*; Darg. *ʷarčimi (~*H-); Lezg. *març; Khin. *čimir*.

| Nakh. *ʷarčiw eagle: Chech. *ārzu*; Ing. *ārzi*; Bacb. *arčiw*.

Cf. also Lev. *ārzu*, It. *ērza*. 4th class in Chech., Ing., 3d class in Bacb.

| Av.-And. *č:umʷi (~*čʷi-) eagle: Av. *č:um* / *č:un*; Chad. *čum*; And. *č:un*; Akhv. *č:ʷi*; Cham. *šūj*; Tind. *c:ū*; Kar. *č:ūji*; Botl. *č:ūʷi*; Bagv. *č:ūʷi*; God. *c:ūʷi*.

Av. paradigm C (*č:u-dū-l*, *č:ūna-l*; but Chad. *čumi-l*, *čumā-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *č:ūj*, Tlan. *č:umi*, And. Mun., Zil. *č:ūj*, Rikv. *č:uni*, Kvankh. *č:umi*, Cham. Gig. *č:ūj*, Gad. *c:uj*.

| Tsez. *cūhV B eagle: Tsez. *cej*; Gin. *coj*; Khvarsh. *ce*; Inkh. *cē*; Bezht. *cuha*; Gunz. *cu*.

PTsKh *c[U]j (with irregular reflexation in Khvarsh. and Inkh. - probably because of *-j); PGB *cuh(V).

| Lak. *barzu* eagle.

3d class.

| Darg. *ʷarčimi (~*H-) eagle: Chir. *ʷarčime*.

Isolated in Chir., but with probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *març eagle: Ag. *març*.

Isolated in Ag., but with probable external parallels.

| Khin. *čimir* bird.

Means basically 'small bird, sparrow' (Khaid. lists also *čimiri* 'swallow'), which is obviously a late semantic development.

[] The root is attested also in HU: Urart. *arçib/wə* 'name of a horse = Eagle' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 45).

There is little doubt that all the listed forms belong together, although there are some problems. Not quite clear is the status of the prefixed syllable *ʷar-, attested in PN, HU, Lak., PD and PL. It should be noted that the Lak., PD (and possibly PL > Ag) forms reflect a variant with metathesized labialisation (*ʷar-čwāmʷV > *ʷār-čāmʷV); in PL additionally the nasalisation was also shifted to the initial position. Quite irregular (and as yet unexplained) is -č- (instead of expected -č-) in PD (Chir.); however, there is no reason to suspect a borrowing. We should note also an interesting form: Cham. *ercim* 'kite'; since it is quite isolated within Av.-And., it must be an old Nakh borrowing (before the denasalisation *-mʷ- > -w-).

*čwēnhV (~ *čēmhV) salt: Nakh. *tuχe; Av.-And. *č:onʷi; Tsez.

*cō; Lak. *čʷu*; Darg. *č:cē*; W.-Cauc. *čə.

| Nakh. *tuχe salt: Chech. *tuχa*; Ing. *tuχ*; Bacb. *tujχi*.

3d class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *č:onʷi salt: Av. *č:am*; Chad. *čam*; And. *č:on*; Akhv. *č:ani*; Cham. *šā*; Tind. *c:ā*; Kar. *č:āji*; Botl. *č:āʷi*; Bagv. *č:āʷi*; God. *c:āji*.

Av. paradigm B-C (gen. *č:amū-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan., Ratl. *č:an*, Cham. Gig. *č:āj*, Kar. Tok. *č:an* etc.

| Tsez. *cō salt: Tsez. *cijo*; Gin. *čijo*; Khvarsh. *čijo*; Inkh. *čijo*; Bezht. *cā*; Gunz. *cō*.

The PTs paradigm: *cō, obl. *čijo- (> PGB *cō, *čijo-, cf. Gunz. *cō*, *čijo-*); in PTsKh the oblique base (PTsKh *čijo) replaced the direct one.

| Lak. *čʷu* salt.

3d class. Obl. base *čʷi-*. Cf. Khosr. *čʷu* (*čʷuj-*) id.

| Darg. *č:cē* salt: Ak. *ze*; Chir. *c:cē*.

Cf. also Ur. *ʒt*, Kub., Tsud., Kait. *c:ɛ* etc.

W.-Cauc. *čə salty: Abkh. *a-čə*; Abaz. *čʰə*.

PAT *čə-a (cf. also Bzyb. *a-čə*); *-a is a frequent adjectival suffix.

[] The original form is probably *čəmhV (the WC form shows no trace of labialisation), but most EC languages reflect a form with shifted labialisation. The PN form *tuɣe is interesting: it may be related here only if we assume the suffixed nature of *-ɣe (which is semantically not clear); but in any case the development *tuɣe < *cwVn-ɣV within PN is proved by an early Ossetian loan: *cāxx* / *cānxā* 'salt'.

The EC forms had been compared by several authors with PWC *čə (/čə) 'salt' (see Mészáros 1934, 287, Klimov 1969, 292, Abdokov 1983, 104); this is, however, not plausible for phonetic reasons, and the comparison with PWC *čə 'salty' seems preferable.

*čwexV stick, chip; piece of wood, beam: Tsez. *čix: (~ -i-, -b); Darg. *c:ex:eni; Lezg. *cox:an (~ *čVχ:an).

Tsez. *čix: (~ -i-, -b) chip, small piece of wood: Bezht. *čix* (*Khosh*).

Isolated in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

Darg. *c:ex:eni beam, cross-beam: Ak. *zeχni*.

Cf. also Ur. *ʒixini*, Kub. *c:ix:in*.

Lezg. *cox:an (~ *čVχ:an) 1 perch, pole, log 2 wood, timber: Tab. *čuḡan* 1; Ag. *čaxun* 1; Arch. *čahan* 2.

4th class in Arch. Archi has an irregular reflex -h- (we should expect -χ-; corresponding to Tab. -b-, Ag. -χ-). It is, however, hard to separate the Arch. form from the rest.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. The Darg-Lezg. forms have a frequent suffix *-nV.

*čwəχi (~ -ō) concealment; theft: Av.-And. *čVχV; Lak. *c:ax*; Darg. *čax:; Lezg. *čVχ:-.

Av.-And. *č:VχV theft: Av. *č:oh*.

Av. paradigm B (*č:ohó-l*, *č:ohá-l*). Cf. also *č:ohór* (pl. *č:ohá-l*, *č:ohá-bi*) 'thief', *č:ohó-d* 'to steal'. Av. *č:ohod* > Cham. *šūd* 'to steal; to hide'.

Lak. *c:ax* fear, alarm, fright.

Cf. also *c:ax:annu* id. (pointing to -χ:-), Khosr. *c:ax fun* 'to be afraid'.

Darg. *čax: ashamed: Ak. *čax-li*.

Cf. also *čax-bares* 'to disgrace'.

Lezg. *čVχ:- 1 to steal, slip 2 by stealth, secretly: Lezg. *čutχ-* 1; Arch. *čix-dl* 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Akht. *čudb-* 'to steal, slip' (pointing to *χ: in PL), Arch. *čixdl-t:u* 'thief'. In Lezg. -t- (-d-) is either a former class infix, or a reflex of the adverbial stem *čVχ:-t:V- (cf. the Archi form).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In PD one would rather expect *c:-; preservation of glottalized *č is due to early delabialisation. A reconstruction *čwəfi is not excluded: in this case we can follow Abdokov (1983, 185) and compare PAT *čwəxə 'to conceal, hide' (Abkh. *á-čʰax-ra*, Abaz. *čʰax-ra*).

*čwīIV rag, flock: Nakh. *čōl-ik; Av.-And. *čʰVrV; Tsez. *čirV (~ -i-, -l-); Lezg. *čil(a).

Nakh. *čōl-ik 1 rags 2 a k. of rough felt cloak: Chech. *šūlig* 1; Bacb. *šolik* 2.

4th class in Chech., 5th class in Bacb. The word contains the common Nakh diminutive *-ik.

Av.-And. *čʰVrV spring wool (shedded wool): Av. *čirá*.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *čirá-du*).

Tsez. *čirV (~ -i-, -l-) skein, clew (of threads): Tsez. *čelo*; Gin. *čeli*.

PTsKh *čirV. Cf. also Gunz. *čile* id. (although the initial č- is hard to explain).

Lezg. *čil(a) 1 fringe 2 patch, rag: Lezg. *čil-er* 1; Tab. *čil* 2.

The Lezg. form contains a plural suffix. Obl. stem unclear.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. If not for the Nakh form, *čilV (~ -i-) could be reconstructed, but PN *č- suggests *čw- with loss of labialisation in other languages.

*čwījVkwō brand, spark, brilliance: Nakh. *stike-l (~ -st-); Av.-And. *č:ʷaka (~ o); Tsez. *čəkə; Darg. *c:ak; Lezg. *čuk(a); W.-Cauc. *čV(jə)kʷa.

Nakh. *stike-l (~ -st-) sky: Chech. *stigal*; Ing. *sigale*.

4th class in both languages.

Av.-And. *č:ʷaka (~ o) 1 brilliance 2 spark 3 star: Av. *č:ʷaki* 1; Akhv. *č:ʷaka* 1; Cham. *čaka* 3 (*Gig.*); Tind. *čakʷa* 2.

Cf. also Av. *č:ʷak-* 'to glitter' (*č:ʷaki* 'brilliance' is formally a verbal derivative). The Tind. form has an irregular č- (c:- would be expected) and metathesis of labialisation.

Tsez. *čəkə- fire-brand: Gunz. *čəkə-ima*.

A compound with an unclear second part. If our analysis is right, *čəkə- can reflect (with assimilation) PEC *čwījVkwō; this may be, however, a compound of *kəʃma (?) with *čə- 'fire' - in which case the Gunz. word should be kept separate from the rest of EC forms.

Darg. *c:ak sky: Ak. *zak*.

Cf. also Ur. *zak*, Kharb., Muir. *c:ak* id.

Lezg. *čuk(a) 1 fire-brand 2 spark: Lezg. *čuk* 1; Kryz. *čuk* 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Kub. *čuk* 'fire-brand'.

W.-Cauc. *čV(jə)kʷa 1 spark 2 fire-brand: Abkh. *á-kʷic* 1; Abaz. *čʷec* 1; Ad. *pχa-čāča* 2; Kab. *pχa-žāča* 2.

A long (trisyllabic root) with usual in such cases metatheses and dissimilations. The PAT form can be reconstructed as *kʷajəcə (~ -č:- the Bzyb form is not attested), cf. also Abkh. *á-kʷejcej-ra* 'to glitter'; Abaz. *čʷec* is an irregular transformation of *kʷajəc > *kʷec. PAK has a compound *pχa- 'wood' + *čaká 'fire-brand'.

[] The etymology seems reliable, despite some assimilative/dissimilative processes and metatheses, usual in roots of this structure. The PN reflex *st- is explained by the influence of *-j- (preserved in the WC form).

In some languages there is confusion between this root and the diminutive form of the PNC word for star, **zhwār-kV* (/ **zhwār-kV*). The latter is certainly reflected in Ub. *čʷa(n)-k* and Lak. *čuku* (cf. plur. *čur-t:i*). The Cham. (Gig.) form *čaka* 'star' reflects probably a merger of the two roots (opposed, e.g., in the closely related Tindi language: *čakʷa* 'spark' vs. *c:aru* 'star').

**čwɪtɪhV* (~ -ā-) stick, branch: Nakh. **ɬaw* (~ -ā-); Av.-And. **čuli*; Tsez. **čʷilu* A.

| Nakh. **ɬaw* (~ -ā-) branch: Bacb. *ɬaw*.

Attested only in Bacb., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **čuli* 1 stick 3 shepherd's staff 4 wood, firewood 5 whip: Av. *čul* 4; Chad. *čul* 4; And. *čul* 1; Akhv. *čuli* 1; Cham. *čuli* 5; Tind. *čuli* 3; Kar. *čule* 1; Botl. *čuli* 1; Bagv. *čul* 1 (*Leks.*); God. *čuli* 1.

Av. paradigm C (*čulā-l*, *čula-l*; Chad. *čulī-l*, *čula-l*). Cf. also Cham. Gad. *lulu*, Gig. *čuli* 'whip'. In Cham. Gig. the word *čuli* also means 'staff', but the U.-Gakv. dialect has *čulli* 'staff' - a suffixed form of the same root.

| Tsez. **čʷilu* A 1 arrow 2 bow: Tsez. *čeruça* 2; Gin. *čeruça* 2; Bezht. *čulu-ča* 1; Gunz. *čulu* 1.

PTsKh **čiru-ča*; PGB **čulu* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *čulo*, Khosh. *čulu* 'arrow'). The PTsKh form and Bezht. *čulu-ča* (cf. also Gunz. *čulu-čaʷa*) reflect a compound **čʷilu* 'arrow' + **čaʷ(a)* 'bow' (q.v.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root should be distinguished from **čəltV* 'branch; tree' q.v.

**čwɔjV* (~ -ī-) woman, female: Nakh. **psɬuw*; Av.-And. **čʷijV*; Lak. *c:u*; W.-Cauc. **po-zV*.

| Nakh. **psɬuw* 1 wife 2 princess: Chech. *stū* 2; Ing. *suw* 2; Bacb. *psɬu* 1.

Obl. base **psɬuw-nV-*, cf. Chech. *stūna-*, Ing. *suwno*, Bacb. *psɬujnī*; cf. also Bacb. *psɬujnō* "woman". An interesting compound is Chech. *stun-da* "father-in-law" ("wife's father") = Ing. *ust-da*, where Ing. has a prosthetic vowel and preserves the -st- combination. Cf. also Cheb. *stu*, Shar., Khild. *su*.

| Av.-And. **čʷijV* female: Av. *č:úja-b*; Chad. *čʷíja-b*.

Cf. also Av. Andāl. *č:uj* 'woman'. The Av. word for woman, *č:uzu*, is a compound (with assimilation) < **č:u* + *zo* (*zo* 'thing'), lit. 'female being'. The word is isolated in Av., but has reliable external parallels. Av. > Bezht., Gunz. *čujab* 'female'.

| Lak. *c:u*- female.

| W.-Cauc. **po-zV* 1 female 2 bitch: Abkh. *á-ps* 1; Abaz. *la-ps* 2; Ad. *bza* 1; Kab. *bza* 1; Ub. *bza* 1.

PAT **pasa* (in Abaz. attested only within a compound *la-ps* 'bitch' = Abkh. *á-la-ps*; cf. also Bzyb. *á-la-ps* id.); PAK **bza*.

[] The WC form has a frequent labial prefix (which conditioned loss of labialisation **pəzʷV* > **pəzV*). The EC-WC comparison was suggested by Shagirov (1977). There exist also interesting Kartvelian parallels: cf. Kartv. **z u-* 'female, bitch' (compared with Lak. in Klimov 1963); Chan. *bozo* 'girl' (cf. PAK **bza*), Svan. *zural* 'woman' (see Lomtadze 1961). Untenable is Trubetzkoy's (1930) comparison of the WC root with Darg. *gʷaza*, Lak. *k:ʷac:a* etc. 'mare'.

In Nakh languages, besides **psɬuw*, there is a series of similar forms: Chech. *stē* 'woman; female' (pl. *stes*, Usl. *stij*), *stē-n* 'female', Akk. *sewā* 'female', Ing. *se* id., pl. *istij* (= Chech. *stij*) 'women, wives'. There are two possible solutions: to consider these forms derived from **psɬuw* (from the oblique base **psɬawV-*), or to compare them separately with an isolated Darg. form - Chir. *cade* 'female' (reconstructing PEC **cVjdV* (~ č-)). This problem can not be definitely resolved without Bacbi evidence.

*ĉa²V reed, cane; arrow: Nakh. *ĉa-k; Tsez. *ĉa²(a); Lak. ĉaha; Lezg. *ĉa²I.

| Nakh. *ĉa-k (~ -ā-) arrow: Bacb. ĉak.

The stem includes a diminutive *-k (*ĉak < *ĉaH-Vk). Attested only in Bacb., but having reliable external parallels.

| Tsez. *ĉa²(a) 1 bow: Tsez. ĉeru-ĉa; Gin. ĉeru-ĉa; Bezht. ĉa²a (Tlad.); Gunz. ĉa²a.

PTsKh *ĉiRu-ĉa (~ *ĉURu-); PGB *ĉa²a (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. ĉa²). In the PTsKh compound (which has an exact match in PGB: *ĉulu-ĉa²a > Bezht. ĉuluĉa, Gunz. Nakh. ĉuluĉa²a 'bow') the first component goes back to PTs *ĉulu B 'arrow' q.v.

| Lak. ĉaha reed, cane.

Cf. Khosr. ĉalha id. The same root (in a contracted shape ĉa-) is present in the compound ĉa-ĉarak 'arrow'. [The component -ĉarak is probably assimilated from -t:arak; and may be borrowed from Darg.: cf. forms like Kait. derek:a 'bow', for which the genuine Lak. parallel is k:urt:a 'arc, bow' q.v.]. It is probable that the Lak. word was borrowed into Darg. dialects: cf. Chir. ĉalha, Tsud., Kub. ĉihal, Ak., Ur. ĉi'al 'reed, cane'.

| Lezg. *ĉa²I reed, cane; arrow: Tab. ĉe².

Cf. also Düb. ĉe²e id. The word is attested only in Tab., but has reliable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*ĉaĉwV blood; life: Nakh. *ĉēgi; Av.-And. *ĉagV-; Lezg. *ĉVλ:V-.

| Nakh. *ĉēgi blood: Chech. ĉij; Ing. ĉij; Bacb. ĉejġi.

3d class in all languages. The same root is reflected in PN *ĉēge-(n) "red" > Chech. ĉe-n, Ing. ĉe, Bacb. ĉegē.

| Av.-And. *ĉagV- alive: Av. ĉāgo-b; Kar. ĉagu-s.

| Lezg. *ĉVλ:V- alive; lively, animated: Tab. ĉiwi.

The root is attested only in Tab.; therefore theoretically a reconstruction of medial *-w- is also possible - although -λ:- is more probable in view of the external evidence.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level: Although the root is not widely spread outside Nakh, it is no doubt archaic: cf. Hurr. zur-gi 'blood' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 44).

*ĉākwō a biting insect: Nakh. *psiġ; Tsez. *ĉike A; Lak. ĉaĉa; Darg. *ĉik²a / *ĉek²a; W.-Cauc. *ĉaĉa / *kaĉa.

| Nakh. *psiġ flea: Chech. saga-l; Ing. saga-l; Bacb. psiġ.

The Chech.-Ing. form goes back to the PN obl. stem *psaka- with a suffixed

| Tsez. *ĉike A flea: Tsez. ĉiki; Gin. ĉiki; Khvarsh. ĉike; Inkh. ĉeke; Bezht. ĉike; Gunz. ĉige.

PTsKh *ĉike/*ĉeke, PGB *ĉike.

| Lak. ĉaĉa flea.

Gen. ĉak-lu-l. Cf. Khosr. (with metathesis) kaĉa, kaĉ-lul.

| Darg. *ĉik²a / *ĉek²a flea: Ak. ĉika / ĉeka; Chir. ĉeka.

Cf. also Mek., Ur., Muir. ĉik²a, Kait., Sirg. ĉeka, Kub., Tsud. ĉika. The root reveals some variation between reflexes of *ĉ- and *-t-, and also of *-k²- and *-k-.

| W.-Cauc. *ĉaĉa / *kaĉa 1 bug 2 nit: Abkh. a-kaĉā 1; Abaz. kaĉa 1; Ad. ĉāĉa 2; Kab. ĉaĉa 2.

PAT *kaĉa (cf. also Bz. a-kaĉā); PAK *ĉakā. The meaning of the PAK form could have been influenced by its folk-etymological analysis as 'louse' (*ĉa) + 'egg' (*ka), but external parallels leave no doubt that the bisyllabic structure is here original.

[] PN *psik goes back to a form *ĉwāġā with shifted labialisation. Some irregularities (shifting or loss of labialisation, as well as metatheses) are explained by the root's expressive character.

*ĉēĉĒ kidney: Darg. *ur-cec; Khin. ĉiĉin; W.-Cauc. *ĉaĉa.

| Darg. *ur-cec kidney: Ak. urcec.

Cf. also Kait., Tsud. urcec. Kharb. urclerc is irregular - under the influence of the name for 'spleen' q.v.

| Khin. ĉiĉin kidney.

| W.-Cauc. *ĉaĉa kidney: Abkh. a-ĉāĉa; Abaz. ĉaĉa; Ad. zāzāj; Kab. zāzāj; Ub. ĉāĉa.

PAT *ĉaĉa (cf. also Abkh. Bzyb. a-ĉāĉ); PAK *zāzāj. The Abkh. and Ub. form correspond very well to each other and can only go back to PWC *ĉaĉa (note that Ub. also has zāzāj 'kidney', borrowed from Ad.). However, the phonetic explanation of the PAK form is more difficult (we should also expect *ĉaĉa). Shagirov (1977, 200) divides the AK form into the root *za- and a diminutive suffix *-zāj; but we should rather think of a contraction and assimilation *ĉaĉa-zāj > *ĉa-zāj > *zāzāj. In any case, it is impossible to separate the PAK form from other WC forms.

[] Initial *ur- in PD is a frequent prefix (a former class exponent?). Despite some phonetic difficulties (loss of glottalisation in PD which we still can not explain), the comparison seems plausible.

*ĉHəlqV (~ -q-) a k. of cereal: Tsez. *ĉoqVn; Darg. *ĉalqlī.

| Tsez. *ĉoqVn rye: Bezht. ĉoqin (Khosh.); Gunz. ĉoqon.

PGB *ĉoqVn.

| Darg. *ĉalqlī oats: Chir. ĉalqlē.

[] A Tsez-Darg. isogloss. Correspondences are regular.

*ĉHwildV tower, stone pillar: Tsez. *ĉiLe; Lak. ĉulj; Darg. *ĉeltā;

Lezg. *ĉ²irt.

| Tsez. *ĉiLe tower: Tsez. cili.

Attested only in Tsez., but obviously archaic.

| Lak. *çulj* tower.

Obl. *çulj-lu-*, pl. *çulj-rdu*.

| Darg. **çelt:a* tombstone: Ak. *çelda*.

Cf. also Tsud. *çelt:a* id.

| Lezg. **ç'irt:* 1 tower 2 stone figure 3 stone pillar: Tab. *ç'urd 1*; Ag. *çud 1*; Rut. *çud 2* (*Khniukh*); Arch. *çut 3*.

Cf. also Ag. Khud. *cur*, Ars. *çurd*; Arch. pl. *çut:ur*. There's not enough data to reconstruct the obl. stem (Tab. *ç'urda-*, Rut. *Khniukh. çudu-* are not informative).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**çHwVbV-* (~ *ç-*) light-coloured, white: Darg. **çub-*; Lezg. **ç'Vlbä-*.

| Darg. **çub-* white: Ak. *çuba*; Chir. *çubze*.

Cf. also Kub. *çub*.

| Lezg. **ç'Vlbä-* 1 red-haired 2 pitted, dappled 3 white: Lezg. *baç-uç 2*; Bud. *çobu 1*; Arch. *çulba-t:ut 3*.

The Lezg. form is metathesized and has an expressive suffix *-uç*. The root must have originally denoted some light colour.

[] A Darg-Lezg. isogloss (with not enough information to reconstruct the precise vocalism).

**çhwərə* hair; switch, long branch: Nakh. *(p)s(h)arV; Av.-And. **çurV*; Tsez. **çur*; Lak. *çara*; Lezg. **çalr*; Khin. *çar*.

| Nakh. *(p)s(h)arV long switch, long branch; wire: Chech. *sāra*; Ing. *sārg*.

In Ing. - a form with the diminutive **-k* (cf. also Chech. (Usl.) *sārag* id.). 6th class in both languages. Since there is no Bacb. reflex, it is impossible to determine whether we deal with PN **s-* or **ps-*, and whether there was a medial laryngeal. External evidence is in favour of PN **ps(h)arV*.

| Av.-And. **çurV* 1 horse's hair 2 graft, cutting: Av. *çor 2*; And. *çur 1* (*Khaidakov*).

Av. paradigm A (gen. *çōri-l*). Khaidakov quotes also Av. *çir-iq:* 'a k. of vermin' lit. "hair-parasite" - probably some dialectal form.

| Tsez. **çur* women's hair: Gunz. *çur*.

The Gunz. form is quoted from Khaidakov, thus not very reliable.

| Lak. *çara* hair.

4th class. Cf. Khosr. *çarā* id.

| Lezg. **çalr* hair: Lezg. *çar*; Tab. *çar*; Ag. *çar*; Rut. *çar*; Tsakh. *çalr*; Kryz. *çer*; Bud. *çer*; Arch. *çalri*.

Obl. base **çalra-*, cf. Ag., Rut. *çara-*, Tsakh. *çalra-*. 4th class in Tsakh. and Arch., 3d class in Kryz. and Bud. In most languages (except Tsakh. and Arch.) the root also means "goat's wool".

See Талибов 1960a, 296; Leksika 1971, 105.

| Khin. *çar* hair.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**çimVçV* butterfly: Av.-And. **çimirça*; Lak. *çimuçali*; Darg. **çiçim-*; Lezg. **çamç(a)*.

| Av.-And. **çimirça 1* butterfly 2 quail: And. *çemerça 1*; Kar. *ç'anç'ara 2*.

An expressive reduplicated stem, denoting both a butterfly and a small bird. The And. form is quoted from Khaidakov 1973 (who also lists a variant *çimirça*). The Kar. form is from the Archo. dialect.

| Lak. *çimuçali* butterfly.

| Darg. **çiçim-* butterfly: Ak. *çicim-kala*.

| Lezg. **çamç(a)* 1 fly 2 quail: Tab. *çamç 1*; Ag. *çemçal 2*.

For the semantic side ("fly" : "small bird, quail") cf. the meanings in Andian languages.

[] An expressive reduplicated root; however, well reconstructable for the PEC level.

**çilxwV* looming, haze; fumes: Av.-And. **çu(l)χV* (~ *-q-*); Lak. *çah*; Darg. **çVχ-*; Lezg. **çux(a)* (~ *-o-*).

| Av.-And. **çu(l)χV* (~ *-q-*) haze, dry fog; (adv.) hot, burning: Av. *çulχ / çux*.

| Lak. *çah* breeze.

Cf. also *çaiIn* 'haze' (although *-?* is unclear) - perhaps some old dialectal variant with an **-n*-suffix.

| Darg. **çVχ-* fumes: Ak. *çux-la gal^s*.

| Lezg. **çux(a)* (~ *-o-*) something burnt, burning: Lezg. *çux*; Tab. *çux*.

Both in Lezg. and in Tab. the stem is mostly used in a compound verb meaning 'to burn' (Lezg. *çux awun*, Tab. *çux apuz*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**çVndV* (~ *-m-*) black, dark: Av.-And. **çandi* (~ *-o-*); Tsez. **çədV-lu*; Darg. **çut:ar-*;

| Av.-And. **çandi* (~ *-o-*) blackberry: Akhv. *çāfi*; Tind. *çāji*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tlan. *ç'afi*, Ratl. *çafi* id. (all Akhv. dialects reflect a form with assimilation **-d > -t-*; source of labialisation in Tlan. is not clear).

| Tsez. **çədV-lu* black: Bezht. *çodolo*; Gunz. *çədilu*.

PGB **çədV-lu*. Cf. also Gunz. *çədil kaji* "blackberry".

| Darg. **çut:ar-* black: Ak. *çudara*; Chir. *çat:arze*.

Cf. also Kharb. *çut:ara*, Tsud. *çut:ar-se*. There are also some similar names of fruits / berries in Darg. dialects (cf. Ak. *çedes* 'fruit', Chir. *çurert* / < **çude-rt* ? / 'plum'), perhaps called so because of their dark color.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although the vocalism is hard to reconstruct (probably because of old Ablaut), other correspondences are regular and the etymology seems satisfactory.

**çwäqV* few: Tsez. **çəχ-*; Darg. **çiq-*; Lezg. **ç'ed(a)* (~ *-ä-, -i-*).

| Tsez. **çəχ-* few: Inkh. *çəχxu*.

Attested only in Inkh., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *çiq̃- few: Chir. çiq̃aj.

| Lezg. *çeq̃(a) (~-ä-, -i-) few: Ag. çuq̃.

Attested only in Ag. (cf. also Bursh. çuq̃), but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is attested only in three languages, but seems both phonetically and semantically reliable.

*çwōpV basket; cradle: Av.-And. *ç:~ipi; Lak. çapa; Darg. *çip; W.-Cauc. *c:~apa.

| Av.-And. *ç:~ipi basket: Av. ç:ep; And. ç:epi; Akhv. ç:ehi; Kar. ç:ope.

Av. par. B or C (gen. ç:apí-l). Cf. also Kar. Tok. ç:epi.

| Lak. çapa basket.

| Darg. *çip basket; cradle: Ak. çip (Tsud.).

Cf. also Kub. çip. Other dialectal forms with -a-vocalism (Chir. çalp(a), Ak. çap) are probably borrowed or influenced by Lak. çapa.

| W.-Cauc. *c:~apa cradle: Ub. c~apá.

Isolated in Ub., but with probable EC correspondences.

[] The correspondences are basically regular. However, there is a number of strange forms in Eastern Daghestan: Darg. Chir. çalp(a), Arch. çelp 'cradle', Bud. çaf id. which are quite irregular phonetically and must have been borrowed from some related language - but it is not clear, from which one.

*çambaŋV (~*ç-) sulphur: Av.-And. *çabaŋV; Lak. çamaŋu.

| Av.-And. *çabaŋV sulphur: Av. çabáŋ; And. çaaŋ; Cham. çabaŋa; Tind. çabaŋi.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. çabŋí-l). Some Andian forms may be borrowed from Av.

| Lak. çamaŋu sulphur.

[] An Av.-And.-Lak. isogloss. Other forms (Bezht. çabaŋ, Arch. çalpaf) are borrowed from Avar.

*çāmbā a k. of bird (jackdaw, magpie): Nakh. *çābV; Av.-And. *ç:[a]mba; Lezg. *çāba; Khin. çā.

| Nakh. *çābV magpie: Chech. çeбag.

-ag is a common diminutive suffix. Isolated in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *ç:[a]mba 1 jackdaw 2 starling: Av. ç:išá 2; And. ç:inba 1; Akhv. ç:āba 1; Cham. šaba 1; Tind. č:aš'a 1; God. č:aš'a 1.

The labial quality of the medial nasal is pointed by Tind. -b~-. The vowel -i- in Av. and And. is not quite clear. Cf. also Cham. Gig. çanba 'jackdaw, rook'.

| Lezg. *çāba jackdaw, rook: Lezg. çab; Tab. çab; Ag. çab (Shaumyan); Tsakh. çibla; Kryz. çab; Bud. çab.

Cf. also Lezg. erg. çābra, Kh. erg. çābra, pl. çab-ar; Tab. Düb. çāba. The Tsakh. form contains expressive pharyngealization; the -i- vowel quality may be due to Ablaut *çāba (dir.), *çōba- (obl.). 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Leksika 1971, 151, Талибов 1980, 302.

| Khin. çā jackdaw, rook.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. Cf. Osset. çax 'jackdaw, rook' < Cauc. (see Abayev 1958, 331).

*çānV (~*ç-) chin: Nakh. *çanik; Tsez. *čeçen(a) /*çiçin(a).

| Nakh. *çanik chin: Chech. çenig; Ing. çang; Bacb. çanik.

4th class in all languages. The root is extended by the diminutive *-ik.

| Tsez. *čeçen /*çiçin(a) chin: Tsez. çiçin; Gin. çiçinu; Khvarsh. çeçen; Inkh. çeçen; Bezht. çiçina.

PTsKh *čeçen; -i- in Bezht. is irregular - perhaps indicating that one should reconstruct a sequence like *čeçin in PTs. Cf. also Bezht. Tlad. çiçina.

[] A Nakh-Tsez. isogloss (with expressive reduplication in PTs).

*çaxV cartilage, gristle: Nakh. *çax-um /*çax-çum; Av.-And. *çax(:)ma (-o); Lezg. *çaxçax.

| Nakh. *čax-um / *čax-čum cartilage, gristle: Chech. čoxčam; Ing. čočaxam; Bacb. čxamčxam.

A reduplicated stem. 4th class in Chech., Ing., 6th class in Bcb.

| Av.-And. *čax(:)ma (~o) cartilage, gristle: Cham. čaxma.

An expressive root (but with a perfect EC etymology). It seems probable that Akhv. čaq:u and Tind. čanq:u 'cartilage' are expressive modifications of the same root.

| Lezg. *čaxčax cartilage, gristle: Lezg. čaxčax; Kryz. čixčixi.

A reduplicated stem (Kryz. čixčixi < *čaxčax-aj). The old Kryz. form (without vowel fronting) is borrowed in Khin. čaxčaxi 'cartilage'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive stem (often reduplicated), but nevertheless well reconstructable. In PN glottalisation was lost (probably as a result of assimilation). Note the identical suffixation (*-Vm) in PN and PA.

*čāčwV small stone: Nakh. *čič (~ -3); Av.-And. *čičV; Tsez. *čiča (~ -i, -ə); Lak. čuča; Darg. *čič-ik-.

| Nakh. *čič (~ -3) amulet (stone): Chech. čiz.

Cf. perhaps also Chech. čizarba, Ing. činzarba 'elder-berry'.

| Av.-And. *čičV small stone; road-metal: And. čičom.

Attested only in And. (historically a collective form), but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *čiča (~ -i, -ə) ashes, burnt coal-pieces: Gin. čecha.

Attested only in Gin., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. čuča small stone.

Cf. Khosr. čučw a id. (Khaidakov spells the lit. form: čučw a).

| Darg. *čič-ik- small stone: Chir. čičikan.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for dissimilatory deglottalisation in Darg. (before a historical diminutive suffix -ik-), correspondences are regular.

*čākü / *čākü young (of animals), boy: Tsez. *čike A; Lak. čaku; Darg. *čika; Lezg. *čaku-j; W.-Cauc. *čək̥ə.

| Tsez. *čike A kid: Khvarsh. čiki; Inkh. čike; Bezht. čike; Gunz. čike.

PTsKh *čike; PGB *čike (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. čike).

| Lak. čaku kid (less than 2-3 y. old).

Cf. Khosr. čaku (with secondary assimilation - or a loan from Darg. or Ag. čaku).

| Darg. *čika chicken.

Cf. Kad., Ur. čika.

| Lezg. *čaku-j goat less than 2 years old: Ag. čaku.

Isolated in Ag., but with good external parallels. Ag. > Darg. Chir. čaku id.

| W.-Cauc. *čək̥ə 1 young boy, youngster 2 small: Abkh. čək̥ən 1; Abaz. čkwan 1,2.

PAT *čək̥ə-nə (with a rather frequent suffixed -nə). In Abaz. variations: čk̥ən in the Russian-Abaza dictionary, but čk̥ə-n in Abaza-Russian (both forms are probably now in free variation). Despite Rogava and Shagirov (see Shagirov 2, 125) can not be related to PAK *čək̥ə 'small' (PAT *č never corresponds to PAK *č).

*čālwV sharp stick: Nakh. *čiw (/ *čuj); Av.-And. *čVrV; Lak. čila; Lezg. *čel: (~ -t:).

| Nakh. *čiw (/ *čuj) 1 ramrod 2 knitting needle 3 shuttle, spool: Chech. ču 1,3; Ing. čij 1,3; Bacb. čuj 2.

6th class in all languages. The meaning 'sharp thing, sharp stick' is also present in anatomic compounds: Chech. ču-nosta 'tibial bone, fibula', Ing. čij-nosta id., Chech. ču-phars 'funny-bone, ulna'. The PN form was borrowed in Cham. čiwa (Gig. čiwa) 'sabre'.

| Av.-And. *čVrV arrow, ramrod: Av. čor; Chad. čor.

Av. paradigm A (gen. čóri-l); but Chad. C (čoró-l, čóra-l). Av. > Arch. čor 'arrow'.

| Lak. čila knife.

| Lezg. *čel: (~ -t:) wedge; point-tool, chisel; plug, cork: Arch. čet.

Cf. plur. čet:ur. The root is attested only in Archi, thus in PL both *-l: and *-t: are possible; external evidence strongly suggests *-l:.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*čāmHV a k. of plant: Nakh. *čim; Av.-And. *čamV (~ -o-); Tsez. *čimu-ja; Lezg. *čālm: (~ -p:).

| Nakh. *čim 1 a plant with an edible root (купырь лесной): Chech. čim; Ing. čim; Bacb. čim.

Obl. base *čtma- (Chech. čima-, Ing. čimo). The word is glossed: in Chech. "купырь лесной (со съедобным корнем)"; in Ing. "свинуха (зонтичное растение)"; in Bacb. by Desheriyev "свинуха (растение)", by Kadagidze "купырь". 5th class in Chech., Ing., 6th class in Bacb.

| Av.-And. *čamV (~ -o-) 1 mint 2 burdock: Akhv. čame 1; Cham. čamara 2 (Gig.).

The meaning 'mint' in Northern Akhv. (given by Magomedbekova) is probably incorrect; all other Akhv. dialects have for 'mint' reflexes of PA *imHV or *HirmV (q.v.), and the MSU recording for 'mint' in Northern Akhv. is čemu. The informants probably had some other plant in mind.

Cf. also Cham. (U.-Gakv.) čawar 'burdock' (with a not quite clear -w-).

| Tsez. *čimu-ja a k. of plant ("пастушья сумка"): Tsez. čemuja.

Attested only in Tsez., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *čālm: (~ -p:) sweetbrier: Ag. čilb.

Cf. also Ag. Burk. čilw, Fit. čalw id. The root is attested only in Agul (thus it is not possible to distinguish between reflexes of PL *m: or *p:), but has probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root must have denoted some wild plant with broad leaves and strong odour.

*čānkV trap, obstacle: Nakh. *čink; Lezg. *čānk (~ -a-).

| Nakh. *čink weir, dam: Chech. čing.

Attested only in Chech., with probable Lezg. parallels.

| Lezg. *čānk (~ -a-) trap: Lezg. čenķ-er (Khl.); Rut. čank; Tsakh. čank.

Cf. also Rut. Khniukh. čenķ. Obl. base *čānki- (cf. Rut. Khniukh. čenķi-, Tsakh. čanki-). 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh. The resemblance to Pers., Azer. čāng 'claw' is quite coincidental (foreign č and g are not usually rendered by glottalised consonants in Lezghian languages).

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss.

*čārV (~ č-, č-, č-) wall: Lak. čira; Lezg. *čer(a) (~ -ā-); Khin. čārā.

| Lak. čira wall.

Cf. Khosr. čira id.

| Lezg. *čer(a) (~ -ā-) 1 eaves 2 wall: Lezg. čere 1; Arch. čer 2.

The Lezg. form reflects a -j-suffixed *čerV-j. 3d class in Arch.

| Khin. čārā stone for fastening roof edges.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level (distribution of the root is constrained to the Eastern area: Lak., Lezg. and Khin.).

*č[e]hIV a k. of cereal: Av.-And. *čor(H)V; Tsez. *če (~ē); Lezg. *čē (~-a-, -h-, -ā-, -h).

| Av.-And. *čor(H)V 1 roasted grain 2 rye: Av. čer 1; Chad. čer 1; And. čor 2. Av. Chad. paradigm B-C (gen. čirī-l).

| Tsez. *če (~ē) a sp. of barley (голозерный ячмень): Bezht. če.

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable Andian parallels.

| Lezg. *čā? (~-e-, -h-, -ā-, -h) roasted grain: Kryz. čē?

Attested only in Kryz., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The etymology seems satisfactory, although the vocalism is somewhat uncertain.

*čāhV ~ *čāhV (~ -ā) whey; home-brewed beer: Nakh. *čuhe; Av.-And. *čā?V (~ -o-); Lak. čuw; Lezg. *čāh.

| Nakh. *čuhe 1 cheese whey 2 cheese brine: Chech. čuha; Ing. čuhi.

| Av.-And. *čā?V (~ -o-) home-brewed beer: Av. čā?ā; Tind. čā.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. čā?ā-dāl, Chad. čā?ā-dul / čī?ī-l). Av. > And. čā?ā, Gunz. čā?ā, Bezht. (Tlad.) čā?ā, (Khosh.) čā?ā; Tind. > Inkh. čā.

| Lak. čuw colostrum, beestings.

Cf. Khosr. ču id.

| Lezg. *čāh(a) 1 whey 2 food made of colostrum: Lezg. čāh 1; Tab. čāh 1; Ag. čāh 1; Rut. čāh 1 (Khniukh.); Arch. nol-čol 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Nūt. kāh, Khl. čāh, Ag. Burk., Tp. čāh. Arch. has an obscure prefix nol-. Cf. also Kryz. čuh < Lezg. 3d class in Rut., 4th class in Arch. [Strange forms are recorded by MSU in Ag. dialects: Bursh., Fit. čux - probably Lezghian loanwords, but with an unusual substitution of x instead of h.]

See Khaidakov 1973, 53.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are basically regular (except for loss of glottalisation in PN - probably because of assimilation to the following non-glottalised laryngeal).

*čHādwV earth, clay: Av.-And. *čadV (~ -o-); Tsez. *čūdV; Darg. *čalt(:).

| Av.-And. *čadV (~ -o-) 1 clay 2 grey clay: Cham. ča? 2; Tind. čaji 1.

Cham. -t- < -d- through assimilation.

| Tsez. *čūdV 1 earth 2 soot: Tsez. čeldo 1; Gin. čodi 1; Khvarsh. čida 1; Inkh. čido 1; Bezht. čide 2.

PTsKh *čūdV; cf. also Bezht. Khosh. čide 'soot'.

| Darg. *čalt(:) dirt, mud: Ak. čalt (Tsud.).

The final position of -t in Tsud. allows for reconstructing either PD *t- or *t.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level.

*čHa[l]V (~ č-) beetle; dragonfly: Av.-And. *čalχa (~ o, q); Lezg. *čax:l-čax:l.

| Av.-And. *čalχa (~ o, q) beetle, insect: God. čalχa.

Attested only in God., with a probable Lezg. parallel.

| Lezg. *čax:l-čax:l dragonfly: Tab. čaβlčaβl.

An expressive reduplicated form; attested only in Tab., but having possible Andian parallels.

[] An expressive And.-Lezg. isogloss.

*čHārV wet; fish: Nakh. *čāre; Lezg. *čārV-.

| Nakh. *čāre fish: Chech. čāra; Ing. čāra; Bacb. čāre.

6th class in all languages. Cf. also Shar. čāri, It. čāra.

| Lezg. *čārV- wet: Arch. čā:ra-. Isolated in Arch., but with possible external correspondences.

[] The PN-Lezg. isogloss is quite satisfactory phonetically and semantically (the correlation "wet" : "fish" is quite common in NC languages); some doubts are raised only by the scarcity of reflexes in Lezghian (only Arch.).

*čHēpī (/ -b-) slime, clay; to plaster: Nakh. *č(ʰ)apu; Av.-And. *čaba (~ -o-, -o); Lezg. *čālp; W.-Cauc. *čVpa.

| Nakh. *č(ʰ)apu foam, scum: Chech. čopa.

Isolated in Chech., but with probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *čaba 1 clay 2 mud, slush 3 earthen floor: Av. čabār 3; And. čab-χi 1,2; Akhv. čabari 1 (Ratl.); Cham. čaba 3; Tind. čaba 2.

Av. paradigm C (čarbī-l, čārba-l). -r in Av. (cf. also Akhv. Ratl. čaba-ri 'clay') in Akhv. reflects a suffix (probably plural). Cf. also Cham. (U.-Gakv.) čabar 'earth', Tind. čabar 'floor' - obviously borrowed from Avar.

| Lezg. *čālp: 1 clay 2 slime on a stone 3 swamp 4 eye secretion 5 wet: Lezg. čeb 1; Rut. čab 2; Tsakh. čab 3; Kryz. čeb 5; Bud. čebi 5; Arch. čālp 4; Ud. čup:u-rut: 4.

Cf. also Lezg. erg. *čep:e-di*; Bud. *čeb-iž* 'rain'. Obl. base *č:áp:- (cf. Rut. *žaba-*, Tsakh. Gelm. *žab, žabi-*). 4th class in Rut. and Tsakh. In Arch. -p- < *p- through assimilation; in some languages PL *čālp: (through regressive assimilation) changed to *č:ālp:.

In Tab. we could possibly link (Düb.) *čalpal* 'home-brewed alcoholic liquor' (perhaps with a pejorative meaning shift < 'dirt, slime'; cf. Arch. *χ:alaj* 'home-brewed liquor' derived from *χ:al-* 'bad').

| W.-Cauc. *čVpa to plaster, paste; Abkh. *ā-čapa-ra*; Abaz. *čpa-ra*.

PAT *čVpa-.

[] Despite the uncertainty in reconstructing *p- or *b- (not unusual in root structures with two stops), the root seems reliable. In PN and PWC there occurred an assimilation: *č < *č (under the influence of the subsequent labial). Otherwise the correspondences are regular. The root is also spread in some other Daghestan languages as a loan from Avar (Darg. *čalbar* 'floor') or Andian languages (Gunz. *čabar* 'clay').

*čHaqwV big: Av.-And. *-ičuxa (-q-); Lak. čal-u-; Darg. *čaq-; Lezg. *čaxV (-ā-); W.-Cauc. *čəχ'a.

| Av.-And. *-ičuxa (-q-) 1 big 2 large, big (adv.) 3 high, tall: Av. *čaha-* 2; Chad. *čaha-b* 3; And. *-ečuxa* 1; Kar. *hičuxa-b* (Anch) 1; Botl. *-ečuxa* 1; God. *-ečuxa* 1.

Not quite clear is the initial h- in Kar.; otherwise the correspondences are quite regular.

| Lak. *čal-u-* many.

Cf. Khosr. *čal-u-s:a* id.

| Darg. *čaq'- high: Chir. *čaq'-ze*.

Cf. also Kait. *čalq-il* (with unclear pharyngealization), Muir. *čiq-il* id.

| Lezg. *čaxV (-ā-) 1 big 2 large, massive: Lezg. *čexi* 1; Tab. *čaxu* 2.

Tab. -t- is a frequent adjectival infix. Lezg. *čexi* was borrowed in Khin. as *čxi*.

| W.-Cauc. *čəχ'a 1 big 2 strong: Ad. *-sx'a* 1; Kab. *-sx'a* 1; Ub. *sx'a* 2.

Seems to be less used in modern Kab. (in Ad. this is the main word for 'big'). PAK *čəχ'a. The AK-Ub. comparison belongs to Dumézil (1932, 95). Klimov (1969, 290) has compared the AK root with Abkh. *a-mcχ'* 'surplus'; this comparison is, however, justly rejected by Shagirov (2, 61-62) (both for phonetic and semantic reasons).

The precise nature of the initial PWC affricate here is hard to determine, since both in PAK and Ub. the initial clusters of the type 'affricate+fricative' are substantially restricted (in Ub. all affricates change to fricatives in this position; in PAK palatalized/non-palatalized affricates are neutralised before fricatives). Position within a cluster also explains the change of uvular to velar in PAK (no combinations of front affricates + uvular fricatives are allowed).

[] In PD and PWC there occurred an assimilative deglottalisation *č- > *č-. Some doubts are raised by the Lak. form - regularly *čalq- would be expected; maybe pharyngealised *ql was lost in clusters with following class markers (real Lak.

forms are *čalwu-* 1/3, *čalru-* 2/4 < *čalq-bu-, *čalq-ru- ?).

The PA form suggests that this root could have prefixed class markers in PEC; however, they are absent in all other languages (even in Av.) and may be in this case a PA innovation.

*čHīqwĀ (~ *č-, -G-) dung, ordure, dirt: Lezg. *čiqI' / *č'iq:I; W.-Cauc. *čVq'ə (~ *č-).

| Lezg. *čiqI' / *č'iq:I 1 ordure, faeces 2 dirt (on clothes) 3 eye secretion: Tab. *č'q:I-ur* 1; Rut. *čūqI'* 2; Tsakh. *čūqI* 3; Kryz. *čāq* 3; Bud. *čūq* 3.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *č'ūq:Iur* 'faeces'. The Tab. and Kryz. forms go back to the variant *č'iq:I (in Tab. with a collective suffix -r), all other forms - to the variant *čiqI' (with an assimilatively weakened qI'). In Bud. the root means also "car-wax", "mould" and "fish eggs".

| W.-Cauc. *čVq'ə (~ *č-) manure, dung (of cattle): Abaz. *hajwan-q'əč*; Ub. *čaq'*.

In Abaz. a compound (with the borrowed *hajwan* 'animal'); metathesis is usual for expressive roots of this type. Since there is no Bzyb form, both *č (PAT *č) and *č (PAT *č) can be reconstructed for PWC.

[] A Lezg.-WC isogloss. The comparison is quite satisfactory both phonetically and semantically. Cf., perhaps, also Akhv. *čak'i* 'urine' - although this would raise some semantic and phonetic problems.

*čHōwnV (~ č-, č-, č-) time: Lak. čun; Lezg. *čalw.

| Lak. *čun* time.

Gen. *čuma-l*.

| Lezg. *čalw 1 time 2 it is (high) time, enough: Lezg. *čaw* 1; Tab. *čewe-n* 2; Ag. *čewe-ne* 2 (Tp.); Rut. *čew* 2; Tsakh. *čalw* 1.

Obl. base *čalwe- (~ *čalwi-), cf. (besides Tab. *čewe-n*, Ag. *čewe-ne*) Lezg. *čawu-*.

*čHVrdV narrow: Av.-And. *č:idir-; Darg. *čalrja.

| Av.-And. *č:idir- narrow: Av. *č:edera-b*; And. *č:itir*; Akhv. *č:ede-da*; Cham. *č:idir* (Gig.); Kar. *č:edero-*; Botl. *č:idiro-*; God. *č:idir*.

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *č:ider-da*.

| Darg. *čalrja narrow: Ak. *čalrja*.

[] An Av.-And.-Darg. isogloss (thus the original vocalism is hard to reconstruct).

*čHwātc (~ -i) lead (metal): Av.-And. *čiju; Tsez. *čij; Lak. čuñ; Darg. *čijl; Lezg. *čelč'.

| Av.-And. *čiju flint: Akhv. *čeju*.

Isolated in Akhv., but having probable external parallels (if the meaning 'flint' is secondary < 'stone like metal' < 'metal, lead' - cf. the external evidence).

| Tsez. *čij knife: Bezht. *čij*; Gunz. *čij*.

PTsKh *çit (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. çit, Khosh. çit).

| Lak. çuti lead.

| Darg. *ç(i)t lead: Chir. çit.

Cf. also Tsud. çat id. (with unclear vowel correspondence).

| Lezg. *felç- lead: Arch. felçu.

Attested only in Arch., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for the metathesis in Arch. (probably by analogy with another root, see PNC *fis(w)it), correspondences are regular.

*çHwɪV (~ ç-, -e-, -i-) a small bird: Av.-And. *çirV; Lak. çillmu.

| Av.-And. *çirV 1 quail 2 sparrow 3 bird: Av. çorolo 1; Cham. çor 3; Tind. çuri-baša 1.

Cf. also Cham. Gad. çoru 'bird', U.-Gakv. çor, Gig. çura 'sparrow'.

| Lak. çillmu bird (small).

3d class (-mu is historically a suffix); cf. Khosr. çillmu/çillmlu id.

[] An Av.-And.-Lak. isogloss; the comparison seems plausible both phonetically and semantically. We can also mention Ud. aɪl 'partridge': since all weak affricates were lost in Ud., this form can go back to PL *çVɪl, and may be related to the PA and Lak. forms.

*çHwɪmV (/mHŨçwɪ) small stone: Av.-And. *çumV, *çim-ixV; Lak. çuln; W.-Cauc. *mæçə.

| Av.-And. *çumV, *çim-ixV 1 bead 2 small stone: Av. çum 1, çimix: 2; Akhv. çix:i 2; God. çimix 2.

Av. çum has paradigm C or A (pl. çuma-l); çimix: has paradigm C (çinx:l-l, çinx:a-l). Cf. also Akhv. Tlan. çix:i, Ratl. çimix:i. The God. form may be borrowed from Avar (in any case, God. -x is most probably a misspelling instead of -ç:). Av. çimix: and the Andian forms contain an expressive suffix -Vx:

Av. > Arch. çimixl 'road-metal', Gunz. çimix 'small stone'.

| Lak. çuln bead(s).

Cf. gen. çulmu-l.

| W.-Cauc. *mæçV precious stone or glass (e.g. in a ring): Ad. mæša; Kab. mæçə.

PAK *mæçV. Shagirov's (1273) hypothesis about the word's Turk. origin (Turk. *munçak / *bunçak 'pearl, beads') is absolutely improbable for phonetic reasons. Balk. mica 'precious stone' < Ad.

[] Except for metathesis, correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems satisfactory. It is interesting to note that for some reason words containing 'm' and 'ç' are especially liable to metathesis (see under *miçV 'hoof', *mæçu 'long hair, strip', *muçŨ 'stick', *mVçwV 'dirt, dung').

*çHwɪtɪ (~ -ç-) beam, girder: Nakh. *çar-ik(en); Av.-And. *çVIV; Tsez. *çelu; Lak. çula; Darg. *çala; Lezg. *çul (~ -o-, -l-).

| Nakh. *çar-ik(en) 1 transverse, ceiling beam 2 short stick: Chech. çerg 1; Ing. çarga 1; Bacb. çarkē 2.

The root contains a usual diminutive suffix (*-ik); Bacb. and Ing. reflect a secondary derivate in *-en. 3d class in Chech. and Bacb., 4th class in Ing.

| Av.-And. *çVIV log, beam: Av. çalu; Chad. çalu.

Av. paradigm A (çalu-dul, çala-bi); but Chad. B (çulu-l, çul-bi).

| Tsez. *çelu cross-beam: Gunz. çelu.

Attested only in Gunz., but having good external parallels.

| Lak. çula beam, girder, log.

Cf. also Khosr. çula 'stone girder'.

| Darg. *çala 1 lot 2 fork, knitting needle: Ak. çala 1; Chir. çala 2.

The original meaning is 'stick', cf. Ur. çala 'stake', Kub. çala 'fork'.

| Lezg. *çul (~ -o-, -l-) 1 ceiling beam 2 thin log 3 planking poles: Lezg. çul 1; Tab. çul 1; Ag. çil 2; Rut. çil 2 (1khr.); Tsakh. çil 3.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. çil 'beam; thin log', Tsakh. Gelm. çil 'beam'. Obl. base *çuli- (cf. Gelm. çili-). With reduplication cf. Ag. çuluç 'knitting needle' (for the semantics cf. Dargwa).

It is not impossible to derive from this root Arch. çele 'stone': cf. the semantic development in Lak. (lit. 'beam, girder' - Khosr. 'stone girder').

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except that the Av. form probably reflects a vocalic metathesis: çalu < *çula).

*çiqwV (~ *ç-) tight plait (used for ladders etc.): Av.-And. *çik(ʷ)a; Lezg. *çiq.

| Av.-And. *çik(ʷ)a stairs: Cham. çeka.

Attested only in Cham., but having probable Lezghian parallels.

| Lezg. *çiq 1 tight plait 2 wooden step 3 yoke 4 rolling-pin 5 (women's) plait 6 spoke of a wheel 7 plaited brake for a sledge 8 funeral stretcher: Lezg. çiq 17; Tab. çiq 1; Ag. çiq 2,8; Rut. çiq 3 (Shin.); Tsakh. çiq 4; Kryz. çiq 5; Ud. ç:aš 6.

The original meaning was probably 'a tight plait', used for making ladders and other artefacts, which explains the wide variety of meanings in modern languages. Phonetic notes: Ag., Rut. and Tsakh. reflect a form with dissimilation (*ç- > *ç-; cf., however, Tsakh. proper çiq). The obl. base is *çiqi-, cf. Ag. çiqi-, Tsakh. (Tsakh.) çiqi-.

[] An interesting And.-Lezg. isogloss.

*çutV white clay: Av.-And. *çul-; Lak. çul.

| Av.-And. *çul- porcelain, china: Av. çulʷi.

-ʷi in Avar is not quite clear (a remnant of some old compound?). Av. > Tsakh. çulaʷi id.

| Lak. çul white clay, kaolin.

[] An Av.-Lak. isogloss; PEC antiquity dubious.

*çuqā / *çuqā (~ ç-, ç-, -ə) friend; neighbour: Av.-And. *ç(ç):uqV; Lak. çax:u-l.

| Av.-And. *ç(ç):uqV friend: Av. çuq:ā.

Av. paradigm B (çuq:ā-dul, çuq:bi). Av. > Akhv. çoq:a (Tlan. çuq:a), Kar. çoq:a (Anch. çuq:ʷa) id.

| Lak. *çax:u-l* neighbours.

A plural form; cf. also *çax:u-çu* 'neighbour', *çax:u-dus* id. (fem.). Lak. > Arch. *çax:u-l* 'neighbours'.

[] An Avar-Lak. isogloss. Apart from the metathesis of glottalisation (normal for a root with two stops), correspondences are regular.

**çükwV* / **çükwV* to be hooked, curved; hook: Nakh. **çuk*; Av.-And. **çilokwV*; Tsez. **çekw-*; Lezg. **çekw-* (~ -ä).

| Nakh. **çuk* 1 door hook 2 ring, chain-link 3 drinking horn, -let: Chech. *çug* 1,2; Ing. *çug* 1,2; Bacb. *çuk* 3.

Cf. also Pharch. *çug* 'door hook'. Obl. base **çak-ar-* is seen in Chech. *çagara-* 4th class in Chech. and Ing., 5th class in Bacb. As seen from the various meanings, the basic semantics of the root is 'a hooked or curved object'.

| Av.-And. **çilokwV*- bent: And. *çilokur*.

Probably an expressive transformation of **çikwV-IV(-r)*. Cf. also *çilokur idu* 'to bend' (a compound verb).

| Tsez. **çekw-* hooked, curved: Tsez. *çigw-a-si* (*Radzhibov*); Khvarsh. *çegw-a-na* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *çek-dijö* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *çek-du*.

PTsKh **çegw-* (with dissimilation); PGb **çek-* (with an adjective suffixation). The aberrant Inkh. *çuk* 'door hook' can not correspond phonetically to PGb **çek-* and is most probably a Nakh loanword.

| Lezg. **çekw-* (~ -ä) 1 to be hooked, curved 2 hooked, curved: Rut. *çu=kw-* 1; Tsakh. *qi-çotkiri-n* 2.

Cf. also Rut. (participial) *çuku-d* 'hooked, curved'; the Tsakh. form is obviously also participial, but the deriving verb stem is not recorded. Expressive variations of the same stem are probably Tab. *ça=k-*, Ag. *çak-* 'to be curved' (cf. also Tab. *ba-ça=ku*, Ag. *çaku-f* 'hooked, curved').

[] An expressive common EC root. The original quality of the Inlaut consonant (*-k-) is probably retained in PL, and *-k- in PN and PTs must be explained by assimilation; otherwise the correspondences are regular.

Abayev (1958, 295) proposes a Caucasian origin for Osset. *cäg* 'ring, chain link'.

**çümV* corner, angle; bow: Tsez. **çemV*; Lezg. **çemVr* (~ -ä-).

| Tsez. **çemV* 1 corner, angle (outer) 2 corner: Tsez. *çimu* 1; Gin. *çimu* 1; Khvarsh. *çimi* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *çemo* 2.

PTsKh **çemV*.

| Lezg. **çemVr* (~ -ä-) bow: Lezg. *çemer-uk*; Tab. *çimir*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *çemer-uk* (-uk is probably of Turkic origin, cf. Turk. *ok* 'arrow'; this Lezg. compound is equivalent to Rut. *jejuχ*, Tsakh. *jejoχ* = Turk. *jaj-ok* 'bow+arrow'; Tab. Düb. *çimir*, lit. *çemer* 'arrow'. -Vr is a former plural marker.

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss.

**çVbVliV* a k. of bird: Nakh. **çabVr-iç*; Av.-And. **çorbādi* / -ti;

Lezg. **çibliç*.

| Nakh. **çabVr-iç* swallow: Chech. *çebardig*; Ing. *çagarg*.

An expressive stem with some irregular changes (notably in Ing.: *-b- > -g- by assimilation to the following g).

| Av.-And. **çorbādi* / -ti magpie: Av. *çarbedo*; And. *çordiḡanni*; Akhv. *çāḡadi*.

In most languages and dialects this long expressive stem was reinterpreted as a compound with **bādi* 'crow' in the second part; in Av. the word *çar-bedo* means literally 'variegated crow' (cf. also an old Inkh. loan from Andian: *açirbade* 'magpie'). However, Khaidakov notes an And. dialectal form *çarbiç* which obviously can not be explained in this way; external parallels also show that the influence of **bādi* is here secondary.

| Lezg. **çibliç* 1 partridge 2 snipe 3 sparrow 4 eagle-owl: Lezg. *çaliç* 1; Tab. *çibliç* 2; Kryz. *çulut* 3; Bud. *çiliç* 3; Ud. *c:ilḡilt* 4.

An expressive root (sometimes with irregular loss of -b- in the combination -bl-); 4th class in Kryz, but 3d class in Bud. Cf. also Lezg. Nüt. *çibliç-ar*, Kur., Fij. *çirbiç* 'partridge'. The root was borrowed in Azer. *çullut* 'snipe'.

See Talibov 1980, 302.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive stem with some irregular changes - possibly an old compound (for the first part cf., e.g., PEC **çambā* 'jackdaw', which could be distorted in a long word in most languages).

**çV[1]kwV* hoof, foot: Nakh. **çalko*; Av.-And. **ç:içw-a*.

| Nakh. **çalko* hoof: Bacb. *çalkō*.

Isolated in Bacb., but with rather probable Andian parallels.

| Av.-And. **ç:içw-a* foot: And. *çuka*; Akhv. *ç:eka*.

In And. a dissimilative loss of glottalization has occurred (cf. also Khaidakov's notation: *çeka*).

[] A Nakh-And. isogloss, thus the vocalic reconstruction and reconstruction of the medial resonant are uncertain; nevertheless, the comparison seems plausible.

**çVmhV* span: Nakh. **šo*; Av.-And. **çimHi-l*; Tsez. **ç'im(u)*; Darg. **çim*; Lezg. **ç'imli*; W.-Cauc. **ja*.

| Nakh. **šo* span: Chech. *sa*; Ing. *su*; Bacb. *se*.

4th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing., 3d class in Bacb. We must reconstruct two variants for PN: **se* (reflected in Bacb.) and **šo* (> Ing. *su*). The vowel of the obl. base **sa-ni-* (> Chech. *se-n*) in Chech. had influenced the direct base (instead of *šo* it became *sa*). The variation **šo* / **se* in PN perhaps should be explained by a special development of early PN **swe* (< PEC **çwimhV*).

| Av.-And. **çimHi-l* span (between the thumb and the fore-finger): Cham. *çibil*;

The word is attested only in Cham., cf. also Cham. Gig. *čiwul* id. The correspondence U.-Gakv. -b- : Gig. -w- is very special (original *-b- is well preserved in Gig.), so it seems very probable that for PA we should reconstruct a combination like *-mh- (cf. the external evidence); PA **čimHil* > Cham. **čiwil* > **čiwil* (with loss of nasalisation).

| Tsez. **čim(u)* span (between the thumb and the small finger): Tsez. *jom*; Gin. *jemu*; Khvarsh. *jom* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *jom*; Bezht. *čimo* (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *čimu* (*Gunz.*).

PTsKh **čim(u)* (~ -ə-); PGB **čimu*. Labialisation in PTsKh (and in PTs) is reconstructed on basis of the specific vowel correspondence (Inkh., Tsez. o : Gin. e).

| Darg. **čim* span: Ak. *qals-čim*; Chir. *čim*.

Cf. also Ur., Kub. *čim* id. The first part of the Ak. compound is somewhat enigmatic: the only possible parallel for it is Ud. *q:osla-* also in a compound *q:osla-maš* 'handful' - with a possible (but very unreliable) protoform like **qHVšV* (~ -š-).

| Lezg. **čim*: span (between the thumb and the small finger): Lezg. *čib*; Tab. *čib*; Ag. *čilb* / *čelb*; Rut. *čub*; Tsakh. *čilm* / *čulm*; Kryz. *čep*; Bud. *čip* (?); Arch. *čim*; Ud. *ži* (?).

Cf. also Lezg. erg. *čipini* (Khl. *čib*, *čpeni*). 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh., but 4th class in Arch. and Shakhdag. There are phonetic problems with the Bud. and Ud. forms: Budukh has irregular č- (č- would be normally expected), and Udi - irregular ž (č- would be expected). The final version of the MSU recordings has a very strange notation for Kryz.: *čep*. This is certainly a mistake (both for historical reasons, and because we recorded that word ourselves as *čep* during the MSU expedition in 1977).

| W.-Cauc. **ža* span: Abkh. *á-ža*; Abaz. *ža*; Ad. *bziz*; Kab. *bziz*; Ub. *ža*.

PAT **ža* (cf. also Bzyb. *á-ža*). The AK compound **bžə-jəžə* is treated by Shagirov (190) as **bžə* 'hand' (cf. also PAK **a-bžə-bə* 'handful', Ad. *a-bžə-m* 'fist') + **jəžə* 'full'. We consider, however, the direct comparison of PAK **jə-zə* (*jə* is a usual pronominal prefix) with PAT **ža* and Ub. *ža* 'span' more justified semantically, and quite regular phonetically - thus, the coincidence with **jəžə* 'full' is certainly secondary.

See Shagirov I, 90; Klimov 1967, 306; Balkarov 1967, 15, 24.

[] In EC all forms point to a reconstruction **čimhV*. The original meaning of this root was probably "span between the thumb and the small finger" (cf. in Cham. the opposition *jełim* < **HrVĒV* : *čibul* < **čimhV*). Outside the Andian area, however, most languages had lost the root **HrVĒV* and **čimhV* obtained first the meaning 'span' (in general), and sometimes (after the penetration of new words - for the most part borrowed, like Turk. *cejrek* < Pers. *čahār-yak* - with the meaning 'span between the thumb and the small finger') - the meaning 'span between the thumb and the fore-finger'.

The comparison of PEC **čwimhV* and PWC **ža* is tempting, although it presents some phonetic problems. Labialisation in PEC can be secondary (due to assimilation < **čimhV*); loss of the cluster *-mh- in PWC is also regular.

However, lack of palatalisation in PWC can not be explained - we would regularly expect a form like **ča* or **ža*. Perhaps this is a case of a very archaic Ablaut, involving alternation of a front and a back vowel.

**čVqV* / **qVčV* to press: Nakh. **čab-*; Lak. *ču=ja-*; Darg. **čluč*; Lezg. **čoqla*; W.-Cauc. **qVčV*.

| Nakh. **čab-* to close, shut: Chech. *čab-*.

| Lak. *ču=ja-* to squeeze, contract.

G. pr. *ču=(u)-nu*. Cf. Khosr. *čuja-n* id., as well as the metathesized variant: *čul=či-n* (*čul=ču-nu*), Khosr. *člu=či-n* 'to press, squeeze'.

| Darg. **čluč* / =*ušqI-* 1 to rumple, crumple 2 to press, squeeze: Ak. =*ušqIa-ques* 1; Chir. *čluč b=arqī* 2.

Cf. also Ak. =*ušq-* 'to be rumpled', and the nominal part of *qalbs-burces* 'to wrinkle, contract', *qalbs-ilzes* 'to be wrinkled'. An expressive stem with irregular changes.

| Lezg. **čoqla(n)* to press, squeeze, rumple: Lezg. *čəq̄e-* 1; Tab. *ču=qI-* 1; Ag. *čuqI-* 1; Kryz. *čiqā jeriž*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *či=q-*, Ag. Bursh. *čalʿan-* (< **čalqIan-*) id. Bud. *wočom-xn-* 'to press' is a contamination of this expressive root with PL **čix:an-* q.v.

| W.-Cauc. **qVčV* to rumple, crumple, rub: Abkh. *a-qʷč-rá*; Abaz. *qʷč-ra*; Ub. *qʷačá-*.

PAT **qʷčəčə-*; Ub. *a-s-qʷačá-n*.

[] An expressive verbal root with metatheses and irregular developments (one of several rather rare verbal roots with the structure CVCV).

**čVrV* (~ **č-*) a k. of grass: Av.-And. **čiru*; Lezg. **čVrV-j*.

| Av.-And. **čiru* nettle: Cham. *čilu* (*Gig.*); Kar. *čiru* (*Tok.*).

Cham. -l- is irregular (in Gig. -r- would be expected).

| Lezg. **čVrV-j* 1 bush, shrub 2 vine: Lezg. *čere* 2; Tab. *čere* 1 (*Southern Tab.*).

The Southern Tab. form is cited from [Maromarov 1965].

[] An And.-Lezg. isogloss. There is not enough evidence to reconstruct vocalism.

**čwErHV* (/ **rHEčwV*) cold: Nakh. **pšā*; Tsez. **ččV* A; Lezg. **ruč(a)*; W.-Cauc. **čč* (/ **čč*).

| Nakh. **pšā* 1 ice 2 spring, brooklet: Chech. *ša* 1; Ing. *ša* 1; Bacb. *pšā* 1,2.

Obl. base **pšə-* (cf. Chech. Usl. *sə-η*). 5th class in Chech. and Bacb., but 6th class in Ing. There exists a derivate from this root: PN **pšə-l* "cold (n.)" (cf. Bacb. *pšel*, Chech. *šel-dan* "to cool", Ing. *šel-de* id.), **pšə-li-(n)* "cold (adj.)" (Bacb. *pšelli*, Chech. *šila*, Ing. *šila*).

| Tsez. **ččV* A cold: Tsez. =*očju*; Gin. =*očču*; Bezht. *áčijo*; Gunz. =*očču*.

PTsKh **oč-*, PGB **oč-*. There exists also a noun PTs *očV* 'cold' (>)

Tsez. *roči*, Gin. *roči*, Bezht. *jačo*, Gunz. *rəču*), which may be treated as a derivate.

| Lezg. **ruč(a)* hoar-frost, dew; Tab. *ruč*; Ag. *ruč*.

Obl. stem unclear.

| W.-Cauc. **čəʔə* (/ **čəʔə*) cold; Ad. *čəʔa*; Kab. *šəʔa*; Ub. *čə*.

PAK **čəʔ-ə* (in Ad. a secondary dissimilative deglottalisation). It is harder to account for deglottalisation in Ub.; in any case, the PAK and Ub. forms are obviously related. Cf. also Ub. impers. *a-čə* 'it is cold'. Despite Shagirov (2, 154) PAK **čə* 'winter' and. **pəčə* 'to freeze' should be strictly kept apart from this root (they have a different root consonant); PAT **čəʔa* / **čəha* 'ice' also should be separated (the PAT **č* : PAK **č* correspondence does not exist).

[] A common NC adjectival and nominal stem. It is not quite clear whether *r-* in PL **ruč(a)* (= Gunz. *rəču*) should be treated as a former class prefix or as part of the root. The latter hypothesis seems preferable, because in Nakh languages the word has no class prefixes. See Abdokov 1983, 104 (Tsez. : WC).

**čwħčli* (~ -*č*, -*t*) a k. of foliage tree: Av.-And. **č*:*V(l)-dV*; Lezg. **č*^w*ell* (~ -*l*).

| Av.-And. **č*:*V(l)-dV* ash-tree: Av. *č*^w*ad*.

Av. paradigm A (*č*:*adi-l*).

| Lezg. **čweli* (~ -*l*) willow: Lezg. *čweli-n t:ar*; Tab. *č'al*; Ag. *čull (K.)*; Rut. *čul*; Tsakh. *čow*.

3d class in Rut. and Tsakh. Cf. also Tab. Düb. *č'ul*, Lezg. Nüt. *k'weli t:ar*, Khl. *č'w'al*. Obl. base **čwēle-* (cf. Lezg. *čweli-*, Tab. *č'ala-*, Tsakh. *čowa-*). See Талибов 1980, 268.

[] The Av. word reflects a suffix *-*di* (**čwħčli*), common for many plant-names. One feels tempted to compare PWC > PAK *(*p*)*c:aLə* 'willow' (Ad. *pceLə*, Kab. *zaL*), but there are significant phonetic obstacles (PAK **c*: can go back to PWC **č*: but we would rather expect **čw-* in Anlaut). Thus the root so far remains an Av.-Lezg. isogloss.

**čwikwV* knife: Tsez. **t'iq* A; Lezg. **čuka* (~ -*o*; /-*k*-).

| Tsez. **t'iq* A knife: Tsez. *talq*; Gin. *toq*; Khvarsh. *tiq*; Inkh. *tuql*. PTsKh **t'iq*.

| Lezg. **čuka* (~ -*o*; /-*k*-) knife: Lezg. *čukul*; Tsakh. *čika*; Kryz. *čukul* (Khaidakov).

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *čkil* 'small knife'. The Lezg. and Kryz. form have a frequent *-*l*-suffix. 4th class in Tsakh.

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss; one of the cases demonstrating the development **čw-* > **t'w-* in PTs.

**čwīnhV* flea; nit: Av.-And. **čon-di* / **čon-ti*; Tsez. **čima* / **čima*; Lezg. **čun(a)*.

| Av.-And. **čon-di* / **čon-ti* flea: Av. *čef*; And. *čonni*; Akhv. *čāti*;

Cham. *čan*; Tind. *čandi*; Kar. *čante*; Botl. *čanti*; Bagv. *čan*; God. *čanti*.

Av. paradigm B (*čotō-l*, *čutū-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Ratl., Tlan. *čandi*. The original form is probably **čondi*, and forms with -*t*- reflect an assimilation (see, however, below).

| Tsez. **čima* / **čima* nit: Bezht. *čima*; Gunz. *tima*.

Cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *čime*. Variation between -*t*- and -*č*- probably reflects old variation in labialisation (**čima* < **čima*, but **tima* < **čwima*). There exists also a word *čima* 'nit' in Gin. (MSU recording: *čima*), but here it is most probably borrowed from one of the GB dialects.

| Lezg. **čun(a)* flea: Lezg. *čut*; Tab. *čud*; Ag. *čid*; Rut. *čid (Shin.)*; Tsakh. *čin*; Kryz. *čid*; Bud. *čid*; Ud. *in*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *čaj*, Ag. Fit., Burk. *čid*, Bursh. *čir*. In Lezg. we would rather expect -*d*; but it is possible that the development *-*n*: > -*t* is regular after glottalized stops (cf. **čun*).

Lezg. *čut* > Khin. *čut* 'flea'. See Талибов 1960a, 296; Leksika 1971, 149; Giginayshvili 1977, 73, 101.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In PTs the labialisation had passed to the Inlaut resonant (a rather frequent development). The Avaro-Andian forms contain a dental suffix. Therefore it is most probable that Lak. *čif*, Darg. (Ak.) *čif* 'bug' are borrowed from Avar (they correspond badly to other EC forms, but are well explained if we assume a loan).

There exists, however, another parallel in the Lak.-Darg. area: cf. Darg. Chir. *čat* 'grass-hopper', Lak. *čati* 'larva'. It is not excluded that these forms reflect the same suffixed form as Av. *čef*, i.e. PEC **čwīn-IV* (**čim-IV*).

**čwōłh[u]* (~ **č-*) leather strip: Av.-And. **čwoli*; Tsez. **čelu* A; Lak. *čulu*; Lezg. **čola*.

| Av.-And. **čwoli* leather strip: Av. *čolo*; Chad. *čolo*; And. *čol*; Akhv. *čali*; Cham. *čal*; Tind. *čwali*; Kar. *čwale*; God. *čali*.

Av. paradigm B (*čali-l*, *čala-l*; Chad. *čili-l*, *čala-l*).

| Tsez. **čelu* A leather strip: Tsez. *čir*; Gin. *čilu*; Khvarsh. *čel (Radzhibov)*; Bezht. *čelo*; Gunz. *čelu*.

PTsKh **čeR(u)*; PGB **čelu*.

| Lak. *čulu* leather strip.

Cf. Khosr. *čulu* id.

| Lezg. **čola* leather strip: Lezg. *čul*; Tab. *čul*; Ag. *čil*; Rut. *čil*; Tsakh. *čuwa*; Kryz. *čil*; Bud. *čil*; Arch. *čot*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *čil*, Tsakh. Gelm. *čiwa*. Obl. base **čol:ā-* (cf. Tab., Ag. *čili-* and the Tsakh. Auslaut in -*a*). 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh., but 4th class in Arch. and Kryz. Not clear is Ud. *č:ori* id.

See Leksika 1971, 215; Giginayshvili 1977, 69; Talibov 1980, 301.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except for the Auslaut: Lak. and Av. suggest PEC **ū*, which does not correspond to PL **a*). A possible derivate from this root is Hurr. *zūl-ud-* 'to release, unbind' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 44).

[One must also consider the possibility of relating here Darg. Ak. *çi* 'thread' - if it originally meant 'leather thread or strip'. In this case, however, we would have to change the cluster -*th-* to -*lh-* to account for the loss of resonant in Darg. Lak. *çulū* would then have to be analyzed as a suffixed form (otherwise the regular reflex would be *çu*, also with loss of -*l*) - which is not improbable, in view of the mentioned above discrepancy between the Lak. and PL auslauts].

**çw̃IHV* (~*ç-*, -*+*) cheek; mouth: Lak. *çaw*; Lezg. **çʷal(a)*;

W.-Cauc. **çʷa*.

| Lak. *çaw* cheek.

4th class.

| Lezg. **çʷal(a)* 1 temple 2 face: Lezg. *çʷel* 1; Tab. *çʷal* 1; Ud. *ç:o* 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *çʷol* 'temple'. Obl. base not quite clear (Khl. *çʷola*, Tab. *çʷalt*).

| W.-Cauc. **çʷa* mouth: Abkh. *a-çə*; Abaz. *ça*; Ad. *za*; Kab. *za*; Ub. *ça*.

PAT **çA*; PAK **za*. Ub. and PAT point unambiguously to PWC **çʷ*; reasons for deglottalisation in PAK are not quite clear (regularly **ç* would be expected).

[] The comparison seems reliable, although the vocalism is not quite clear.

d

**dadV* (~ -*ō-*, -*ə-*) cock: Darg. **t:at:a*; Lezg. **dad(a)*.

| Darg. **t:at:a* cock: Chir. *t:at:a*.

Cf. also Kait. *t:at:aʃ*, Kharb. *t:at:aq:ʷa* id. (in both dialects - a compound with PD **t:aʃʷa* 'cock' q.v.).

| Lezg. **dad(a)* cock: Tab. *t:at:*; Ag. *t:at:* (*Bursh.*); Rut. *dadal*; Tsakh. *dadal*; Ud. *dadal*.

An expressive root (with a development **d* > *t:* in Tab. and Ag.). Rut., Tsakh. and Udi reflect a suffixed form **dada-l*. 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh.

[] A Lezg.-Darg. isogloss. The root is expressive and reduplicated, hence the PEC antiquity is dubious. There exists a Kartvelian parallel (PK **deda-l* 'hen, female', see Klimov 72).

**dājV* / **dādājV* father; mother: Nakh. **dād(a)*; Av.-And. **dadV*;

Lak. *t:at:a*; Darg. **t:ut:e(s)*; Lezg. **dadVj*; Khin. *dādā*; W.-Cauc. **t:at:V*.

| Nakh. **dād(a)* father: Chech. *dā*; Ing. *da*; Bacb. *dad*.

Cf. Bacb. (in Desheriyev's notation) *dād* (probably pointing to long **ā*).

| Av.-And. **dadV* 1 father 2 daddy: Av. *dadā* 2; Chad. *dedē* 1; And. *dada* 2; Akhv. *dada* 2; Cham. *dad* 2.

A "nursery word", widely spread as a term of endearment in Av.-Andian languages. Cf. also Cham. Gig. *dadi* 'daddy', *ima-dadi* 'grandfather' (lit. "father's daddy"). An Andian (or Avar) source is also probable for Inkh. *dada* 'daddy' (in Tsezian the root is not used except in Inkh.). Without reduplication cf. Av. *āda* 'aunt'.

| Lak. *t:at:a* grandfather.

Cf. also Balkh. (cited from Khaidakov 1966) *t:at:a* 'father'. A nursery word; cf. also Lak. *dada* 'mummy' (an etymological doublet, with an expressive preservation of voice).

| Darg. **t:ut:e(s)* father: Ak. *dudeš*; Chir. *dat:e*.

Cf. also Gapsh., Kharb., Tsud. *t:ut:eš* 'father'. The same root, but partially reduplicated, is reflected in Ak., Ur. *ada*, Kub. *at:a* 'father'.

| Lezg. **dadVj* 1 father 2 grandfather 3 mother: Lezg. *dide* 3; Tab. *dada* 3; Ag. *dad* 1; Rut. *did* 1; Tsakh. *didi* 2; Kryz. *dāj* 3; Bud. *dide* 3; Arch. *dija* 1.

Cf. also Tsakh. Gelm. *dedāj* 'grandfather' (< **t:at:a-j*), Kryz. Al. *dadaj* 'mother'. In Arch. there occurred an irregular change **dida* > *dija* (cf. **buba* > *buwa* 'mother'). There are several forms presupposing a partially reduplicated protoform **ʔadaj*: Bud. *ada* 'father', Tab. *edej* 'grandfather', Kryz. *dāj* 'mother'. Quite irregular and contracted reflexes of the same "nursery word" may be observed in Tab. *daši* 'father' (cf. Darg. **t:ut:e-s*) and Tsakh. *da-k* id.

Within Lezghian languages forms meaning 'father' ('daddy') and 'mother' ('mummy') are usually in complementary distribution, so it is hard to separate them from each other.

| Khin. *dādā* mother.

| W.-Cauc. **t:at:V* 1 grandfather (addr.) 2 daddy: Abkh. *dad* 1; Abaz. *dāda* 1; Ad. *tāt* 2; Kab. *dāda* 1; Ub. *dad* 2.

PAT **dadV*; PAK **t:at:ā*. A nursery word, but demonstrating regular correspondences. It is usually used in a reduplicated form; but cf. also Abkh. *di, dia* (**dVjV* ~ **t:VjV*) 'mummy'.

[] A common NC nursery word, used for the most part as a term of endearment. Similar words are widely spread in many linguistic families, but the addressing form **dādā* may well have existed also in PNC (correspondences between subgroups are basically regular). The root is usually reduplicated (although several languages reflect a non-reduplicated **dājV* or a partially reduplicated **adajV*; cf. also HU: Hurr. *at:aj*, Urart. *atə* 'father', see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 25).

This stem certainly was not a basic name for either 'father' (which was most probably **ōbVjV*) or 'mother' (**anVjV*), but could possibly be used as a term of endearment for both parents.

**dal3V* (~ -ā-) butter: Nakh. **datti-n*; Lezg. **t:alç*.

| Nakh. **datti-n* butter: Chech. *datta*; Ing. *datta*; Bacb. *dattē*.

3d class in all languages. Final *-n (historically a suffix) is reflected in the Bacb. nasalisation and in the Chech. obl. stem (*dattana*).

| Lezg. **t:alç*: 1 butter 2 fat: Lezg. *dūd-b'wer* 1; Tab. *darc*: 2; Ag. *darc*: 2 (Fül.); Rut. *dad-b'ar* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Akht. *t:ūd-b'wer*, Khl. *t'ed-b'ar* (labialisation in the Lezg. reflex is secondary, due to the labialising influence of b'). The Lezg. and Rut. forms are compounds with PL **χ:larV* 'butter' q.v., and thus go back to **t:alç[u]-χ:lar*; the first component corresponds to Tab. and Ag. *darc*: perfectly well. Media! *-l- is reconstructed on basis of Tab./Ag. forms (original *-r- would remain in Lezg. and Rut.).

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss; both semantically and phonetically satisfactory.

**dan?* (~ -ū) cheek; gum: Nakh. **dō-le*; Av.-And. **da(HV)*; Lezg. **t:an*.

| Nakh. **dō-le* gum (in mouth): Chech. *dōla*; Ing. *dol*.

3d class in Chech. and Ing. Cf. also Chech. Cheb. *dwole*, Ved. *dwele*, Khild. *dwele* etc.

| Av.-And. **da(HV)* gum (in mouth): Av. *da*; Chad. *da-b*; And. *da-b*; Akhv. *da-bul* (Tseg.); Kar. *da-be*.

All Andian languages (and some Av. dialects) reflect a plural form corresponding to Av. pl. *da-bi* 'gums'.

| Lezg. **t:an* cheek: Rut. *dan*; Tsakh. *dan*.

A Rut.-Tsakh. isogloss, but with probable external cognates. Obl. base **t:ani* (cf. Rut., Tsakh. *dani*); 3d class in both languages.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. One would be also tempted to compare Darg. Chir. *dem* 'mouth', but this raises several phonetic problems.

**daro* tree; conifer: Lak. *t:ar*; Lezg. **t:ar*.

| Lak. *t:ar* needles of a conifer.

| Lezg. **t:ar* 1 tree 2 stem: Lezg. *t:ar* 1; Ag. *dar* 2; Kryz. *dar* 3; Bud. *dər* 3.

Obl. base **t:ara-* (cf. Lezg. *t:ara*, Ag. *dara*). 3d class in Kryz. and Bud. We should, perhaps, relate to the same root (with reduplication) Ud. *durut*: 'log'.

See Талибов 1960a, 298; Leksika 1971, 162-3.

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss; it is possibly an early loan from Indo-Iranian.

**darqV* weasel, ermine: Av.-And. **darq'a*; Lak. *t:arqa*.

| Av.-And. **darq'a* weasel, marten: And. *darG'a*.

Attested only in And., but having a good Lak. parallel.

| Lak. *t:arqa* weasel, ermine.

Cf. Khosr. *t:arq'a* id.

[] An And.-Lak. isogloss; both phonetically and semantically perfect, thus probably going back to PEC.

**derλV* ~ **HreλV* (~ -λ-) stick: Lak. *t:arx*; Darg. **derx:a*.

| Lak. *t:arx* stick.

Obl. base *t:urša-*. Cf. Khosr. *t:arx* (*t:urša-*) id.

| Darg. **derx:a* 1 stick 2 staff: Ak. *derxa* 1; Chir. *derx*: 2.

Cf. also Ur. *dirxa*, Kub. *dex:a*, Sirg. *dirx:a* 'stick'.

[] A Lak-Darg. isogloss. See Trubetzkoy 1922, 239.

**dHaqWĀ* back of head, neck: Lezg. **t:aqI'*; W.-Cauc. **t:əq:A* / **q:ət:a*.

| Lezg. **t:aqI'* back of head: Lezg. *t:ex'*; Rut. *daql*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *t:āχI'*, Rut. Khnov. *daql'*. Reflexes of **qI'* are irregular: we should expect -b' in Lezg. and -χI' in Rut. (perhaps the irregularity is due to labialisation?). 4th class in Rut.

| W.-Cauc. **t:əq:A* / **q:ət:a* 1 neck 2 back of neck: Abkh. *ā-χ'da* 1; Abaz. *q'da* 1; Ad. *pša-taq*: 2; Kab. *pša-daq*: 2; Ub. *t'əq* 1.

PAT **q'ada* (cf. also Bz. *ā-χ'da*); PAK **t:əq:ə* (in the first part of the compound - PAK **pša* 'neck'). The PAT form is metathesized (cf. the external parallels); otherwise the correspondences are fully regular.

[] A Lezg-WC isogloss. See Abdokov 1983, 75.

**dHeqWV* spot, patch: Darg. **dek'a*; Lezg. **teql'(a)* (~ -ā-).

| Darg. **dek'a* patch: Ak. *deka*.

Cf. also Kub., Ur. *dik'a* id.

| Lezg. **teql'(a)* (~ -ā-) speck, spot: Lezg. *t'ex' / t'ex'*; Tab. *taql'*.

Cf. also Tab. Kand. *tuql* 'freckle, mole' (lit. Tab. also has *tuql-ar* 'freckles').

[] A Darg-Lezg. isogloss; in one of the subgroups there occurred a metathesis of glottalisation (thus we may reconstruct *dHeq^wV or *tHeq^wV).

*dHogwā (~ -ǝ) donkey, ass: Lak. t:uk:u; Darg. *t:alk:ʷa; Lezg. *dagij (~ t:-).

| Lak. t:uk:u ass, donkey.

| Darg. *t:alk:ʷa young donkey: Ak. daga.

Cf. also Ur. dalgʷa, Kub. t:alk:u, Kharb. t:ak:u etc.

| Lezg. *dagij (~ t:-) ass, donkey: Tab. daži; Ag. degi / dagi; Arch. dogi.

3d class in Arch. See Khaidakov 1973, 26.

[] The root is specific for Eastern Dagestan; see notes to PEC *tūgV. (Its remnant in the Western area may be a very aberrant phonetically And. tokis: 'young donkey').

*dñwōdwo tube, pipe: Av.-And. *dodʷV / *didʷV; Lak. duḷdu; Darg. *t:alt: (~d); Lezg. *t:olt:.

| Av.-And. *dodʷV / *didʷV 1 churn 2 jug, pitcher 3 wheel: Av. dad 1; Akhv. dadi 2 (Ratl.); Cham. dudu 3 (Gig.); Kar. didu 3; Bagv. darʷ 1.

Av. dad > Arch. dad 'big earthenware jug'.

| Lak. duḷdu speaking-tube, megaphone.

| Darg. *t:alt: (~d) pipe: Ak. dald.

| Lezg. *t:olt: throat, gullet: Lezg. t:ud; Tab. dad;

Cf. also Tab. Düb. dudu 'gullet' (with expressive glottalisation); Lezg. erg. t:ut:u-ni, Lezg. Khl. t:ud (erg. t:ut:ʷe-di). Cf. also the derivate *t:olt:VχI > Tab. duduχI 'gullet; crawl, crop', Lezg. t:ut:uχ (Khl. t:ut:uχ) 'throat'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive reduplicated stem; however, the correspondences are fairly regular. It is interesting to note Georg. duduk- 'a k. of flute' (whence Gunz. duduk 'reed-pipe').

*dikwi a k. of cereal: Nakh. *duka; Tsez. *tigʷV A; Lezg. *t:ikʷ.

| Nakh. *duka 1 rice 2 groats: Chech. duga 1,2; Ing. duga.

3d class in both languages.

| Tsez. *tigʷV A millet: Tsez. fewo; Gin. fugo / fegʷe; Khvarsh. fegʷe; Bezht. fugo; Gunz. fugo.

PTsKh *tigʷV; PGB *fugo.

| Lezg. *t:ikʷ millet: Lezg. c:uk; Tab. duk; Ag. duk; Rut. duk; Tsakh. dik.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. c:uk. Obl. base *t:ikʷe- (cf. Tab. duku-, Ag. duku-, Rut. duki-, Tsakh. dike-). 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for the metathesis of glottalisation in PTs, usual in roots with two stops (PTs *tigʷV < *dikʷV), all correspondences are regular.

*dilawV cloud: Lak. t:urlu; Darg. *dirixʷ; Lezg. *t:il:ʷ.

| Lak. t:urlu cloud.

4th class.

| Darg. *dirixʷ 1 cloud 2 fog: Ak. dirix 1; Chir. dirixʷ 2.

Cf. also Ur. diriʷ, Tsud. dirix 'cloud', Kub. dīxʷ 'fog' etc. [NB: the spelling Chir. dirixʷ in the latest MSU recordings is obviously faulty: Ur. -w points unambiguously to PD *-xʷ].

| Lezg. *t:il:ʷ cloud: Lezg. c:if; Tab. dif; Ag. dif; Kryz. žif; Bud. žuf; Arch. diḷʷ.

Other relevant forms: Tab. Khūr. dif; Ag. Bursh. dif; Arch. erg. diḷ:ʷili, pl. doḷ:or (all pointing to PL *λ:ʷ). Vowel base unclear (mostly consonantal affixes in modern languages). 4th class in Arch., Kryz. and Bud. See Giginayshvili 1977, 76; Талибов 1980, 279.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Lak. -rl- < *-rλ- < *-lλ- (with preservation of the lateral quality of *λ after a liquid). See Trubetzkoy 1922, 240.

*dōmpe edge, bank: Darg. *dumb; Lezg. *t:am[a].

| Darg. *dumb edge, bank: Ak. dub; Chir. dum.

Cf. also Ur., Mek., Kharb. dub 'bank'. From the same root is obviously formed Ak. dub-ura, Chir. dab-ura 'mountain'. Although the Chir. form here has lost the nasalization, its former presence is securely confirmed by an old Archi loanword from Darg.: Arch. dumpəra 'hill'.

| Lezg. *t:am[a] 1 wood, forest 2 river: Lezg. t:am 1; Rut. dam 1; Tsakh. dama 2.

Obl. base not quite clear (Lezg. t:amu- and Rut. dami- seem to contradict to Tsakh. dama). 4th class in Rut., but 3d in Tsakh. The original meaning was probably 'forest near the river-bank' (whence, on one hand, 'forest', on the other - 'river'); cf. the meaning of related forms in Darg. [It is not excluded that the old meaning 'edge' is preserved in Ud. dōmbā 'corner, edge' - which otherwise has an obscure etymology. Cf. also Ag. Fit. damb 'tomb-stone' which may preserve a rather archaic phonetic and semantic shape].

[] A Lezg.-Darg. isogloss.

*dučV wood, firewood: Nakh. *dače-k(a); Darg. *duč; Lezg. *t:uč (~ -o-).

| Nakh. *dače-k(a) 1 wood, firewood 2 a small fragment of a branch: Chech. dečig 1; Ing. dačča 1; Bacb. dačxar 2 (Imnaishvili).

3d class in Chech. and Ing. (in Chech. 4th class with the meaning 'wood (material)'). Ing. -xč- and Bacb. -čx- in this case go back to *-č(V)k- (preserved in Chech. as -čig).

| Darg. *duč bundle (of firewood, hay): Chir. duč.

| Lezg. *t:uč (~ -o-) bundle (of firewood): Ag. duč.

Attested only in Ag., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Outside Nakh the distribution of the root is very restricted: it is attested in Agul and in the Chirag dialect of Darg. - very close geographically to Agul, and suggesting a possibility of borrowing. In any case, this would be either a Nakh-Darg. or a Nakh-Lezg. isogloss.

*dū thou (obl. base): Av.-And. *du-; Tsez. *di- A; Darg. *-t(:); Lezg. *-it:-.

| Av.-And. *du- thou (obl. base): Av. *du-*; Chad. *du-*; And. *du-*; Akhv. *du-*; Cham. *du-*; Tind. *du-*; Kar. *du-*; Botl. *du-*; Bagv. *du-*; God. *du-*.

The stem *du- is used in Av.-And. languages in all cases except nominative and ergative (where *mi-n, Av. *mu-n* is used; Avar uses *du-* also in ergative, having thus restricted *mun* to the nominative case).

| Tsez. *di- A thou (obl. base): Tsez. *de-b-*; Gin. *de-b-*; Khvarsh. *de-b-*; Inkh. *du-b-*; Bezht. *di-b-* / *du-*; Gunz. *di-b-* / *du-*.

PTsKh *di-b-; PGB *di-b- / *du-. As in Av.-And. languages, the stem is used in all cases, except nominative and ergative.

| Darg. *-t(:) thou (dat. case): Chir. *a-t.

Attested only in the Chirag dialect, in a compound with the normal 2d p. pronoun *u (< *hu): Chir. *at < *h(*u)a-t:(V).

| Lezg. *-it:- thou (obl. base): Arch. *w-it*.

This archaic pronominal stem is preserved only in the Archi genitive *wit* (where *w-* is a class prefix, like in *w-is* (1st p. sing.), *ulu* (< *w-olo*, 1st p. plur.), *w-iš* (2d p. plur.)). Note that the Ag. (Fit.) genitive *wit* has nothing to do with the Archi form: it contains the PL attributive morpheme *-t:V > -t, common to all pronouns (*zi-t*, *xi-t*, *či-t*, *kū-t*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level (there are no traces of this pronoun in PWC). The root is well preserved in the Western (Av.-And.-Tsez.) area, and has almost disappeared in other languages, except Archi and Darg. dialects. It must have been originally the dative stem in the complicated suppletive paradigm of the 2d p. sing. pronoun (dir. *uō / *δwV, erg. *oδwV-, gen. *iū-, dat. *dū-). It has preserved its function in Darg., shifted to genitive in PL (Archi; note that Arch. dative *wa-s* is an obvious innovation), and became the general oblique stem in Av.-And.-Tsezian.

*dVG(w)V cock: Darg. *t:aδw'a; W.-Cauc. *t:aq:a.

| Darg. *t:aδw'a cock: Ak. *daβa*; Chir. *t:aβu*.

Cf. also Ur. *daβw'a*, Kub. *t:aδw'a* etc.

| W.-Cauc. *t:aq:a cock: Ad. *ātaq:a*; Kab. *adāq:a*; Ub. *tāqa*.

PAK *at:aq:a. Ub. has *t-* instead of the expected *d-* under the influence of the Ad. form; a direct loan from Ad. is less probable.

Shagirov (I, 56) analyses the first part of the PAK form as *at:a 'father', which is unacceptable because of external parallels and the obscure character of the component *q:a (it is, however, possible that the prothesis *a appeared in PAK under the influence of this root).

[] A Darg.-WC isogloss (see Mészáros 1934, 271, Abdokov 1983, 117). Phonetically and semantically quite plausible, thus the PNC antiquity is possible. But a similar root exists in Altaic (Turkic *takiku / *tagiku 'hen, cock', Mong. *takija* etc.), and an early loan is not excluded (note an obvious late loan: Darg. Tsud. *tawqa* which stands quite apart from all other Darg. forms < Turkish *tavuk*).

*dVfhwV flower: Av.-And. *dVHV; Tsez. *diʔi (~ -i-).

| Av.-And. *dVHV a bright-colored flower: Av. *dahā*.

A variant of the same root is perhaps Av. *teh* (Chad. *teh*) 'flower' (> Arch. *teI*, Bezht. Tlad. *teh* id.). It is hard to separate Av. *teh* and *daha* from each other.

| Tsez. *diʔi (~ -i-) flower: Bezht. *diʔi*.

Isolated in Bezht., with a probable parallel in Avar.

[] A local Av.-Bezht. isogloss; PEC antiquity dubious.

*dVIVgV a small wild animal: Nakh. *dingV-ʔ (~ -i-, -k-); Av.-And.

*dVrgV-IV; Lak. *t:alak*; Darg. *t:uk:V- (~ *d-, -g-).

| Nakh. *dingV-ʔ (~ -i-, -k-) weasel: Chech. *dingad*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *dVrgV-IV bat: Av. *dergēlu*.

| Lak. *t:alak* marten.

Cf. Khosr. *dalak* id. The same root (with some distortions) is present in the compound *buIrx-t:uk:u* 'squirrel' (which is folk-etymologically analysed as 'hare'+donkey).

| Darg. *t:uk:V- (~ *d-, -g-) badger: Ak. *dug-aIq*.

Cf. also *dugeli-bug* id. (a compound with PEC *bHVrgV q.v. in the second part). Ak. *dugaIq* is also probably a compound, but the second component is not clear.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The vocalism is hard to reconstruct in a trisyllabic root with some irregular phonetic changes (due to the root's expressive nature).

It is interesting to note Azer. *dālā* 'squirrel' (possibly < *dālāg), which has no Turk. etymology and thus may be borrowed from an EC source (the Azer. word, in its turn, is borrowed in Kryz. *dālā*, Khin. *delā* 'squirrel').

*dVrqwV he-goat: Av.-And. *dVq(ʔ)V-n; Tsez. *tiqʔV A.

| Av.-And. *dVq(ʔ)V-n he-goat: Av. *deʔen*; Chad. *deʔen*.

Par. B/C (*daʔni-l*, *duʔ-bi/duʔnu-l*, Chad. *diʔni-l*, *diʔ-bi/deʔena-l*). The root without the suffix -n is preserved in the plural *duʔ-bi* / *diʔ-bi*.

| Tsez. *tiqʔV A kid (about 1 y. old): Gin. *teqʔi*; Khyarsh. *tiqʔa* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *tiqo*; Bezht. *ioqā* (*Tlad.*, *Khosh.*); Gunz. *ioq-či*.

PTsKh *tiqʔ[e]; PGB *ioqʔ (Bezht. *ioqā*), *ioq-či > *ioq-ci (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *ioq-či*, Khosh. *ioq-či* 'young he-goat'). A possible etymology of the component *-či in PGB see under *čimV.

[] This root is probably reflected also in HU: Hurr. *taṣa* 'man, male' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 26). There is not enough information to reconstruct the vocalism. *-r- is obligatory in the reconstruction to account for the preservation of uvular *-qʔ- (> Av. -ʕ-) in Inlout; without a previous liquid *-qʔ- regularly yields -k-.

*dV a negative particle: Tsez. *-at- / *-aŋ-; Lezg. *tV-; Khin. -n-dā-

| Tsez. *-at- / *-aŋ- a negative particle: Inkh. -ate; Gunz. -aŋ-

An irregular correspondence (i/i) is explained by the grammatical nature of the morph. Cf. also Gunz. -iŋ- suffix of negative past gerund (showing that the vowel here does not belong to the negative affix itself).

| Lezg. *tV- not: Lezg. t-; Tab. d-; Ag. d-; Tsakh. d-; Kryz. d-; Bud. d-; Arch. -ŋu; Ud. te.

The common Lezgian negative morpheme, which could be used both in prefixed and suffixed positions. Glottalisation in Arch. is clearly secondary (the final vowel was probably originally lost, and there occurred a neutralisation of the glottalisation feature in the Auslaut position; later a new parasitic vowel was added).

See Alekseyev 1985, 100-101.

| Khin. -n-dā- a suffix of negative participles.

| Reconstructed for the PEC level. This negative particle is widely used in Lezghian languages, more seldom - elsewhere. Violations of phonetic rules (devoicing in PTs, Ud.) are explained by the grammatical nature of the root.

*dV that (demonstrative pronoun): Nakh. *da-; Av.-And. *dV-; Tsez. *dV; Lezg. *dV; Khin. du; W.-Cauc. *da.

| Nakh. *da- demonstrative pronoun stem: Chech. d^əa; Ing. d^əa; Bacb. da-h.

The actual stem da- is clearly seen in Bacb. da-χe? "because of that", da-h, da-ha "there". The Chech.-Ing. form d^əa is a contraction from *da-ha; it served as a basis for the now common demonstrative pronoun d^əa-ra "that".

| Av.-And. *dV- that (demonstr. pronoun): Av. do-b; And. hu-du-, he-de-; Akhv. hu-du-; Cham. u-da-; Tind. o-ja-; Kar. wu-du-; Botl. do-b; God. ho-do-hu-do-.

In most Avaro-Andian languages the demonstrative stem *dV- is used for denoting objects situated on the same level with the speaker (usually - but not necessarily - far from him).

| Tsez. *dV a demonstrative stem: Tsez. je-da; Gin. ha-do; Khvarsh. i-du (Radzhibov); Inkh. i-du; Bezht. hu-di, ho-do; Gunz. bə-d.

The stem is opposed to *gV and is used normally (in compounds with other demonstrative particles) for the near deixis.

| Lezg. *dV that (demonstr. pronoun): Lezg. a-ŋa; Tab. du-mu; Rut. ha-d; Kryz. a-d; Bud. a-d; Arch. gu-du, bu-du; Ud. t-e.

The original meaning seems to be 'that (on the same level as the speaker)', preserved in Tabasaran (where it is opposed to tu-mu q.v.); in most other languages the stem is used in compounds with other deictic stems. Lezg. and Ud. reflect a glottalized variant *tV (probably expressive and secondary).

| Khin. du this.

| W.-Cauc. *da a demonstrative stem: Abkh. -da; Abaz. -da; Ad. -da; Kab. -da; Ub. (aj)-da.

Dumézil (1932, 120) relates Ub. -da in aj-da 'that, another' (cf. also -dain mā-da-ka 'where') to Abkh. -da in ā-la-da 'down', ā-ŋa-da 'above' (< PAT *da, cf. Abaz. ŋa-da 'ascent, climbing'). While this may be true, we would also adduce the AT pronominal (agentive) prefixes of the 3d person singular and plural (*da- > Abkh. d(ə)- and probably also the 3d person plural pronoun *da-ra 'they' (Abkh. da-rā, Abaz. da-ra).

In AK the stem is preserved in *a-dā 'there' (Ad., Kab. āda; cf. also Ad. tə-da 'where' and the PAK locative preverb *da- (Ad., Kab. da-). See Шагнров 1, 57.

| One of several common NC deictic stems. The original meaning of *dV seems to be "that" with neutral space status (on the same level as the speaker). Cf. also Khin. t^əa (with emphatic tenseness) 'there (on the same level as the speaker)'. Because of the clearcut opposition in PL (*dV - *tV) we must distinguish this root from PEC *tV q.v.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 274 (comparing also Av. -aŋa 'other, separate' - which hardly belongs here); Abdokov 1983, 138.

*dwāŋ stick: Nakh. *tāl; Av.-And. *dalV; Lak. t:ala; Darg. *t:ultV / *t:altV; Lezg. *t:al.

| Nakh. *tāl 1 poplar 2 chock: Chech. tal 1; Ing. tāl-g 2.

Obl. base *talu-, cf. Chech. tola-. The original meaning had been probably 'stick, tree' (in general), whence the Ing. diminutive *tāl-ik > tāl-g. 3d class in Chech. and Ing.

| Av.-And. *dalV stick: Av. dal (Gid.).

The dialectal Av. (Gid.) form is cited from Mikailov 1959.

| Lak. t:ala log, cudgel, club.

3d class. Cf. Khosr. t:ala id.

| Darg. *t:ultV / *t:altV tree: Chir. t:alt:e.

Cf. also Tsud. t:ult:a, Kub. t:ūt:a 'tree'. The form is probably a reduplication (under influence of *k:alkV 'tree, branch' q.v.) of the simple root *t:al reflected in Sirg. t:al 'post'.

| Lezg. *t:al 1 branch 2 long stick, pole 3 staff: Rut. dal 1; Tsakh. dal 2,3; Arch. dali 2.

Obl. base *t:alt-, cf. Rut. dali-, Tsakh. dali-. The root means also 'stalk', 'stick' or 'thick log' in different Rut. dialects. 3d class in Rut. and Arch., but 4th class in Tsakh.

See Leksika 1971, 196, 162-163.

| Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. Cf. also Hurr. tāla 'tree' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 25).

*dwān^əV (~-nh-) sheep, ram: Nakh. *ta-bu; Av.-And. *dan(H)V; Lak. t:a; W.-Cauc. *tə / *tə.

| Nakh. *ta-bu ram (1 year old or more): Chech. tō; Ing. tō; Bacb. tawbū.

-bu in PN is probably a former plural suffix.

| Av.-And. *dan(H)V sheep, ewe: And. dan;

Isolated in And., but having good external parallels.

| Lak. *t:a* sheep, ewe.

Cf. Khosr. *t:a* id.

| W.-Cauc. **tə* / **tə* ram: Abkh. *a-tə*; Abaz. *tə*; Ad. *tə*; Kab. *tə*; Ub. *tə*.

PAT **tə*, PAK **tə*. Glottalisation in PAK and Ub. is obviously secondary, although its source is not quite clear (perhaps it reflects the original laryngeal -ʔ which had been lost in Inlaut). Another solution would be comparing the PAK and Ub. root with a different EC stem (cf. PA **riʔana* [~o-] 'lamb' > Botl. *reʔana*, Cham. *jeʔana* etc.) - which, however, seems rather dubious (it is difficult to separate WC forms from each other).

[] Labialisation is suggested by laryngeal features (PN and PWC **t* vs. *d* or *t*: in other languages), although it had actually been lost. See Trubetzkoy 1930, 277, Abdokov 1983, 121 (adding also a number of unrelated roots in EC languages).

**dwälçV* tree: Nakh. **ditt* (~ -i-, -t); Lak. *t:arç*; Darg. **duc:a*.

| Nakh. **ditt* (~ -i-, -t) 1 mulberry tree 2 tree: Chech. *ditt* 1,2; Ing. *ditt* 2.

Obl. base **ditte-* (~-t-), cf. Chech. *ditta-*, Ing. *ditto*. 3d class in both languages.

| Lak. *t:arç* post, pole.

Cf. also Khosr. *t:arç* id. Lak. *t:arç* > Arch. *darç* id.

| Darg. **duc:a* forest, wood: Ak. *duc:a* (*Kub.*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The comparison seems probable enough (although we would rather expect **t:arz* in Lak.; lack of spirantization is probably due to an early assimilation: **dwälçV* > **dwälçwV*).

**dwönV* a k. of musical instrument: Av.-And. **dʷonV* (~ -a-); Tsez. **dibV-* (~-i-); Darg. **t:am*; Lezg. **damdam* / **daldam*; W.-Cauc. **tʷanə*.

| Av.-And. **dʷonV* (~-a-) drum: And. *don-gudi*; Cham. *dā*; Tind. *dʷā*; Kar. *dane*; Bagv. *dʷāj*.

The component -gudi in And. is unclear. For PA either *-ʷo- or *-ʷa- can be reconstructed (since the And. form - quoted from Khaidakov 1973 - is not very reliable).

| Tsez. **dibV-* (~-i-) drum: Bezht. *dibiʔo*.

-ʔo is a frequent nominal suffix (commonly used with expressive roots).

| Darg. **t:am* drum: Ak. *dam*.

Cf. also Ur. *dalʷm* (with expressive pharyngealization), Kait. *t:am*.

| Lezg. **damdam* / **daldam* drum: Lezg. *daldam*; Tab. *daldabu*; Ag. *damdam* (*TP.*); Rut. *daldam*; Bud. *daldam*.

A reduplicated expressive stem. See Leksika 1971, 139.

| W.-Cauc. **tʷanə* any musical instrument: Ub. *tʷanə*.

Ub. *tʷ-* may go back to **tʷ-* or **tʷ-*.

[] An expressive (but obviously archaic) root. Irregular is -b- in

PTs (and -b- in Tab.): -m- should be expected. It is not quite clear, whether the protoform should be **dwänV* (with transfer of labialisation to -n- > -m- in some languages) or **dāmV* (with a reverse process).

**dwihV* wind: Darg. **tʷaʃ* (~dʷ-, -hI); Lezg. **t:iH-*.

| Darg. **tʷaʃ* (~dʷ-, -hI) wind: Ak. *dalʃ*.

Cf. Ur. *dʷalʃ* id.

| Lezg. **t:iH-* odour, scent: Arch. *di*;

4th class. The root is isolated in Arch., but has a possible Darg. parallel.

[] A Darg.-Lezg. isogloss. Attested only in two languages, thus not very reliable.

**dwirçV* bank, valley, plain: Nakh. **taʃV*; Darg. **dirq(a)*; Lezg.

**t:irq(a)*.

| Nakh. **taʃV* valley: Chech. *toʃe*; Ing. *ataʃe*.

4th class in both languages. Chech. also has a form *atabi* id. = Ing. *atabe* (reflecting **a-taʃV* with a prefix).

Nakh. > Osset. *ataya* 'bank valley' (Abayev 1958, 80).

| Darg. **dirq(a)* plain: Ak. *dirq*; Chir. *dirqa*.

Cf. also Ur. *dirq*, Muir., Sirg., Tsud. *dirqa*, Kub. *diqa* id.

| Lezg. **t:irq(a)* bank, shore: Ag. *dirʃ* (*TP.*).

The form is cited from Shaumyan; it is isolated in Ag. and may be borrowed from Dargwa (in which case the PL form **t:irq(a)* does not exist).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Basically a Nakh-Darg. isogloss (the Agul form may be borrowed from Darg., see above).

**dwirχE* child, son: Darg. **durχlʷa*; Lezg. **tʷi(r)χ*.

| Darg. **durχlʷa* child: Ak. *durhal*; Chir. *darχla*.

Cf. also Ur. *durhʷal*, Kub. *dūhu*.

| Lezg. **tʷi(r)χ* son: Rut. *duχ*; Tsakh. *duχ* / *diχ*; Kryz. *diχ*; Bud. *diχ*.

Medial -r- is regularly lost before uvulars in all languages preserving this root, thus it could have been there in PL (its presence is suggested by the Darg. parallel).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The form **dwirχE*, reflected in PD and PL, probably goes back to an earlier **uV-dirχE* (with the 1st class prefix **uV-*); cf. PHU **wutqi*, **witeqi* 'son' reflected in Hurr. *futqi*, *fitqi* (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 20).

**dwixi* (~ -i-) snow, hoar-frost: Nakh. **tχi*; Tsez. **χ:ida*; Darg. **duχli*; W.-Cauc. **tʷəχV* (~ -χʷ-).

| Nakh. **tχi* 1 dew 2 hoar-frost: Chech. *tχi* 1; Ing. *tχi-r* 1; Bacb. *tχi-r* 2.

3d class in all languages. Ing. and Bacb. reflect a suffixed form **tχi-r*.

| Tsez. **χ:ida* dew, hoar-frost: Bezht. *χida*; Gunz. *χida*.

PGB **χida*.

| Darg. *duxli snow: Ak. *dalhi*.

Cf. also Ur. *duhal*, Muir. *dux:i* (= *dułxi*) id.

| W.-Cauc. *t^hax^hV (~ -x^h-) 1 hoar-frost 2 snowstorm, blizzard: Abkh. *a-sə-t^hh^ha* 2; Abaz. *srə-c^hh^ha* 2; Kab. *sə-t^hh^h 1*.

PAT *sə-(rə)-t^hh^ha (cf. also Bzyb. *a-sə-t^hh^ha*). All three languages reflect a compound with *sə- 'snow'.

[] Except for metathesis in PTs (*x:ida < *diχ:a) correspondences are regular. PN *t^hxi is a reduction < *tūχi; in PWC there occurred an assimilation (*t^hax^hV > *t^hax^hV).

*dwīq(w)V log, stump: Nakh. *duqV; Darg. *duk(i); Lezg. *t:uq- (~d-,o-,Vq^h); W.-Cauc. *t:(^h)aq:a (~ -q-).

| Nakh. *duqV log, beam: Chech. *duqū*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *duk(i) log, beam: Ak. *duki*; Chir. *duk*.

Cf. also Tsud. *duk*, Kad., Mek. *duki*.

| Lezg. *t:uq- (~d-,o-,Vq^h) 1 pole, small beam 2 beam; stone for fastening roof: Tab. *duqan* 1; Ag. *duqur* 2.

The root contains different suffixes (*Vn in Tab., *-Vr in Ag.).

| W.-Cauc. *t:(^h)aq:a (~ -q-) stump, block: Ad. *taq:a*; Kab. *daq:a*.

PAK *t:aq:ā.

[] The comparison between EC and WC forms seems quite plausible both phonetically and semantically. Labialisation of *-q- is suggested by PD *-k- (but it may be secondary, due to progressive labialisation). There is also a possibility of a reflex in Lak.: cf. Lak. *ut:u-s:a* 'wooden beam', which may go back to *qwid(w)V with metathesis.

*dwōnk^h pit: Av.-And. *d^hVngV; Darg. *tVrg^hV; Lezg. *t:ak.

| Av.-And. *d^hVngV pit: Av. *donkó*; And. *dungil*; Kar. *d^hange* (*Masht.*); God. *dunga*.

The Av. word is taken from Uslar (paradigm C: loc. *donkní-we*, pl. *dōnkāl*). Within Andian the word appears to be a metathesized variant of *g^handV 'pit' (q.v.), but the Av. opposition *g^hend* - *donkó* proves that this is not the case.

| Darg. *tVrg^hV hole: Chir. *terg^ha*.

The relationship of Chir. *terg^ha* to Ak. *talrqi* 'hole' is not clear.

| Lezg. *t:ak 1 niche 2 window 3 hole 4 watering trough: Lezg. *daḱ* 1; Ag. *dagar* / *ḱagar* 2; Kryz. *ḱok* 3; Bud. *ḱoke* 4; Arch. *ḱakan* 5.

Cf. also Lezg. *daḱ-ar* 'window; niche', Khl. *ḱag* (erg. *ḱaka*) 'window', Ag. Fit., Burk. *ḱag-ar* id. The Arch. word has a specific meaning: 'collar for a calf' (*a hole to put calf's head through). Several forms reflect suffixed buildings: in *-ar (plural), in *-an (Arch.) and *-aj (Bud.). Labialisation of *t:- is suggested by the Kryz. and Bud. vowel -o-, having disappeared in other languages. Obl. base *t^haka- is indicated by Lezg. *daḱa*, Khl. *ḱaka*. 4th class in Shakhdağh and Archi.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of several expressive roots with the structure TVNKV / KVNTV meaning 'hole, pit'. Cf. also Osset. *tugur* 'attic, loft, ceiling' (of Caucasian origin, see Abayev 1979, 313).

*e^h(w)Vr to sit, be quiet: Nakh. *a-/e^h-; Av.-And. *-VH-; Lezg. *e^h(w)Vr-; Khin. -u= / -e=; W.-Cauc. *ja.

| Nakh. *a-/e^h- 1 sit 2 stay 3 be in a quiet state: Chech. *ḱ-/ḱe-* 1,3; Ing. *ḱe-* 2; Bacb. *ḱe-/ḱa-* 1.

PN dur. *ḱa-, term. *ḱe-; in Bacb. the stem is preserved only in the compound *ḱe-aḱ-* / *ḱa-aḱ-* 'sit'.

| Av.-And. *-VH- 1 to hang; stay; be in some place 2 put on (hat): Av. -a- 1; Chad. -a- 2.

A frequent verb with a rather general meaning; since it is not attested in Andian languages, the precise nature of the root laryngeal in Av.-And. is hard to establish.

| Lezg. *e^h(w)Vr- sit, sit down: Tab. *e-?*; Tsakh. *ḱ-i-?ar-*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *d-e-?* 'to sit down', *el-e-?* 'to mount (a horse)'.

| Khin. -u= / -e= sit.

1st cl. *ḱ:-u-wi*, 2d cl. *ḱ:-e-z-wi*, 3d class *ḱ:-e-bi*. With another preverb cf. *ḱ-u-wi* (*g-e-z-wi*, *g-e-bi*) 'to sit on (a horse), take (a car)'.

| W.-Cauc. *ja 1 to lie 2 to sleep: Abkh. *a-ja-rá* 1; Ad. *-ja-n* 2; Kab. *-ja-n* 2.

In PAK the root may be discovered within the compound *ḱa-ja- 'to sleep' (see *λ:wa 'sleep').

[] One of the "root-laryngeal" verbs in PNC. Since it is not widely spread in Dagestan, details of the reconstruction (in particular, labialisation of the laryngeal) are not very clear; the comparison, however, seems rather probable. Cf. perhaps also Hurr. *u/or-* 'to become, to appear' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 62).

*e^hswVn to lose, get lost: Nakh. *-aw- (~ -ā-); Av.-And. *-VHVn-; Tsez. *-ə^h-; Darg. *-i^h(Vn)-.

| Nakh. *-aw- (~ -ā-) 1 to lose 2 to get lost, be lost: Chech. -ā- 1; Ing. -a 2; Bacb. -aw- 2.

| Av.-And. *-VHVn- to get lost, disappear: Av. *ḱā^hn-*; Chad. *ḱā^hn-*.

The initial t- is either an expressive preverb, or a remnant of another verbal root (cf. And. -it- 'to get lost'); the whole form may in that case reflect a contraction of a historical compound.

| Tsez. *-ə^h- to get lost, disappear: Bezht. -o^h- (*Tlad.*); Gunz. -ə^h-.

PGB *-ə^h-.

| Darg. *-i^h(Vn)- to steal: Ak. -il^h-; Chir. -i^hVn-/-il^h-.

Cf. also Ur. -i^h- / -il^h-, Kub. -a^h- / -il^h- id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of the common EC verbal roots with a laryngeal root consonant.

*=e²V to move, pass over: Av.-And. *=VH-; Tsez. *=²?-; Lezg. *²e²V-.
 | Av.-And. *=VH- 1 to pass over, transfer 2 to come: Av. =eh- 1,2; Chad. =eh- 2.

With the meaning 'come' the root is used in imperative (Av. =eha, Chad. =ehi). In Av. Chad. cf. perhaps also *rehé* 'to pass through'.

| Tsez. *=²?- 1 to send 2 to let: Bezht. =ēj- (*Tlad.*) 2; Gunz. =²?- 1.

PGB *=²?-.

| Lezg. *²e²IV- 1 to pull 2 to leave, let: Rut. =e²e- 1; Bud. e=e- 2.

The Rut. verb is used also with different preverbs, cf. ?e=?e- 'to push in, lock', eB-e=?e- 'to take out', la²l-e=?e- 'to lift, raise', keB-i=?e- 'to choose', q-i=?i- (dur.) 'to return' etc. The Bud. form is probably an exact parallel of Rut. ?e=?e- (with the ?-preverb).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of several PEC verbs with a laryngeal root consonant.

*=ēčV_m- to gnaw, chew: Nakh. *=ač- (~ -ā-); Av.-And. *čam- / *-Vč²V_n-; Tsez. *čəčən-; Darg. *čalm-; Lezg. *²āč²V.

| Nakh. *=ač- (~ -ā-) to gnaw: Bacb. =ač-.

Isolated in Bacb., but having good external parallels.

| Av.-And. *čam- / *-Vč²V_n- to chew: Av. čām-ize; Chad. čām-zi; And. čam-mu; Akhv. čon-u_{la}; Cham. čačan-; Tind. čačan-ila; Kar. čam-a_{la}; God. čanča-di.

Some of the forms are reduplicated, going back to a stem *čič(ʷ)an-; cf. also Av. Chad. čučú-ji 'to gnaw'. From the stem *čam- cf. also Akhv. Tseg. čam-aq²e, Ratl. čam-u. The stem *=ič²V_n- (ultimately going back to *=ičV_m-) and its reduced variant *č²V_n- is reflected in Akhv. čon- (= Tind. čun-ila 'to bite') and Tind. =ač²i-_{la} 'to gnaw'.

Finally, we should mention some nominal derivatives: Av. čamčam 'eating, meal', čandéro 'jaw' (cf. the frequentative čandé-ze 'to chew'), Av. Chad. čānda 'jaw' and And. čamčal id.

| Tsez. *čəčən- to chew: Tsez. čəčən-.

A reduplicated stem; isolated in Tsez., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *čalm- to chew: Ak. čalmi-kes.

| Lezg. *²āč²V to gnaw: Rut. e=če-; Tsakh. s-a=če-; Arch. č²elčə-bos.

Cf. also Tsakh. g-ājče- 'to chew'. The Arch. form is reduplicated (*č²āč²V-); medial -l- is not quite clear.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Pharyngealization in Darg. is expressive. The Darg. form is borrowed in Arch. čalm-mus 'to chew'.

*=cg(w)V to grow: Lak. laI=uk:a-; Lezg. *²ek:V-.

| Lak. laI=uk:a- to grow.

G. pr. laI=u=k:un.

| Lezg. *²ek:V- 1 to grow, put on weight 2 many, much: Rut. l-e-g- 1; Tsakh. ge-d 2; Ud. ge-le 2.

The word for 'much, many' in Tsakh. and Ud. is probably derived (with vowel reduction) from a verb stem 'to grow', preserved only in Rut.

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss. Not very reliable, because the Lak. word may be analyzed as a compound "(from the middle (laI)"+go out"(=uk:a-). However, a good morphemic parallelism between the Lak. (laI=uk:a-) and the Rut. (l-e-g-) forms (both with prefixed l-) allow us to suppose that the archaic form in Lak. was recently reinterpreted under the influence of an etymologically different root =uk:a-.

*=chwV (~ -ā-) to copulate: Av.-And. *=VH-; Lak. r-ih-; Lezg.

*²e²wa (~ -i).

| Av.-And. *=VH- to copulate: Chad. =eh-.

| Lak. r-ih- to copulate.

| Lezg. *²e²wa (~ -i) to copulate: Bud. s-e²-; Arch. =elha-.

Arch. dur. =elrhu-r.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of the verbs with root laryngeals. The root is attested only in four languages, but one should keep in mind that this semantic field is rather scantily represented in field recordings.

*=ckwV to itch, to scratch: Av.-And. *=Vk(ʷVn)-; Darg. *=uk:- / -uk-; Lezg. *²ek:wa.

| Av.-And. *=Vk(ʷVn)- to itch: Av. =uk-ār-; Chad. ruk-ār-; And. k²onnik²on =ik-.

Cf. also Av. rukēn 'itch, itchy feeling'. Andi has a compound verb (=ik- 'to be') with a reduplicated first part.

| Darg. *=uk- / -uk:- to itch: Ak. =uk-; Chir. =uk:ag- / =uk:-.

Tense -k:- in Chir. is probably secondary (either under Lezg. influence, or due to a confusion with *=ik:ʷ- 'to burn' q.v.).

| Lezg. *²ek:wa 1 to itch 2 to scratch: Lezg. k²:a xun 1; Tab. ug-ru xuz 1; Ag. ug- 1,2; Tsakh. q-e=ga-k-ega-2; Arch. guk:ə bos 1,2.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. igi-, Tsakh. =igiga- 'to itch' (with reduplication = Arch. guk:ə). Cf. also the nominal derivative *²ek:wa-l(a) / *²ek:wa-r(a) 'itch, itchy feeling' > Lezg. k²:al, Tab. ugal, Ag. ugal-ar, Rut. Khniukh gar.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Despite the root's expressive nature (leading to frequent reduplications), the etymology seems generally plausible.

*=cɬu to hear: Av.-And. *²anɬV-; Lezg. *²cɬi- (~-ɬ:-); W.-Cauc.

*ɬ²ə-.

| Av.-And. *²anɬV- to hear: And. anɬi- 1; Akhv. āɬu-nu- 1; Cham. woɬa- 1; Tind. anɬ- 1; Kar. anɬ- 1; Botl. āh- 1; Bagv. āh- 1; God. anɬ- 1.

Cf. also Kar. Anch. āh-, Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. āɬ-, Bagv. Tlond. alhā-; Cham. Gig. ruɬ- (Cham. Gig. r-, Gakv. w- < *r- is an historical prefix). The Cham. form suggests that the original root was *uɬ- (with class prefixation), and all other Andian languages reflect actually a compound *²an-uɬ-, where the first component is most probably a distorted PA *han- 'ear' (with a weakened initial laryngeal) q.v. Chamalal, however, had also possessed the stem *²anɬV- > anɬ-, as seen from the nominal derivative āɬ, Gig. anɬi 'word, speech' ('smth. heard').

| Lezg. **el̥*- (~λ:-) 1 to hear 2 to keep silence: Tab. *je=x-* I; Rut. *g-i=x-* 2; Tsakh. *q:-a=x-* I; Kryz. *ix-* I; Bud. *ix-* I.

| W.-Cauc. **λ̥*- to hear: Ad. *zaxa-xə-n*; Kab. *zaxa-xə-n*.

PAK **xə-* (used only with preverbs). The PWC reconstruction is only tentative without AA and Ub. parallels (since PAK **x* may go back to **λ̥**, **λ̥w**, **λ̥***, **x(ʷ)**, **xʷ*).

[] Correspondences are regular. There may have been a vowel variation (or Ablaut) **eλu* / **uλV* - to account for the PA form **an-λV-* < **han-uλV-* (although actually the -u-vowel is reflected only in Cham., and the forms of other languages may reflect a protoform with other vowels).

A continuation of the same stem (cf. its PA shape **an-λV-*), with a further addition of an expressive preverb **č-*, may be PTsKh **čal-* (~L-) > Tsez. *čal-*, Gin. *čal-* 'to hear, understand'. See Abdokov 1983, 180.

**čλ̥* middle, half: Av.-And. **oλ̥V*; Tsez. **oλV* A; Lak. *-ač̥i*; Darg. **-aγ*; W.-Cauc. **bəλa*.

| Av.-And. **oλ̥V* in the middle, between: Av. *b-aλ̥-u-λ̥-*; Chad. *λ̥o-rō*;

And. *-oλ̥u*; Akhv. *aλ̥e-ge*; Cham. *b-aλ̥-a-λ̥-i*; Tind. *b-aλ̥-i*; Kar. *b-aλ̥-i*; God. *b-aλ̥-u*.

Cf. also Av. *r-aλ̥-q:én* 'half of body, carcass'; *horλ̥-ó-b* (Andal., Kel. *λ̥o-rō-b*) 'inside, between'; Akhv. Tseg. *aλ̥:a-de-λ̥*; Tlan. *b-aλ̥-a-q:e*, Ratl. *aλ̥:e-λ̥-i* 'in the middle' (also Tseg., Tlan. *b-aλ̥-i-s*; Ratl. *b-aλ̥:e-s-i* 'half', N.-Akhv. *aλ̥:o* 'near to'); Tind. *r-aλ̥-a-λ̥-i-la makʷa* 'middle' etc.

| Tsez. **oλV* A 1 middle 2 half 3 between: Tsez. *roλo* 1 *roλiku* 2; Gin. *roλo* 1, *oλoku* 2; Khvarsh. *loλo* 1; Inkh. *oλo-λo* 3; Bezht. *-aλo* 1, *aλokos* 2; Gunz. *-oλe* 1, *oλegus* 2.

PTsKh **oλo* 'middle', **oλo-ku* 'half', **oλo-λo* 'between' (cf. also Tsez., Gin. *-oλlo* 'between'); PGB **oλV* 'middle', **oλV-ku-s* 'half', **oλV-d* 'between' (Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *-aλodā*, Gunz. *-oλedo*). One of the noun roots with changing class prefixes.

| Lak. *-ač̥i* half.

An old derivate (pointing to the original meaning 'side') is probably Lak. *ča-ra-w* 'near, close to', *ča-ra-x* 'past (smth.)'.

| Darg. **-aγ* middle: Ak. *b-aγ*; Chir. *d-aγ*.

Cf. also Ur. *-aγʲ*, Kub. *-aγ* (with changing class prefixes).

| W.-Cauc. **bəλa* 1 between, inside 2 near: Abkh. *a-bəλa-ra* 1; Abaz. *bəλa-ra* 1; Ad. *bLā-βa* 2; Kab. *bLā-βa* 2; Ub. *bLa-* 1.

PAT **bəλa-* (also used as a preverb 'between, inside' = Ub. *bLa-*). In PAK the preverb **bLa-* means 'past (smth.)'. Its original meaning must have been 'near', cf. **bLa-βa* 'near', and it has hardly any connection with PAK **bLa* 'arm' q.v. In spite of some semantic difficulties we think that it is possible to relate PAK **bLa-* 'near, past' to the Ub. and PAT forms (a semantic shift of 'inside' to 'environs').

[] One of the common NC nominal roots with changing class prefixes. In some modern languages the root may have been influenced by reflexes of another NC root, **buga* 'side, waist' (q.v.) (due to the phonetic development **-g-* > *-l-* in PEC). See Abdokov 1983, 144, 184.

**-eλwV*(I) to burst, tear: Tsez. **-uλ̥-* (~ *-iλ̥w-*); Darg. **-ik-*; Lezg. **-eλ̥wλ-*.

| Tsez. **-uλ̥-* (~ *-iλ̥w-*) to burst, tear: Bezht. *-uλ̥-* (Tlad.); Gunz. *-uλ̥-*.

PGB **-uλ̥-* (cf. also Khosh. *-uλ̥-*).

| Darg. **-ik-* to separate: Ak. *-ik-/irk-* (Ur.).

| Lezg. **-eλ̥wλ-* to burst, split: Tab. *tu=k-*; Ag. *tuλkan-* (Bursh.); Rut. *tu=qʷe-*; Tsakh. *bu-to=kal-*; Kryz. *to=qł-*; Bud. *so-to=qł-*; Ud. *t:op-*.

A verb with the common PL expressive preverb **-i-*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Tsez-Lezg. correspondence is quite plausible; in Darg., however, irregular is the loss of *-l-conjugation. This makes us suspect that the Darg. form may be alternatively compared with PL **elk(ij)-* 'to finish; to stop breast-feeding' (Tab. *k:ud-u=k-* 'finish', Ag. *k-irk-*, Bursh. *k-erki-* id., Rut. *s-i=rka-* 'stop breast-feeding').

**-eλwV* to call, cry, sing: Av.-And. **-aλ̥-* (~ *-o-,l-*); Tsez. **-oλ̥-*; Darg. **-ikʷ-*; Lezg. **eλwV*.

| Av.-And. **-aλ̥-* (~ *-o-,l-*) call, cry: Cham. *-al-*; Tind. *-al-*.

| Tsez. **-oλ̥-* call: Tsez. *g-oλ̥-*; Khvarsh. *g-oλ̥-*.

PTsKh **g-oλ̥-*.

| Darg. **-ikʷ-* 1 to call 2 to say: Ak. *-ik-es* 1; Chir. *-uk-* 2.

Cf. also Ur. dur. *-ikʷ-* 'to say, speak'.

| Lezg. **eλwV* 1 to sing 2 to say, speak 3 to be silent: Tab. *k-* 2; Tsakh. *e=kʷa-s* 1; Arch. *kel-kes* 3.

Archi reflects a derivate **eλwV-l* / **λwV-l*, attested also in Lezg. *kel* 'study, learning' (> Ud. *k:al* id.), Rut. Mishl. *qila* id. In Arch. there occurred a secondary semantic development: 'be silent' < *'hear, understand'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The word could have denoted some kind of ritual singing (cf. the derived stem **(ʷ)λwVIV*, meaning frequently 'learning, knowledge').

**-eλV* to wake up: Av.-And. **-il-*; Lezg. **eλ̥wʷa* (~ **eλ̥:t*).

| Av.-And. **-il-* to wake up: Cham. *-il-*; Tind. *-ill-*.

| Lezg. **eλ̥wʷa* (~ **eλ̥:t*) to wake up: Tab. *q-i=g-*; Ag. *kit-kʷa-* (Bursh.); Arch. *e=λa-*.

Cf. also Tab. Kand. *q-e=g-*, Düb. *q-i=g-*, Arch. dur. *-erλu-r*. In Agul *kit-kʷa-* < **kid-Vgʷa-* with assimilative devoicing.

[] An And.-Lezg. isogloss.

**-emkV* sharp, to whet: Nakh. **eḱ* (~ *-ē-*); Av.-And. **-Vḱ-*; Darg. **-ebk-* (/ **buk-*); Khin. *inḱ*.

| Nakh. **eḱ* (~ *-ē-*) whetstone: Ing. *eg*.

Attested only in Ing., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **Vk*:- to trim, hew (stone): Av. =*ek*:-.
| Darg. **ebk*:- (/ **buk*:-) 1 sharp 2 to sharpen, whet: Ak. *buga-st* 1; Chir. =*ebk*:- / =*ibk*:- 2.

Cf. also Ak. *buga-bires* 'to sharpen, whet'.

| Khin. *ink* sharp.

Cf. also *inkä-k'i* 'to sharpen, whet'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. It is very tempting to compare also Lezghian data: Tsakh. Mishl. *eki-n* 'sharp' (Mik. *ek-a* 'as 'to sharpen'), Kryz. *q'aq* 'to sharpen, whet', Bud. *eqi* 'sharp'. However, the uvular in Kryz and Bud. (= velar in Tsakh.) points rather to PL **He(m)li*-, while from PEC **emkV* we would expect PL **He(m)ki*-. Perhaps Shakhdaghiš here is secondary, under the influence of the initial laryngeal?

**enxVr* to hang: Av.-And. **irx*:-; Tsez. **ōx*:-; Lak. *la=x*:-a-; Darg. **axVr*:-; Lezg. **exan*:-; Khin. *āx-il*:-; W.-Cauc. **xa* (~ *χ*-, *χl*-).

| Av.-And. **irx*:- 1 to hang, to hook 2 to put through: Av. =*ahā*- 1; Chad. =*ahā*- 1; And. *i-ix*:- 2; Akhv. *ix*:- 2; Cham. *ix*:- 2; Tind. *ix*:- 2; Kar. *t-erx:ex*:- 1; God. *irx*:- 1.

Medial -r- is absent in Avar, and must be secondary in PA (**irx*:-V- < **inx*:-Vr-). In Kar., besides *t-erx:ex*:- (reduplicated) 'to hang', cf. also *k-erx*:- 'to put through'. In Avar cf. perhaps also *hār-t* 'to sag, hang down'.

| Tsez. **ōx*:- to hang: Tsez. =*ix*:-; Khvarsh. =*ax*:-; Inkh. =*ox*:-; Bezht. =*ox*:- (*Tlad*); Gunz. =*ōx*:-.

PTsKh **ōx*:-; PGB **ōx*:-.

| Lak. *la=x*:-a- to hang; to put on.

G. pr. *la=x*:-u-nu. Cf. Khosr. *la=x*:-a-n id.

| Darg. **axVr*:- to put clothes (on the upper part of body): Ak. =*ahr*- (*Ur*); Chir. *ča=ax*:- / =*ix*:-.

| Lezg. **exan*:- 1 to hang 2 to bow down, hang down: Lezg. *il-ix*:- 2; Tab. *k-e=x*:- 1; Rut. *k-e=x*:-a- 1; Tsakh. *gi=axa*- 1; Kryz. *k-exn*- 1; Bud. *q-axin*- 1; Arch. *exin*- 1.

The verb is used mainly with preverbs (cf. also Tab. Düb. *gi=x*:- 'to hang', Kand. *e=x*:- 'to hang down', Rut. *s-e=x*:-a- id. etc.). See Khaidakov 1973, 135.

| Khin. *āx-il*:- to hang (on a nail), to hook.

Cf. also *āx*:- in *āx-si* 'to put (e.g. the thimble on a finger)'.

| W.-Cauc. **xa* (~ *χ*-, *χl*-) to hang: Abkh. *a-knā-ha-ra*; Abaz. *knā-ha-ra*.

PAT **ha*- (used only with preverbs).

[] The root is widely spread in EC languages; the EC-WC comparison also seems plausible.

**čqV* yellow: Av.-And. **q:ōi*:-; Lak. *qaqi*:-; Darg. **uqu*:-; Lezg. **qāqV*:-; W.-Cauc. **ba*:-.

| Av.-And. **q:ōi*:- 1 white 2 blue: Av. *q:āha-b* 1; Chad. *qāha-b* 1; And. *q:ōj* 2; Akhv. *q:a-sura-χi*:-; Cham. *q:aj-χ*:-; Tind. *qā-χ*:-a; Kar. *q:aji-χ*:-; Botl. *q:aj-χ*:-i; Bagv. *q:e-χ*:-; God. *q:aj-χ*:-a.

Cf. also Av. lit., Chad. *q:āhi-la-b* 'blue'. For the Akhv. form cf. Botl. *q:aj-sur* 'blue, blueing (n.)'. Tind. or Cham. > Inkh. *qajle* 'blue, green'.

| Lak. *qaqi*- yellow.

| Darg. **uqu*:- yellow: Ak. *b-uqu-χa*; Chir. *b-uqu-ze*.

Cf. also Kait., Tsud. *b-uqu-χa*, Ur. *b-uqu-ča*, Kub. *b-uqu-zi-b* etc.

| Lezg. **qāqV*:- yellow: Ag. *qluqlif*; Arch. *χaxat:ut*.

Pharyngealization in Ag. is secondary - in front of an original front vowel, cf. dialectal forms: Bursh. *qeqe-r*, Burk. *qeqe-f*. Also regular is the shift **ā* > *ē* > *u*- in a preaccented syllable after the uvular consonant.

| W.-Cauc. **ba* yellow: Abkh. *a-χa-χ*:-; Abaz. *χa-χ*:-; Ad. *ba-χa*; Kab. *ba-χ*:-; Ub. *ba*:-.

PAT **ba-χa*. Shagirov 1, 133 considers it borrowed from AK; we would rather follow Dumézil 1932, 124 and regard it as a genuine cognate - but possibly influenced by PAK **ba-χa*. In PAK there exists an independent form **ba* (Ad., Kab. *ba* 'yellow, reddish').

[] Appears in reduplicated form in PL and Lak.; the PA form is a reduction < **Vq:ō-j*:- (with a semantic development 'yellow' > 'white, light, bluish'). The Darg. forms point to original class prefixation. See Abdokov 1983, 148.

**cqwVn* to forget: Lak. *qama*; Lezg. **ex*:-en; Khin. *kur=qin*:-.

| Lak. *qama* to forget.

A compound with =*ita-n* 'to leave'; cf. Khosr. *qama* =*ita-n* id.

| Lezg. **ex*:-en 1 to forget 2 memory: Tab. *h-ā-χ*:- (*Düb*.) 1; Rut. *u=χ*:-a- 1; Tsakh. *kile=χan*- 1; Kryz. *s-āχn*- 1; Bud. *s-exn*- 1; Arch. *e=χin*- 1; Ud. *ex* 2.

In most languages the stem is used in a compound with **jirk* 'heart' in the oblique form (**jirk*:-e- or **jirk*:-e-le-); in Tsakh. this form had become a preverb (*kile*:-). The verb belongs to the strong conjugation class.

See Khaidakov 1973, 125.

| Khin. *kur=qin*:- to forget.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is preserved only in Eastern Dagestan languages (Lak., PL, Khin.), frequently in compounds with **jerkwi* 'heart' (whence Khin. *kur*:-).

**črcĀ* to roast (grain); to singe: Nakh. **m-arc*:-; Darg. **erc*:- / =*uc*:-; Lezg. **eca*:-; W.-Cauc. **ca*:-.

| Nakh. **m-arc*:- to singe: Chech. *marc*:-; Ing. *marc*:-; Bacb. *marc*:-.

For vowel length cf. Chech. *merc-ira*, Ing. *merc-ad* etc.; cf. also Bacb. *dur. merc-ar* (< **merc*:- with long vowel Ablaut grade).

| Darg. **erc*:- / =*uc*:- roast (grain): Chir. =*erc*:- / =*uc*:-.

Cf. also Ur. =*irz*:- / =*uz*:- id.

| Lezg. **eca* roast (grain): Tab. *u=c*:-; Ag. *uc*:-; Rut. =*isa*:-; Tsakh. *q-e=c*:-; Kryz. *q-a-js*:-; Bud. *q-as*:-; Arch. *sesa*:-.

In Arch. the root is reduplicated; the Tsakh., Kryz. and Bud. forms contain preverbs. The original meaning was probably broader, cf. the derived adjective: Tab. *urc-ru* (Kand. *je-cru*, Düb. *re-cūri*), Tsakh. *Gelm. hicca-χa-n* (with expressive gemination) 'hot'.

| W.-Cauc. *cA 1 burn 2 hot: Abkh. *a-cá* 2; Ad. *stā-n* 1; Kab. *sā-n* 1; Ub. *ca*-1,2.

Cf. also Abkh. Bzyb. *a-cá* id. PAK *sā / *stā. The AK intransitive verb is rarely used; more frequent is the derivate Ad. *ḡa-stā-n*, Kab. *ḡa-sā-n* 'to burn'. Origins of Ad. -t- are not very clear (perhaps a contamination with *psta-* 'to boil' - cf. Kab. *psta-r* 'hot' / derived from *psta-n* 'boil' / along with *sar* 'burning, scorching' = Ad. *stā-r* 'hot; burning, scorching').

[] Correspondences are regular.

*=ērcū to heat, to roast: Nakh. *q-arç-; Darg. *=erç- / =uç-; W.-Cauc. *z^wa.

| Nakh. *q-arç- 1 to roast 2 to roast (grain): Chech. *qarz-*; Ing. *qarz-*; Bcb. *qarç-*.

Chech. pres. *qorzu*, Ing. *qorz*. The durative stem *q-ērç- is retained in Bcb. *qerç-*.

| Darg. *=erç- / =uç- to bake, roast: Ak. =erç- / =uç-es; Chir. =erç- / =uç-.

Cf. also Ak. b-uçar-si, Chir. =uçan-ze 'hot'.

| W.-Cauc. *z^wa to boil: Abkh. *a-z^v-rā*; Abaz. *z^w-ra*; Ad. *z^v-a-n*; Kab. *va-n*; Ub. *z^w-a*.

PAT *z^wā- (cf. also Bzyb. *a-z^v-rā*); PAK *z^wa-. See Shagirov 1, 106 (with literature).

[] Trubetzkoy (1930, 89) compares the WC form with PEC *=imǝĒr 'to bake, roast' - which should be rather compared with PWC *z^wV id. The correspondences between PEC *=ērcV and PWC *z^wa are quite regular; the original meaning must have been 'to heat' (whence both 'to roast' and 'to boil' can be easily deduced).

[There is a possible parallel in Lezghian: PL *ǝ(r)ç:V 'to dry', reflected in Tab. *je=c:-uz*, Ud. *ec:-esun*. The consonantal correspondence, however, is quite irregular: we would either expect PD *=erç- and PL *ǝ(r)çV, or PD *=erz- and PL *ǝ(r)ç:V-. Perhaps, original *=erz- in PD was influenced by *ca 'fire' and obtained a secondary glottalisation? In that case we should rather reconstruct *=ērcū for PEC. Note that PN *q-arç- and PWC *z^wa can go back to either of these protoforms.]

*=erλV to plough, to sow: Av.-And. *=iλ:-; Tsez. *=əλ:-; Lak. kuçi-; Darg. *=Vrγ-.

| Av.-And. *=iλ:- 1 to plough 2 to sow: Av. =eλ:- 1,2; Chad. =eλ:- 1; And. =eλ:- 1,2; Akhv. =eλ:- 1; Cham. =eλ:- 1; Tind. =eλ:- 1; Kar. =eλ:- 1; Botl. =eλ:- 1; Bagv. =eλ:- 1; God. =eλ:- 1.

| Tsez. *=əλ:- to plough: Tsez. =iλ-; Gin. =eλ-; Khvarsh. =aλ-; Bezht. =oλ- (*Tlad*); Gunz. =əλ-.

PTsKh *=əλ-; PGB *=əλ- (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. =oλ-).

| Lak. kuçi- to sift, screen.

G. pr. *ku=ku-nu*. Cf. Khosr. *kuçi-n* id. (with innovative -ç- throughout the paradigm: aor. *kūçun-di* etc.).

| Darg. *ǝVrγ- to sift, screen: Chir. *erγ-* / *urγ-*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Eastern forms (Lak., Darg.) demonstrate the semantic development 'to sow' > 'to sift, screen' (cf. Russ. *сеять* - *просеивать*).

*=erχwV to stay: Av.-And. *=iχ:-; Tsez. *=iχ:- (~i-); Lezg. *ǝ(r)χ:-; Khin. t:-oχ-un-.

| Av.-And. *=iχ:- to stay: Akhv. =iχ:u-; Cham. =eχ:-n-; Tind. =uχ:-; Kar. =iχ:-.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tl., Ratl. -uχ:-, Kar. Tok. -eχ:-, Anch. -uχ:-. Reasons for -n-conjugation in Cham. are not clear (note that this verb in Cham. is both intransitive and transitive: 'to leave'). Not quite clear is the relationship of Av. *χ:u-t-* 'to stay' (stem II with an expressive suffix?).

| Tsez. *=iχ:- (~i-) to stay: Tsez. *leχ-*, *qeχ-*; Gin. *leχ-*.

PTsKh *λ-iχ:- / *q-iχ:- (~i-) (attested only with preverbs).

| Lezg. *ǝ(r)χ:-a 1 to stay 2 to drop behind, lose: Rut. *qib-i=χ-* 2; Tsakh. *a=χ:-a* 1; Arch. *e=χ:-a* 1.

Cf. also Arch. dur. =erχ:u-r (preserving old labialisation). There are no Tab. or Ag. data (these languages preserve well the old Inlaut resonants), thus reconstruction of Inlaut *-r- is also possible. See Leksika 1971, 258.

| Khin. t:-oχ-un- to stand, stop, stand still.

The root is probably connected (by old Ablaut) with =aχ- 'leave, (make stay), let'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Medial -r- must be reconstructed to account for the correspondence PA *-χ:- : PL *-χ:- (otherwise PA *-χ:- -in case of *-erχwV, or PL *-χ:- - in case of *-erχwV - would be expected). All the languages attested, unfortunately, do not usually preserve Inlaut resonants in verbal stems.

*=ēwλ(w)V to open: Nakh. *=ell- (~ē-); Lak. ja=iš-i; Darg. *ǝabx:- / *ǝibx:-; Lezg. *ǝwλi.

| Nakh. *=ell- (~ē-) to open: Chech. =ell-; Ing. =ell-.

| Lak. ja=iš-i to open wide.

G. pr. ja=i-xu-nu.

| Darg. *ǝabx:- / *ǝibx:- to open: Ak. *abx-*; Chir. *abx:-* / *ibx:-*.

| Lezg. *ǝwλi 1 to unlock 2 to lock, close: Tab. *q-e=x-* 2; Ag. *lat:-ix-* 1; Kryz. *k-uf-* 2; Arch. *d-abλa-* 1.

Arch. dur. *dabλu-r*, Tab. Düb. *q-i=x-*. In Ag. the root merged with -ix- 'to put' (see PL *ǝele-), but the two roots are still distinguished in the Burshag dialect (*iš*, 'to put' vs. -(i)xi- in *alt-xi-s* 'to unlock', the difference in reflex being conditioned by the following PL vowel).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PL form goes back to *=ēwλwV (with an assimilatory development), which explains the weak *-λ- (otherwise *-λ:- would be expected).

*=exE to put, to lie; to fall: Av.-And. *=iλ:-; Lak. =iš-i; Darg. *ǝix:-; Lezg. *ǝele; W.-Cauc. *x^wV.

| Av.-And. **iλ-* 1 to put: Av. *λe-* 1; Chad. *te-* 1; And. *=iλ-* 1; Akhv. *=iλ-* 1; Tind. *=iλ-* 1; Kar. *=iλ-* 1; Bagv. *=ih-* 1.

Cf. also Bagv. Tlond. *-ilh-*. Av. reflects stem II (**λV-*).

| Lak. *=i=ši-* lie; put.

G. pr. *=i=xu-nu*. Cf. Khosr. *=i=xi-n* / *=i=ši-n* (*=i=xundi*) id.

| Darg. **ix*^w- 1 to lead 2 to throw: Ak. *=ux-* / *=ix-* 1(*Ur*); Chir. *ix*^w- / *irx*^w-.

The Ur. verb has a complicated paradigm: *=ux-* / *=ix-* (3d person), *x-* / *=ix-* (1st p.), dur. *arx-*.

| Lezg. **e*^{le} 1 to put 2 put on (clothes) 3 write 4 bury; steal: Lezg. *k-xi-* 3; Ag. *ix-* 1; Rut. *l-i=xe-* 1; Tsakh. *g-ixe-* 1; Kryz. *q-ix-* 2; Bud. *q-ix-* 2; Arch. *e=λa-* 4; Ud. *l-aχ-* 1.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *iši-*, *ala-ši-* 'to put'. All the diverse meanings in modern languages (cf. also Rut. *l-i=xe-*, *bi-xe-* 'to hit' = Ag. *ba-jx-* 'to throw, to winnow'; Ag. *k-ix-*, Rut. *k-i=xe-* 'to write' = Lezg. *k-xi-*) are easily explained from the original meaning 'put'. Some languages (Lezg., Rut., Tsakh., Shakh-Dagh, Ud.) have preserved the root only with preverbs. The Auslaut **e* is reconstructed on basis of Lezg. (cf. also pret. *k-xe-na*), Rut. and Tsakh. forms. Archi seems to point to a labialised Auslaut, cf. Arch. dur. *=erλu-r* - but this is obviously due to contamination with a similar root: Arch. *e=λa-*, dur. *=erλu-r* 'put, lie' (see PL **eλ^w-i*).

| W.-Cauc. **x*^w*V* 1 to fall, fall into 2 to get into 3 to fit into: Abkh. *a-ta-s^wa-ra* 1; Abaz. *ta-s^wa-ra* 1,3; Ad. *da-fa-n* 2; Kab. *te-x^wa-n* 2; Ub. *χa-* 1.

PAT **s^wa-* (used only with preverbs); cf. also Bzyb. *a-ta-s^wa-ra* 'to fall into', Abkh. *á-k^w-s^wa-ra* (Bzyb. *á-k^w-s^wa-ra*) 'to get into', Abaz. *a-k^w-s^wa-ra* 'to get into; to fall on smth., smb.'. PAK **x^wa-* (also used with locative preverbs). Ub. 1 p. *sá-χá-n*. The correspondence PAT **s^w* : PAK **x^w* : Ub. *χ* points to PWC **x^w*.

[] The excessive labialisation in PD and PWC should be explained by a fusion with the class marker **w*. Otherwise correspondences are regular. The root should be kept distinct from PNC **áλE(w)* 'to put' and **HraλwE* 'to scatter' (although some confusion between them was, of course, possible). See Trubetzkoy 1922, 238, 243; 1930, 279; Abdokov 1983, 180.

**e3wE* 1 to wave, shake, stir: Av.-And. **iç^w-*; Tsez. **oc-* (~ -*ə*); Lezg. **eç^wV*; W.-Cauc. **3V*.

| Av.-And. **iç^w-* 1 to throw, shoot 2 to winnow: Akhv. *g-oç^w-* 1; Cham. *=uç^w*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *uç^w-*, Ratl. *orç^w-* 'to throw, shoot'.

| Tsez. **oc-* (~ -*ə*) to knead (dough): Bezht. *=oc-il-* (*Khosh*).

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **eç^wV* 1 to wave 2 to stir, shake 3 roll, knead (dough): Tab. *f-u=ç^w-* 1; Ag. *tut^w-* 1; Rut. *s-u=de-* 2(*Khniukh*); Tsakh. *h-a=ti-al-* 3; Kryz. *w-u=il-* 2.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *d-u=ç^w-*, Ag. Bursh. *tult^w-* 'to wave'. The Tab. form contains an expressive preverb. The verb belongs to the strong PL conjugation class.

| W.-Cauc. **3V* to throw: Ad. *3ə-n*; Kab. *3ə-n*; Ub. *3ā-da-*.

PAK **3ə-* (also **3a-* with some preverbs); Ub. *a-z-3āda-n*.

[] See Abdokov 1983, 174. Reasons for delabialisation in PWC are not clear; otherwise the comparison seems quite reliable.

**əçör-* to freeze, turn to ice: Nakh. **çVr-kāki*; Av.-And. **ç^wVrV*; Tsez. **ocV A* (~*u-*); Lezg. **əçVr-*; W.-Cauc. **çə-*.

| Nakh. **çVr-kāki* thaw: Chech. *çeкега*; Ing. *çerkāga*.

A compound noun; the first part probably goes back to the EC root for 'ice, turn to ice'. The second part is not quite clear (cf. PN **kaki* 'coals, live coals?').

| Av.-And. **ç^wVrV* ice: Av. *ç^wer*; Chad. *çer*.

Paradigm C (*ç^woró-l*, *c^wúr-dul*, *c^wéra-l*). Cf. also the derived adjective 'cold': Av. lit. *ç^woróra-b*, Chad. *çororab*.

The word is isolated in Av., but has probable external correspondences.

| Tsez. **ocV A* (~*u-*) cold: Khvarsh. *=ujç-*; Inkh. *=uççu*.

PTsKh **uç-iju*.

| Lezg. **əçVr-* 1 to turn to ice 2 hoar-frost: Tsakh. *ajçar-as*; Bud. *çar-aχ* 2.

The suffixed Bud. form > Khin. *çarax* 'hoar-frost'.

| W.-Cauc. **çə-* ice: Abkh. *a-cā*; Abaz. *cha-s^wə*.

PAT **çə^wa* / **çə^wha* (with secondary deglottalisation in Abaz.).

[] The verbal (or adjectival) nature of the root is preserved only in PTS and Tsakh.; all other languages reflect the derived noun **çörV*.

**ə3GwV* back; middle, waist: Nakh. **əqVr-*; Av.-And. **iç^wV*; Lak. *d-al*.

| Nakh. **əqVr-* on one's back: Chech. *arqá-l*; Ing. *arqá-l*; Bacb. *aqre*.

A locative form from an archaic noun.

| Av.-And. **iç^wV* back: Akhv. *r-aq^w-a-λ-i*; Cham. *b-eq^w-u-λ-i*; Bagv. *r-eq^w-e-λ-i*.

r- and *b-* are old class prefixes. The word is normally attested in a locative form ('on the back'). A prefixless form is possibly Cham. Gig. *q:oj* 'back'.

| Lak. *d-al* middle.

d- is an old class prefix; cf. with another one *bal(-niws:a)* 'waist'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. See the notes on PNC **Hiqwə* (a different but similar root).

**ə1k^wV[n]* to beat, pick, scrape: Tsez. **ok^w-* B; Darg. **irk^w-*; Lezg. **ə1k^wVn*.

| Tsez. **ok^w-* B to beat, hit: Tsez. *=ok-*; Gin. *=uk-*; Khvarsh. *=ek^w-*; Inkh. *=ek^w-*; Bezht. *g=ok-* (*Khosh*).

PTsKh **ok^w-*. In Bezht. the class markers interact with the vowel (1st cl. *gok-*, 2/5 cl. *giç-*, 3/4 cl. *guk-*, 1-2 cl. pl. *guwak-*).

| Darg. **irk^w-* to peel, shell: Ak. *=irk^w-* (*Ur*);

| Lezg. **alk**Vn 1 slaughter 2 dig 3 pick, peck, scrape 4 put through: Tab. *t-a=k-1* (Dub.); Tsakh. *k-a=kan-* 2; Bud. *č-u=kn-* 4; Arch. *ark**in- 3.

Medial *-l- is reconstructed on basis of Arch. -r- (old *-r- > Arch. -l- before velars).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive verb (sometimes hard to distinguish from **HrikwV* 'to bore, dig' q.v.).

*-*əqE* to rise, be high: Nakh. **laq-en*; Av.-And. *-*V(r)qV* / *-*iq*; Lak. *la=qa-*; Darg. *-*aq*; Lezg. **hl[a]χV-*; W.-Cauc. *-*χ**V.

| Nakh. **laq-en* high, tall: Chech. *leqa*; Ing. *laqa*; Bacb. *laqē*.

Cf. also the root **laq-* in Chech. *laqa* 'upwards', Bacb. *laq-na* 'high up'.

| Av.-And. *-*V(r)qV* / *-*iq*- 1 to lift, raise 2 to rise (of dough) 3 to rise: Av. -*orχ-* 1, -*aχn-* 3; Cham. *ʔiχ-* 2, -*aχ-id-* 3.

Cf. also Av. -*orχa-ta-* 'high, tall'. Here -r- is most probably a former aspective (durative) infix, and not a part of the root (it, however, prohibited the change **q* > *χ* > *h* in Av.). -n-conjugation in Av. -*aχn-* is probably secondary. For the semantic change cf. Lak. *laqa-n* 'to rise; to rise, ferment (of dough)'. Both in Av. (-*aχn-*) and in Cham. (-*aχ-id-*) the root has also the meaning 'to cross, pass over'.

| Lak. *la=qa-* to rise, to increase.

G. pr. *la=qun*. Cf. also *laq-s:a* 'high, tall', *laq-nu* 'high above (adv.)'.

| Darg. *-*aq*- high: Ak. *aq-si*.

Cf. also Ur. *aq*, Kharb., Tsud. *aq-se* 'high, tall'. Cf. also the root *aq-* in the compound (Ak.) *aq-biʔes* 'to rise', and as a verbal root: Ak. *aq-es*, Ur. *alq-* / *iq-* 'to cross, pass over' (cf. the semantic development in Av.-And.).

| Lezg. **hl[a]χV-* 1 be high 2 rise, raise 3 high 4 long: Lezg. *aq-aχ-iz* 2; Rut. *ha-χa-s* 1; Tsakh. *aχ-ti-n* 3; Kryz. *ʔaχtā* 4; Bud. *ʔapχu* 4; Arch. *eχa-s* 2; Ud. *boχo* 4.

The stem is verbal (and belongs to the strong verb class), but is often used for deriving adjectives 'high' (Rut. *ha-χi-d*, Tsakh. *aχti-n*, Arch. *b-e:χu*) or 'long' (Kryz. *ʔaχtā*, Bud. *ʔapχu*, Ud. *boχo*). The meaning 'long' may be a result of partial contamination with PL **/hl[a]χä-* 'long' q.v., but in general these two roots are to be strictly kept apart.

See Khaidakov 1973, 105.

| W.-Cauc. *-*χ**V to grow; to multiply: Abkh. *a-z-ha-rā*; Abaz. *z-ha-ra*; Ad. *xa-χʔə*; Kab. *xa-χʔə*; Ub. *χa-χʔə*.

PAT **ha-* (with preverbs); PAK **χʔə*- (with the preverb **xa-*). In PAT, from the same root is derived the adjective **ha-rakə* 'high, tall' (Abkh. *ā-harakə*, Abaz. *harakə*). In PAK the verb has acquired also a more general meaning ('to grow' > 'to become').

See Shagirov 2, 113.

[] As in several other verbal roots, labialisation in PWC is here secondary (probably being a remnant of class prefixation). Otherwise the correspondence is perfectly satisfactory, both phonetically and semantically.

The initial laryngeal in PL (together with PD *- being derived from **h-*) should be probably treated as a historical preverb. Another preverb, **l-*, is frequent with this root (cf. the exact parallelism between the Lak. and the PN forms).

There are no certain traces of this root in PTs; cf. perhaps Tsez. *iχ-ju* 'thick'. It is quite isolated within Tsezian, and may reflect the original adjective 'high' (the correlation 'high' - 'thick' is not unusual in NC languages).

*-*əqwVn* to be sufficient, enough: Nakh. **t-oq-*; Av.-And. *-*iq**Vn; Lak. -*ija-l-*; Darg. *-*aʔ-*; Lezg. **aq**Vn; W.-Cauc. **q**V (~*q:lʔ-*, *q:lʔ-*).

| Nakh. **t-oq-* to be sufficient, enough: Chech. *toʔ-*; Ing. *toʔ-*; Bacb. *toq-*.

The stem contains a preverb (**t-*).

| Av.-And. *-*iq**Vn 1 to be sufficient, enough 2 to grow: Av. *ʔé-* 1; Akhv. -*iqun-* 1, 2; Cham. -*uʔn-* 1; Tind. -*ufi-* 1; Kar. -*eʔan-* 1, 2.

Cf. also Akhv. Tlan. -*uqin-*, Tseg. -*aʔ-*, Ratl. -*uqun-* 'to grow'. In And. the root can be observed in the suffix -*qon* which denotes "abundance of smth." (cf. the usage of this root as a postposition or postfix in Lezghian languages). The Avar verb also means 'to grow, to ripen'; the meaning 'to grow' in several Av.-And. languages is due to an influence of another verbal root, PA *-*iq*- < PEC *-*irqwV* (q.v.). In Avar the two roots have completely merged (which explains the loss of -n-conjugation).

The mutual influence of the two roots (further complicated by the presence of still another similar verbal root, *-*iq*- < *-*arqVr* 'to reach') led to a non-phonetic phenomenon: irregular preservation of *-*q**- in Proto-Av.-And. *-*iq**Vn- (where regularly a shift *-*q**- > *-*k*- would be expected).

| Lak. -*ija-l-* enough, sufficient.

| Darg. *-*aʔ-* to be sufficient, enough: Ak. -*aʔ-* / -*iʔ-*.

The root is homonymous with *-*aʔ-* 'to reach' (q.v.), due to a secondary merger.

| Lezg. **aq**Vn 1 as much as 2 up to, until: Lezg. *aqʔan* 1; Tab. -*qan* 1; Arch. *eqen* 2.

The root is used as an adverb (Lezg. *aqʔan*), postposition (Arch. *eqen*) or suffix (Tab. -*qan*, cf. also Lezg. -*qʔan* with the same meaning and function). Historically this is obviously a gerundial form (cf. the same development in And.).

| W.-Cauc. **q**V (~*q:lʔ-*, *q:lʔ-*) to be too much, excessive: Ad. *ʔa-*; Kab. *ʔa-*.

PAK **ʔa-*, used as a second part in compounds.

[] In individual subgroups the root tends to contaminate with *-*arqVr* 'to reach' or *-*irqwV* 'to ripen, grow' (q.v.); nevertheless, it differs from those roots in PN, and the precise parallelism of the *-n-conjugation in PA and PL leaves no doubt that it was a distinct root (one wonders, however, about its relationship to PEC **HnāqwV* 'big' q.v.). See Abdokov 1983, 144.

*-*ərčV* to choose: Nakh. **χarč-* (~ -*ʔ-*); Av.-And. *-*oč-*; Lak. -*u=č-i*; Darg. *-*ač-*.

| Nakh. **χarč-* (~ -*ʔ-*) to choose: Chech. *χarʔ-*; Ing. *χarʔ-*.

The Ing. form points to PN *-*a-* (cf. pres. *χorʔ*, pret. *χerʔa-d*); long -*ā-*

in Chech. (pret. *χärz-ira*) is therefore secondary, due to the influence of the regular durative counterpart **χērč-* (Chech. *χerz-*).

| Av.-And. **oč-* to choose: And. =*oč-*; Cham. =*ačn-*.

The -n-conjugation in Cham. is secondary (cf. Cham. Gig. =*ač-* without it).

| Lak. =*uči-* to choose.

G. pr. =*u=ču-nu*. Cf. Khosr. =*u=či-n* id. In Lak. the verb is homonymous with =*u=či-n* 'to understand', which must be a secondary merger (see PNC **ičwEl-*).

| Darg. **ač-* to choose: Chir. =*ača* =*arqi*.

Used only in a compound with =*arq-* (lit. 'to make a choice').

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**ərλÜ* to go, walk, enter: Nakh. **ēL-*; Av.-And. **iλ:u-*; Tsez. **oλ:-* (~*λ-*, *-L-*); Lak. =*u=k:a-*; Lezg. **arλ:e-*; Khin. *ka-*; W.-Cauc. **ŁV*.

| Nakh. **ēL-* walk, roam; fly: Chech. *lel-*; Ing. *lel-*; Bacb. *lel-*.

Initial **l-* in most forms is either a prefix or the result of an old reduplication without it cf. Bacb. imper. *-ol* 'come (here)!'. Cf. also **ē-b-L-* in Chech. *-il-* 'to walk across, walk out'. Since Chech. and Ing. have preserved only the durative stem, it is hard to establish vowel length in the PN terminative form **l-aL-* (> Bacb. *lal-*). The affricate **Ł-* is reconstructed on the basis of Bacb. (Matsiyev) *leł-*, (Kadagidze) *leł-*.

| Av.-And. **iλ:u-* 1 to walk 2 to go 3 to enter: Av. =*iλ:-in-* 1; Chad. =*aλ:Vn-* 1,2; And. =*uλ:-* 3; Akhv. =*oλ:-* 2; Cham. =*eλ:-* 2; Tind. =*eλ:-* 2; Kar. =*oλ:-* 2.

In Av. the verb belongs to the -n-conjugation, reasons for which are not clear. The root must be reconstructed with a labialised second vowel: this is supported by the Ablaut stem **λ:uH-* reflected in Av. *λ:uh-ine* 'enter' (Chad. *λuhn-* id.), Tind. *λ:ē-λa* 'go, walk', and would account for the labialised first vowel in Akhv., Cham. and Kar. Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. =*uλ:-*, Tlan. =*aλ:-*, Ratl. =*oλ:-* 'go, walk' and the Ablaut variant **λ:(^w)e* reflected in Tind., Cham. *λ:e* 'come, come on!'.
Beside the main meaning 'to go, walk' this root has (in all languages) the meaning 'to happen, to become' (Tind. and Cham. use in this meaning a stem with Ablaut: =*uλ:-*). The same verbal stem also denotes 'to finish' (Av. *λ:u^c-*, Chad. *λ:u^c-n-*, And. =*uλ:-*, Kar. =*oλ:-*, Tok. =*eλ:-*) or 'to begin' (Tind., Cham. =*uλ:-*).

| Tsez. **oλ:-* (~*λ-*, *-L-*) go, walk: Gin. *uλ-*.
Isolated in Ginukh, but with reliable external parallels.

| Lak. =*u=k:a-* to go out, exit; walk around.

G. pr. =*u=k:u-n*. Lak. also has an imperative *ulu* 'let's go!', which is a variant of the same root with a reflex *-l-* (a typical variation for PEC **Ł*); Lak. *ulu* = Tind., Cham. *λ:e*.

| Lezg. **arλ:e-* 1 to come 2 returning: Ag. *adi-* 1; Tsakh. *q-ale-* 1; Arch. =*λi-* 1; Ud. (?) *qaj* 2.

In Agul dialects there is a peculiar reflex of PL **rλ:-*, cf. Rich. *adi-s*, (but after the preverb *q-*: *q-aji-s* 'to return'), Bursh. *argi-s*, Burk. *are-s*, Tp. *ade-s*. The Ud. form can be compared if we assume a reduction of the initial vowel. In Tsakh. cf. also *s-ale* 'to gather'.

| Khin. *ka-* come.

Term. *ka-βi*, dur. *ka-k:wi*.

| W.-Cauc. **ŁV* to enter: Abkh. *a-tā-la-*; Abaz. *našə-l-*; Ad. *jə-hā-*; Kab. *jə-hā-*; Ub. =*wə-*.

PAT **la-/lə-* 'to go, move, enter' (used only with preverbs); PAK **-ha-* (also with preverbs). Ub. is the only language having a preverbless paradigm (*sə-wə-n* 'I enter'). The correspondence PAT **l* : PAK **h* : Ub. *w* reflects a labialised lateral **Ł^w*.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 278; Shagirov 1, 188.

[] A widely spread common NC verb root. Cf. also HU: Urart. *u/ol-* 'to go, to start going' (caus. 'to carry off'), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 50-51.

Trubetzkoy (1930, 278) compares the WC form with PEC **iχV* 'to carry' - which is hardly justified (both for phonetic and semantic reasons).

**ətV* move, go, come: Nakh. **q-ēt-*; Av.-And. **ut-*; Tsez. **ot-*;

Lezg. **ata-*.

| Nakh. **q-ēt-* to get (somewhere): Chech. *q-ēt-*; Ing. *q-et-*.

The root is used only with the preverb **q-*.

| Av.-And. **ut-* to reach: Tind. =*ut-*.

Attested only in Tindi, but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. **ot-* to turn back, return: Tsez. *ut-*; Gin. =*ut-/tut-*.

PTsKh **ut-* (= *ut-*); in Gin. also with reduplication.

| Lezg. **ata-* 1 come, arrive 2 walk, go: Lezg. *at-* 2; Ud. *ta-jes* 2.

Cf. Lezg. pret. *ata-na* (the stem is used in pret. and masdar). The Ud. form is a secondary building from the gerund **ata-j*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**əχA* bottom, lower part: Nakh. **uχ*; Av.-And. **iχ:V*; Lak. *uχ*;

Darg. **i-χ(^w)*; W.-Cauc. **χα*.

| Nakh. **uχ* bottom, lower part: Chech. =*uχ*; Ing. =*uχ*; Bacb. =*uχ*.

Obl. base **uχe* (Chech. =*uχa-*, Ing. =*uχo*). The root is used only with class prefixes.

| Av.-And. **iχ:V* 1 lower part, below 2 bottom, buttock 3 leg 4 foot: Av. *aχ:ā-da* 1, *boχ* 3; Chad. *boχ* 4; And. *beχ:ir-qil* 2; Cham. =*eχ:a* 1 (Gig.); Tind. *beχ:i* 2; Kar. *reχ:i* 1; God. *ladi-baχ:u* 1.

The prefixless root is present only in Avar. (cf. also *aχ:ā-λ*: "sediment", Batsada *ahi* "mountain foot"). Most other languages reflect forms with class prefixation.

The accent paradigm of Av. *boχ*: is A or C (pl. *boχ:al/bōχ:dul*).

| Lak. *uχ* lower part, base of smth.; stump.

Cf. also *buχ-* in *buχ-lič:a* "pelvic bone", *buχ-čins:a* "buttock".

| Darg. **i-χ(^w)* that (below the speaker): Ak. *iχ*; Chir. *iχ*.

Cf. also Chir. *χ-a^c* id. PD **χ^w* is probable because of Ak. *χ* (**χ* normally yields Ak. *h*).

| W.-Cauc. *χa bottom, lower part: Ub. χa.

Isolated in Ub., but with probable EC cognates.

[] One of the nominal roots with originally changing class prefixes. The labialized vowel reflex in PN and Lak. is probably due to the influence of labialized class prefixes.

The root should be kept distinct from the synonymous *wāχwV q.v.

f

*fānV mountain, hill: Nakh. *hun; Av.-And. *xan-dV (~o-); Tsez. *χ'en A; Lak. han; Darg. *x:Vna; Lezg. *χ:[a]na; W.-Cauc. *x'A.

| Nakh. *hun forest: Chech. *hun*; Ing. *hu*; Bacb. *hū*.

Obl. base *hune- (cf. Chech. *hūna-*, Ing. *huno*). 4th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *xan-dV (~o-) 1 shady side, slope 2 hill 3 meadow 4 haying place: Av. *xon-lí* 1; Chad. *xuná-q* 1; Cham. *hanna* 4; Tind. *handa* 2; Kar. *handa* 2; God. *šandir* 3.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. *handu* 'hill'. Andian forms contain a dental suffix (original plural?).

| Tsez. *χ'en A 1 mountain 2 heap: Tsez. *hon* 1; Gin. *χwin* 1; Khvarsh. *hun* 1; Inkh. *hun* 1,2.

PTsKh *χ'en.

| Lak. *han* shady slope of a mountain.

4th class.

| Darg. *x:Vna northern slope: Chir. *x:ana*.

Cf. also Kub. *xina walh* (*walh* 'slope, side'). The PD vocalism is not clear.

| Lezg. *χ:[a]na 1 northern slope of a mountain 2 mountain slope: Tab. *χ'an* 1; Ag. *χ'an* 2; Rut. *χin* 1; Arch. *χ'an* 1.

The -a Auslaut (and the obl. stem *χ'anā-) can be established on basis of Ag. (obl. *χ'ana-*) and Rut. (obl. *χina-*) data. The vowel -i- in Rut. is rather enigmatic (otherwise the correspondences are quite regular); -k in Tab. is a former diminutive suffix (cf. Kand. *χ'an* without it, and related Ag. forms: Fit. *χ'an*-ar, Bursh. *χank*-ar). The word belongs to the 3d class in Rut., but to the 4th class in Arch.

See Khaidakov 1973, 73.

| W.-Cauc. *x'A 1 mountain 2 hill: Abkh. *a-χ'é* 2; Abaz. *χwa* 1,2; Ub. *la-xá* 1.

PAT *x'A (cf. also Bz. *a-x'é*). For the first part of the Ub. compound see *χA.

[] In most EC languages the root means actually 'shady slope of a mountain' (i.e. part of the mountain heavily covered with trees). The root is also attested (with reduplication) in HU languages: Hurr. *fāwana*, Urart. *wāwāna* 'mountain' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 19).

*farne horse, mare: Av.-And. *x'VnV; Tsez. *χar-am (?); Lezg. *χ'ar(a); W.-Cauc. *x'ara (~f-).

| Av.-And. *x'VnV horses (collect.): Av. *x'āni*.

Exceptional accent paradigm: gen. *x'ānu-l*, pl. *xunū-l*. The word is known also in Andian languages (Akhv., And., Bagv. *x'ani*, Kar. *x'ane*), but is obviously a loan from Avar.

| Tsez. **χar-am* (?) foal: Khvarsh. *χaram*.

Quoted from Khaidakov 1973, thus not very reliable.

| Lezg. **χ^war(a)* mare: Lezg. *χ^war*; Tab. *χ^war*; Ag. *χ^war*; Rut. *χ^war*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *χ^war*, Tab. Düb. *χar*, Ag. Bursh. *χ^war*. Obl. base **χ^wara-* or **χ^warä-* (Lezg. *χ^wara-*, Khl. *χura-*, Tab. *χ^wara-*, Düb. *χara-*, Ag. *χ^wara-*). 3d class in Rut.

| W.-Cauc. **x^wara* (~ *f-*) thoroughbred horse: Ad. *fāra*; Kab. *x^wara*.

PAK **x^warä*. Phonetically a perfect match would be PAT **fəra* in Abkh. *a-fər-χaça*, Abaz. *fər* 'hero', if we assume a metaphoric use of the root in PAT.

[] The etymology seems satisfactory both phonetically and semantically. The root must have denoted a good horse, mare ('thoroughbred' in WC).

**fñā* five: Nakh. **pxi*(?); Av.-And. **in-š:-tu-*; Tsez. **λ:i-nō* B; Lak. *χ:ul-*; Darg. **xu-*; Lezg. **λ:we-*; Khin. *pxu*; W.-Cauc. **s-x^wa*.

| Nakh. **pxi*(?) five: Chech. *pxi*?; Ing. *pxi*?; Bacb. *pxi*.

Vowel shortness is seen in the Chech. obl. base *pxe'a-na-*.

| Av.-And. **inš:-tu-* five: Av. *š:u-go*; Chad. *sú-gu*; And. *inšdu-gu*; Akhv. *īš:tu-da-*; Cham. *īš:u-da*; Tind. *inš:tu-ja*; Kar. *inš:tu-da*; Botl. *ištu-da*; Bagv. *inštu-ra*; God. *inš:t:u-da*.

PA **inš:tu-* 'five' was modified from a form like **š:i-du-* (with a suffixed **-du-*) under the influence of **inλ:i-* 'six' (q.v.) (a well known phenomenon of mutual adaptations of close numerals).

| Tsez. **λ:i-nō* B five: Tsez. *leno*; Gin. *leno*; Khvarsh. *leno*; Inkh. *lino*; Bezht. *lina*; Gunz. *lino*.

PTsKh **λi-no*; PGB **λin[ɔ]* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *λinā*).

| Lak. *χ:ul-* five.

Cf. Khosr. *χ:lu=a*.

| Darg. **xu-* five: Ak. *še-l*; Chir. *xu-jal*.

Ak. *šel* < **šu-jal*; cf. also Ur. *šu*, Kub. *xu*.

| Lezg. **λ:we-* five: Lezg. *wa-d*; Tab. *xu-b*; Ag. *ʕafu-d*; Rut. *xu-d*; Tsakh. *xo-llā*; Kryz. *fi-d*; Bud. *fi-d*; Arch. *λ:o*, *λ:we-jtu*; Ud. *qo*.

Initial *ʕa-* in Ag. is unclear (cf. in other dialects: Bursh. *jiš'u-r*, Fit. *ju/ū-d*, Burk. *ifa-d*; here the PL numeral obtained the initial *ji-* (je-) on analogy with **jewqi-* 'four' q.v.).

Rather interesting is the Archi word for 'fifty': *buχ:i* (not *buλ:i*). Since Archi names for tens are usually formed from simple numerals, this form presupposes **χ:we* 'five' - which can reflect PL **χ:we* (from a lax PEC variant **fñā*).

See Giginshvili 1977, 97.

| Khin. *pxu* five.

| W.-Cauc. **s-x^wa* five: Abkh. *χ^w-ba*; Abaz. *χ^w-ba*; Ad. *tfə*; Kab. *tx^wa*; Ub. *šxə*.

PAT **x^wa-* (cf. also Bzyb. *x^w-ba*); PAK **tx^wa*. An initial cluster with a sibilant must be reconstructed for PWC (it has been regularly simplified in PAT, and changed to **tx* and **šx* in PAK and Ub. respectively).

[] The WC form has a prefix of unknown origin; despite this, and

the lack of the expected palatalisation (**-x^wa* would be rather expected), there can be no doubt in the common origin of the EC and WC forms. The rules of palatalisation are violated in WC numerals (cf. also EC **λHē* 'three' : WC **λ:V*), possibly because of original Ablaut.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 239, 243; 1930, 274-275; Abdokov 1983, 155.

**fñimbV* dew: Nakh. **hub* (~*ū-*); Av.-And. **š:ibi*; Tsez. **χ:ibV* (~*ī-*); Lak. *x:ilm*; Lezg. **χ:il(l)m* (~*m:*).

| Nakh. **hub* (~*ū-*) wound inflammation, caused by cold, dampness: Chech. *hū*; Ing. *huw*.

4th class in Chech. and Ing. The original vowel length is impossible to establish.

| Av.-And. **š:ibi* dew: Av. *š:ub*; Chad. *sab*; And. *š:ib*; Akhv. *š:ibi*; Cham. *š:ib*; Tind. *š:ibi*; Kar. *š:ibe*; Botl. *š:ibi*; God. *š:ibi*.

Av. paradigm B or C (Chad. gen. *sabā-l*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *s:ip* (with devoicing).

| Tsez. **χ:ibV* dew: Tsez. *χebi*; Gin. *χebi*; Khvarsh. *χeba* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *χibo*.

PTsKh **χibə*.

| Lak. *x:ilm* dew.

Cf. Khosr. *x:ilm*.

| Lezg. **χ:il(l)m* (~*m:*) dew: Ud. *χo*.

Isolated in Udi, thus the PL reconstruction is only tentative. However, the external parallels are quite reliable.

[] Reconstructed for PEC. The vocalic reconstruction is not quite certain (primarily because within Lezghian we have only the Ud. reflex); otherwise the correspondences are regular.

**fimčwV* tick, a biting insect: Nakh. **χinča*; Av.-And. **x^winč:V*; Tsez. **hūčə* / **hūčə*; Lezg. **χ^wimč(a)*.

| Nakh. **χinča* 1 nit 2 a k. of worm ('червь-нитчатка'): Chech. *χinza* 1,2; Ing. *χenza* 1; Bacb. *χinč* 1.

Cf. also Shar. *χinč*, Itumk., Khild. *χinž* 'nit'. 6th class in Chech., Ing., 5th class in Bacb. The old oblique base **χančV-* can be observed in Ing. plur. *χanži*.

| Av.-And. **x^winč:V* tick: Av. *x^wenč*; (*Andal.*).

The Av. dialectal form is quoted from Mikailov 1959. It is not quite clear whether Av. Chad. *heč-kēr* 'tick' should be related here.

| Tsez. **hūčə* / **hūčə* 1 grasshopper 2 ant: Khvarsh. *hūcu* 1; Inkh. *hōcu* 1; Bezht. *hūca* 2; Gunz. *hūco* 2.

PTsKh **hūčə*; PGB **hūčə* (cf. also Gunz. (Gunz.) *hūcu* 'ant'; Bezht. (Tlad.) *huca* id. goes back to a PGB variant **hūčə*).

| Lezg. **χ^wimč(a)* tick: Lezg. *χenč*; Tab. *χic*; Ag. *χic*; Rut. *χic* (*Khniukh.*); Arch. *χ^wimč* / *χ^winč*.

Cf. also Ag. Burk. *χ^wec*, Tr. *χec* 'tick', Arch. erg. *χ^wimči-* (demonstrating weak **č*), Rut. Ikhr. *χic* 'bug'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (note the variation **č*/*č* in PTs, typical for reflexes of PEC tense **č*).

*fimkwV fist: Av.-And. *hunka (~o); Darg. *χ:unk; Lezg. *χ:i(m)k.

| Av.-And. *hunka (~o) fist: Cham. hūča; Bagv. hunka; God. hunka.

| Darg. *χ:unk fist: Ak. χunk.

Cf. also Ur. χunk, Kharb. χ:unk etc.

| Lezg. *χ:i(m)k fist: Arch. χ:ik.

Isolated within Lezg., but having good external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (one of the roots with the relatively rare phoneme *f).

*fiwi (~ -b-, -o) grave: Av.-And. *x^wibV; Lak. haw; Darg. *χ:l^wab; Lezg. *χut: (~ *χ:-).

| Av.-And. *x^wibV grave: Av. χob; Chad. hub; And. sub; Akhv. sobe; Cham. hob; Tind. hoba; Kar. xobo; Botl. xumu; Bagv. x^wob (Tlis.); God. subu.

Av. paradigm C (χabā-l, χāba-l / χāb-zal, Chad. hubā-l, hūba-l). Nasal -m- in Botl. is not quite clear. Cf. also Cham. Gig. hubu, Kar. Tok. xobi. The oblique stem for this noun can be reconstructed as PA *x^widV-, cf. Tind. hoja (used as a variant of hoba), Kar. Arch. xodaj, Botl. obl. xud-, God. obl. sud-, plur. suda-l ('graveyard'), And. (Khaidakov) suli-bol (< *sudi-bol) id., Cham. plur. hod-dali.

| Lak. haw grave.

Obl. base hat:a-. Cf. Khosr. haw, hat:a- id. With pharyngealisation (expressive?) cf. also Lak. hat:a-lu, Khosr. halt:a-lu 'graveyard'.

| Darg. *χ:l^wab grave: Ak. halb; Chir. χ:lab.

Cf. also Ur. h^walb, Kub. χ:lab, Tsud. χ:l^wab.

| Lezg. *χut: (~*χ:-) 1 stone 2 tomb-stone: Rut. duχul 1; Kryz. χud 1,2.

In Rutul there's a frequent suffix -ul and metathesis. Rut. duχul = Kryz. χud-il 'tomb-stone'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. We can also reconstruct the obl. base *fiw-dV- (*fib-dV-), reflected in PA *x^widV- = Lak. hat:a- / hat:a-. = PL *χu-t:.

g

*gagV grain, fruit stone: Nakh. *gVg; Av.-And. *gaga; Lak. k:uk:u;

Lezg. *k:ak:aj.

| Nakh. *gVg seed, grain: Ing. gi.

Attested only in Ing., thus a variety of PN reconstructions is possible; we choose medial *-g- because of external evidence.

| Av.-And. *gaga 1 fruit-stone 2 grain: Av. gaga 1; And. gaga 1; Cham. žaža 2;

Kar. gaga 2; God. gaga 2.

Av. paradigm B (gaga-dul, gaga-bi).

| Lak. k:uk:u fruit-stone, grain.

Cf. Khosr. k:uk:u id.

| Lezg. *k:ak:aj egg: Lezg. k:ak:a.

Attested only in Lezg. (cf. also Khl. k:ok:ɔ?). Obviously a reduplicated expressive word, but some external parallels are available.

[] An expressive reduplicated root; seems, however, to be well reconstructable for PEC. Cf. also Osset. gaga 'grain' (see Abayev 1958, 505).

*gāl(V)gV stick: Nakh. *gag; Av.-And. *gVrVgV; Tsez. *gagV- ~

*gogV-; Darg. *k:alk:V.

| Nakh. *gag 1 branch 2 tree 3 bunch (of grapes): Chech. ga 1; Ing. ga 1,2;

Bacb. gag 3.

3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing., 6th class in Bacb. Cf. also Akk. gav "branch".

| Av.-And. *gVrVgV block (a piece of cloven log): Av. gerēgi.

Isolated in Av., but with good external parallels.

| Tsez. *gagV- ~ *gogV- rolling-pin, beater: Bezht. gogo-ja.

Cf. also Khosh. gaga-fo id. Although the root is known only in Bezht., it has reliable external correspondences.

| Darg. *k:alk:V 1 tree 2 branch: Ak. galga 1; Chir. k:alč:e 2.

Cf. also Ur. galga, Kait., Kharb. k:alk:a 'tree' etc.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. It is possible to derive this stem (through reduplication) from PEC *gālV 'stick' q.v.

*gālV (~ -t-) stick: Nakh. *gala; Tsez. *gelV (~-ɔ-, ɔ-, r-); Lak. č:ala.

| Nakh. *gala 1 wooden skittles 2 birch-tree: Chech. gala 1; Bacb. gal 2.

3d class in Chech., 4th class in Bacb.

| Tsez. *gelV (~-ɔ-, ɔ-, r-) pole: Tsez. gilu; Khvarsh. gelu (Radzhibov).

PTsKh *geRu.

| Lak. č:ala bayonet.

The original meaning was 'long stick', cf. the external evidence.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Cf. also the reduplicated synonymous form *gālvGV q.v.: we keep the stems distinct, because they have separate reflexes in some subgroups, but *gālvGV most certainly is a reduplication of *gālv.

*gamčwV canine tooth, fang: Nakh. *kāms(s)ur; Tsez. *kəcu; Darg. *kinč; Lezg. *gamč.

[] Nakh. *kāms(s)ur canine tooth: Chech. *komsar*; Ing. *komsar*.

4th class in Chech. and Ing. Cf. also Chech. Lev. *kōmsur*, *kōmsar*, Shar. *kōncur* (with secondary -c-).

[] Tsez. *kəcu 1 tooth 2 fang: Tsez. *kicu 1*; Gin. *kecu 1*; Gunz. *kəcu 2*.

PTsKh *kəcu.

[] Darg. *kinč gum (in mouth): Ak. *kinč*.

[] Lezg. *gamč 1 canine tooth 2 molar tooth: Tab. *k:anč 1*; Ag. *kanč 2*.

Cf. also Ag. Fit. *kanč*, Tab. Düb. *kamč:a*. PL *g- established on basis of Tab. *k:-* (there's also *k:-* in Ag. Bursh. *k:anč:-*). Both in Tab. and Ag. (except the Fite dialect) there occurred an irregular deglottalisation of the final consonant. /Note that there are different recordings: the latest field records of MSU are: Tab. Düb. *kamč:a*, Kand. *k:anč:-*, Ag. Rich., Bursh., Fit. *k:anč:-*, Burk. *kanč* (sic!)/

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive root; besides rather usual for this structure assimilations (*g- > *k-) there's an irregular vowel in PD (-i instead of *a-) and an irregular consonant in PTs (-c- instead of *č-).

*gārdV vessel, measuring vessel: Nakh. *gērde (~ -t-); Av.-And. *garda (~ o); Tsez. *gəd-əl (~ o).

[] Nakh. *gērde (~ -t-) a measuring vessel (for about 12 kg.): Chech. *girda*; Ing. *gerd*.

5th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing. Cf. also Chech., Ved. *gjerdi*, Shar. *girdi*, Lev. *girdi*, *girda*, Itumk. *girdi* id.

[] Av.-And. *garda (~ o) vessel, pot: Cham. *garda*.

Attested only in Cham., but having probable external parallels.

[] Tsez. *gəd-əl (~ o) measuring vessel (for more than 5 kg.): Bezht. *godol*.

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is spread in the Western area (Nakh, Cham., Bezht.).

*gārV (~ -l-) neck; throat, gullet: Nakh. *gagV; Av.-And. *garu; W.-Cauc. *k:ə-.

[] Nakh. *gagV belly, stomach: Chech. *gaj*, *gē*; Ing. *gijg*; Bacb. *gaga'o*.

Ing. *gijg* goes back to *gag-ik. Vowel length is unclear (the Ing. obl. base *gāgo* has a long ā, but it may be due to the loss of *-g-). 3d class in all languages.

[] Av.-And. *garu neck: Av. *gabūr*; Chad. *gubur*; And. *garu*; Cham. *ʒajλ:*; Tind. *garu*; Kar. *garu*; Botl. *garu*; Bagv. *gar*; God. *garu*.

Av. paradigm C (*gorbō-l*, *gārba-l*; but Chad. *garbī-l*, *garbā-l*). The form *gabur* is probably a result of reinterpreting the original plural form *gar-ba-l (on analogy with paradigms like *kamūr(i)*, *kārma-l* etc.). In Cham. -λ: is a locative suffix (cf. also *ʒaj-q*: 'on the neck').

[] W.-Cauc. *k:ə- gullet, throat: Ad. *čaj*; Kab. *ʒaj*.

PAK *k:ə-jə.

[] The comparison belongs to Abdokov 1983, 74. The Nakh form may belong here if it is a partial reduplication (*gagV < *gargV or *galgV). Note that Kryz. *gāli* 'throat' (also cited by Abdokov ibid.) is a recent Persian loanword and does not belong here.

*gašē (/šega) hunger: Lak. *k:aši*; Darg. *k:aši; Lezg. *k:aša; W.-Cauc. *čaga (~ -k:-).

[] Lak. *k:aši* hunger.

[] Darg. *k:aši hunger: Ak. *gaši*; Chir. *k:iše*.

Cf. also Ak. *guš-* 'hungry', Sirg. *k:uše* 'hunger', Ur. *gaši* 'hunger', *guš* 'hungry', Kub. *k:uš-dix* 'hunger'. Several forms go back to the PD attributive form *k:uš- 'hungry' (with Ablaut).

[] Lezg. *k:aša hunger: Lezg. *k:aš*; Tab. *gaš*; Ag. *gaš*; Rut. *gaš*; Kryz. *gāš*.

3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. Obl. stem *k:ašə- (cf. Lezg. *k:aša-*, Ag. *gaši-*, Rut. *gaša-*). Cf. also Ag. Fit. *gašin-t* 'greedy' (< 'hungry').

See Leksika 1971, 141; Талибов 1980, 286.

[] W.-Cauc. *čaga (~ -k:-) to starve, be hungry: Abkh. *a-čga-ra*; Abaz. *čga-ra*.

PAT *čaga-.

[] Lak. *k:aši* may be borrowed from Darg. (or vice versa), but may be also genuine. PWC has, as in some other cases, an affricate corresponding to a PEC fricative: this must be explained by a historical dental prefix (*čaga < *T-šaga).

An interesting common NC root, attested also in other geographically close families (cf. Sum. *sāgar* 'hunger' [cf. especially the PWC form], Hitt. *kast*, Afroasiatic: Sem. *gʷʷ, Cush. *gaʷač-).

*gazā hoe, mattock: Av.-And. *gaza (~ o); Lak. *k:ac:a*; Darg. *k:ac:a; Lezg. *k:ac:aj.

[] Av.-And. *gaza hoe, mattock: Av. *gazā*; And. *gaza*; Cham. *goza* (*Gig*); Kar. *gaza*; God. *gaza*.

Av. paradigm B (*gozō-l*, *guz-bī*). The vowel -o- in Cham. is not clear. Most Andian forms listed can be borrowed from Av. (but since correspondences are regular, it is hard to prove). The Av. form can also be the source of Lak. and Darg. dialectal forms with -z- (not -c:-): Lak. *k:aza* (existing together with *k:ac:a*), Darg. Chir. *gaza* etc.

[] Lak. *k:ac:a* hoe (for digging graves).

The parallel form *k:aza* 'hoe, mattock' is probably borrowed from Av. or Darg.

| Darg. *k:ac:a hoe, mattock: Ak. *gaza*.
Cf. also Ur. *gaža*, Tsud. *k:ac:a*. Ak. *gaza*, as well as Chir. *gaza* (cf. also Kait., Kub. *k:aza*) can be borrowed from Av. or Lak.

| Lezg. *k:ac:aj 1 hoe, mattock 2 pick, pickaxe: Lezg. *k:ac:a* 1; Tab. *gazu* 2; Ag. *gaza* (Burk.) 2; Rut. *gaza* 2; Tsakh. *gaza* 1,2; Bud. *gəzəj* 1,2.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *k:ac:aj*, Tab. Düb. *gazu*, and some reduplicated forms: Tab. *gazgaz* 'hoe', Düb. *gezgeze* id. 3d class in Tsakh. and Bud., but 4th class in Rut.

See Bokarev 1961, 62; Leksika 1971, 173; Giginayshvili 1977, 79.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. A cultural word with a simple phonetic structure, thus easily borrowed from one language into another. However, no external source for this word is known, and its EC origin is quite probable.

*gažinV jar, jug: Darg. *gažin; Lezg. *k:ač:in.

| Darg. *gazin small jar, jug: Ak. *gazin*; Chir. *gazin*.

| Lezg. *k:ač:in small earthenware jug: Lezg. *gič:in*; Tab. *gažin*; Ag. *gazin*; Kryz. *gāžin*; Bud. *gižin*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *k:ač:in*, Ag. Bursh., Burk. *gažin* id. 3d class in Kryz. and Bud.

[] A Darg-Lezg. isogloss. The word is attested also in Lak (Bartkh. *čač:in* 'a vessel holding 4 litres of liquid', see Khaidakov 1975, 247), where it is irregular and most probably borrowed from Lezghian.

*gāIV tickling: Nakh. *gil-ik / *gil-diḱ; Av.-And. *gidi; Darg. *k:ilt: (~g,d); W.-Cauc. *gələ / ɣ- (~g/k).

| Nakh. *gil-ik / *gil-diḱ tickling: Chech. *gilg* / *gildig*;

The form *gilg* (plur. *gilg-as*) is given in the Russian-Chechen dictionary, the form *gildig* - in the Chechen-Russian dictionary.

| Av.-And. *gidi tickling: Av. *gīdi* / *gidigidi*.

| Darg. *k:ilt:- (~g,d) tickling: Ak. *gildi*, *gidgid*.

| W.-Cauc. *gələ / ɣ- (~g/k) to tickle; feel ticklish: Ad. *Ləžə-n*; Kab. *žəLə-n* / *čəLə-n*; Ub. *kəL-*.

PAK *gəLə / *kəLə (with a metathesis in Ad.); Ub. *a-kəLə-n*. An expressive root with secondary glottalisation in Kab. (where a variant with voiced *g- is also reflected) and Ub.

[] An expressive root, however, surprisingly similar in distant subgroups and thus probably archaic. Most EC languages reflect a variant with an expressive suffix *-dV (*gāldV).

Some other forms with an expressive shift *g > *ɣ can also be related: cf. Ing. *badabɣilg(as)*, Tab. *ɣɣudɣilli*, Lak. *ɣɣidi*. Unfortunately the root is recorded only in few EC languages.

*gāpə a k. of vessel: Nakh. *gipe (~-o); Av.-And. *gibV; Lak. *k:up:ii*; Khin. *ķiba*.

| Nakh. *gipe (~-o) earthenware jar with a wide mouth: Chech. *giba*; Ing. *giba*.

4th class in both languages. Cf. also Pharch. *giba* 'big' earthenware vessel'.

| Av.-And. *gibV pot: Av. *gibí*.

Av. paradigm B (pl. *gibá-l*).

| Lak. *k:up:i* earthenware jug with a narrow mouth.

| Khin. *ķiba* a jug of medium size.

[] Seems to be reconstructable for PEC; however, this is certainly an old cultural "Wanderwort" (cf. Lat. *cuppa*, Pers. *kūb* / > Turk. *küp* / etc.).

*gātu(jV) / *gātu(jV) cat: Nakh. *kōti; Av.-And. *gitu / *gidu; Tsez. *kītu; Lak. *č:itu*; Darg. *k:ata; Lezg. *k:ātu(j /-a,-ij); W.-Cauc. *k:atə(wə) /-t-.

| Nakh. *kōti cat: Bacb. *kujtī*.

5th class; pl. *koša-rēi*.

| Av.-And. *gitu / *gidu cat: Av. *kēto*; Chad. *gētu*; And. *gedu*; Akhv. *geto* (Tseg.); Cham. *žedu* (Gig.); Tind. *gīwu*; Botl. *gedu*; God. *gedu*.

Av. paradigm B (*katí-l*, *kuṭu-l* / *katá-l*; Chad. *gūtí-l*, *git-bí*). The root reveals a variety of variants which can be systemized as follows:

The principal Proto-Av.-And. form must be reconstructed as **gitu*. It was preserved only in Southern Av. dialects (Chad. *gētu*, Gid. *geto*), being replaced in Northern Av. by the assimilated form *kēto* (*kētu*). The Akhv. (Tseg.) form *geto* may also reflect this archaic form, or (which is more probable) is borrowed from Southern Avar.

The literary Av. form *kēto* was borrowed into some of the Andian languages: cf. Akhv. *keto*, Ratl. *keto*, Tlan. *ketu*, Kar. Tok. *ketu*, Bagv. *kit*.

The proper Proto-Andian form is reconstructed as **gidu* (which is a result of assimilation from the original **gitu*) and is reflected as such in the majority of languages. It was then borrowed in some Tsezian languages: Bezht. *gedo*, Gunz. *gedu* (the proper PTs form is **kītu* q.v.).

The only evident exception is the Cham. (U.-Gakv., Gad.) form *četa* (< **kīta*) - since all other Av.-And. languages do not show any trace of glottalisation in this root, it must be borrowed, most probably from Tsezian.

| Tsez. *kītu cat: Tsez. *keṭu*; Gin. *keṭu*; Khvarsh. *kītu*; Inkh. *kiṭ*.

PTsKh *kītu.

| Lak. *č:itu* cat.

Cf. Khosr. *č:itu* id.

| Darg. *k:ata cat: Ak. *gata*; Chir. *k:ata*.

Cf. also Ur., Sirg. *gata*, Kharb., Tsud. *k:ata*. Kub. *č:itu* < Lak.

| Lezg. *k:ātu(j /-a,-ij) cat: Lezg. *k:ac* (*k:aci-*); Tab. *gatu*; Ag. *gita-n*; Rut. *gāt*;

Kryz. *gāt*; Bud. *gəč*; Arch. *gatu*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *k:ac* (*k:aci-*), Ag. Bursh. *geṭ*. 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages.

The final *-j is clearly seen in forms like Tab. Kand. plur. *gatu-j-ir*. The original disyllabic structure of the root is evident from the Lezg., Kryz. and Bud. forms, where the dental *t was palatalized before a front vowel (*-tij > Lezg. -ci,

Kryz., Bud. -či). Afterwards the final -i in these languages (also in Rut.) was reinterpreted as the oblique stem vowel and was lost in the direct base.

The forms reveal a variation of reflexes (*a or *ä in the first syllable, *u or *i in the second). The most probable solution is to reconstruct an original protoform like *k:ätuj (with different directions of vowel assimilation in later reflexes); thus the most archaic is the modern Ag. (Bursh.) form *gel*°. It is interesting to note that the root even has traces of old Ablaut *ä/*i, cf. Rut. *gät*, obl. *git-iri*-.

See Bokarev 1961, 62; Leksika 1971, 153; Giginayshvili 1977, 79-80.

W.-Cauc. *k:atə(wə) /-t- cat: Abkh. *a-cg*°ə; Abaz. *cg*°ə; Ad. *čatəw*; Kab. *žaduw*; Ub. *gātə*.

PAT *čəg°ə (cf. also Bzyb. *a-čg*°ə; PAK *k:at:əwə. The PAK and Ub. forms are clearly related (with assimilation *t- > -t- in PAK). However, we think that the PAT form is also a descendant of the same root. Indeed, PAT "hissing-hushing" consonants may go back to PWC palatalized+labialized dentals, thus *čəg°ə may go back to *tʷək:°ə, and, if we assume a metathesis (which is very usual in roots of this type with two stops), we may postulate two basic variants for early PWC:

a) *k:atəwə > *k:atəwə (> PAK *k:at:əwə, Ub. *gātə*);

b) *k:atəwə > *k:atʷə (with regressive labialisation) > PAT *g°əčə > *čəg°ə. [Abdakov (1983, 123) compares the Abkh. form with heterogeneous diminutives: Chech. *cic-ig*, Av. *ic:i-ko* 'cat, kitty'. This is certainly wrong because of the obviously different morphological structure of EC forms.]

It is interesting to note that these two forms exactly match two variants reconstructed for PEC (*gätuj and *gätuj).

[] Phonetic analysis of the reflexes shows that both EC and WC languages reflect two initial variants (with voiceless *t- and with glottalized *t-), and it is hard to decide which is the original one. All other correspondences are surprisingly regular (if we separate all the secondary interlingual borrowings).

The etymon is, of course a Wanderwort (cf. Kartv. *kašu, late Latin *cattus*, Slav. *kora, Osset. *gädi*, see Abayev 1958, 510, etc.). Klimov (1967, 380-381) tried to explain its presence in the Caucasian languages as a loan from Armenian; but the word no doubt existed already at least in PWC and in sub-protolanguages like PL and PA which makes this theory impossible.

Even if the word is borrowed from some external source, the borrowing occurred so early that we think it justified to include the word into the common NC wordstock.

*gerVdV / *derVgV arc; bow: Tsez. *gurtu (~o); Lak. k:urt:a; Darg. *der(e)k:a; Lezg. *gerVt:Vj / *t:erVgVj.

Tsez. *gurtu (~o) knee: Khvarsh. *kurtu* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *gurtu*.

PTsKh *gurtu (with assimilation in Khvarshi).

Lak. k:urt:a rim, arc.

Cf. Khosr. k:urt:a 'bow'.

Darg. *der(e)k:a bow: Ak. (*urgi*) *derga*; Chir. *arqi-dik:a*.

Cf. also Ur. *dirga*, Kait. *derek:a* etc. In most dialects the root is used in a compound with *urg 'bow' (historically - "arc of a bow").

Lezg. *gerVt:Vj / *t:erVgVj 1 bow 2 arc 3 collar-bone: Tab. *derk:u* 1; Ag. *dak:ra* 3; Arch. *gerti* 2; Ud. *k:inti:/kinti* 2.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *dirk:a* 'bow'. 3d class in Arch. PL *g is reconstructed on basis of Tab., Ag. k:; not quite clear is the medial -n- in Udi.

See Khaidakov 1973, 95.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. A trisyllabic stem with metatheses, usual in such cases. It is rather probable that the Inkh. form belongs here together with East Daghestanian forms (note that the preservation of -r- proves the trisyllabic reconstruction: in usual clusters -r- always disappears in PTs); not quite clear, however, is the devoicing -d- > -t- in Inkh.

[It is interesting to note Cham. *taguma* 'bow': it could go back to PA *ta(r)gu-ma (~ -o-), and thus belong to the same root. Like the Inkh. form, Cham. has voiceless t: this is, perhaps, an indication that we should reconstruct *terVgV / *gerVtV with assimilatory voicing in the East Daghestan area.]

*gəjʷV goat, kid: Nakh. *gāza(-n); Darg. *k:ec̣:ba.

Nakh. *gāza(-n) goat: Chech. *gāza*; Ing. *gaza*; Bacb. *gāza*.

4th class in Chech., 3d class in Ing., 6th class in Bacb.

Darg. *k:ec̣:ba kid: Ak. *gežba*.

Cf. also Ur. *gižwa*, Kub. *k:ičba*, Tsud. *k:ičba* id. *-ba is probably an original plural suffix.

[] A Nakh-Darg. isogloss.

*gəɭʷe fang, canine tooth: Av.-And. *g°i(r)ʷV ~ *gi(r)ʷV; Tsez. *gōžu A (~ -ž-); Lak. k:arč:i; Darg. *k:anži; Lezg. *k:alč: (~ -r-).

Av.-And. *g°i(r)ʷV ~ *gi(r)ʷV 1 fang, canine tooth 2 molar 3 pestle: Av. *gozo* 1; And. *guzi* 2; Akhv. *gorzo* 1 (*Tseg.*); Cham. *gozu* 3 (*Gig.*); Tind. *kožu*; Kar. *goza* / *g°aža* (*Tok.*).

Av. paradigm B (pl. *gāza-l*). An Av. loanword is And. *gozo* 'fang' (a doublet with *guzi*) and perhaps also Akhv. North. *gozo*, Kar. *gozo*. Since *g- is obviously the original Anlaut (cf. the external evidence), we must admit that in Tind. and Cham. (U.-Gakv.) *koža* there occurred a rather unusual dissimilation *g- > k-. Quite strange is Av. Chad. *gāza* (paradigm A: *gāzi-l*, *gāza-l*) - a Darg. loanword?

Tsez. *gōžu A (~ -ž-) 1 fang, canine tooth 2 molar: Tsez. *gozu* 2; Khvarsh. *gozu* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *gāzo* 1; Gunz. *gōžu* 1.

PTsKh *gožu; PGB *gōžu. Note that Gin. *gažu* 'molar' probably < Bezht., and Inkh. *kožu* 'canine tooth' < Tind.

Lak. k:arč:i tooth.

4th class, obl. base k:arč:u-. Cf. Khosr. k:arč:i.

Darg. *k:anži 1 fang, canine tooth 2 gum: Ak. *ganzi* (*cula*) 1; Chir. *yanze* 2.

The Chir. form goes back to a variant **ganzi*. Cf. also Ur. *ganži*, Kub. *k:anže*, Tsud. *k:anč:i* (from a variant **k:anč:i*).

| Lezg. **k:ʷalt:* (~*r-*) prong (of a rake): Ag. *gʷarʷ*.

Isolated within Lezghian, but having good external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are more or less regular (although there occurred some assimilations usual for roots of this type). We must reconstruct some medial liquid, and it is most probably *-l- (this conforms with PA, PTs, Lak and PL reflexes; however, PD has an unexpected -n- - probably due to the influence of PD **kinč* 'gum' q.v.). Darg. > Arch. *gaInzi* 'molar'.

**gHāntV* stack: Tsez. **gɔʃV* (~*o-*, ~*-*); Lak. *č:anʃu*; Lezg. **k:alntij*.

| Tsez. **gɔʃV* (~*o-*, ~*-*) stack: Tsez. *goʃi* (*Kid.*).

Isolated in Tsez., but having good external parallels.

| Lak. *č:anʃu* haycock.

| Lezg. **k:alntij* 1 haystack, haycock 2 heap of dry dung 3 top: Rut. *gati* 1; Tsakh. *gaʃe* 1; Kryz. *gānʒ* 1,2; Bud. *gānʒ* 1,2; Arch. *gaInʃi* 1; Ud. *k:at:az* 3 (?).

Cf. also Tsakh. Gelm. *galʃi*. Kryz. *gānʒ* < **gāndi* (with assimilation) < **gaInʃi* (the same concerns the Bud. form). 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**ghVrčV* a k. of insect: Nakh. **geç-ik* (~*-3-*); Av.-And. **gVrčV*.

| Nakh. **geç-ik* (~*-3-*) spider: Chech. *gezg*; Ing. *gizg*.

4th class in both languages. Cf. also Chech. (in Uslar's notation) *gezig*, pointing to a short vowel.

| Av.-And. **gVrčV* grasshopper, locust: Av. *garč*.

Av. paradigm A (*gārči-l*, *gārča-l*). Av. Chad. *nāh-kʷač* 'grasshopper' is a folk-etymological modification of this root.

[] A Nakh-Av. isogloss, not found elsewhere (cf., perhaps - with very irregular changes - Ud. *gizək*: 'tick?'), thus not very reliable.

**ghwāndV* (~*-č-*, ~*-i-*) hole, pit: Av.-And. **gʷandV* (~*-o-*); Lak. *kuInʃa*; W.-Cauc. **gʷəda* (~*-gʷ-*, ~*-dʷ-*).

| Av.-And. **gʷandV* (~*-o-*) pit: Av. *gʷend*; Chad. *gʷand*; Akhv. *gʷandi*; Cham. *gann*; Tind. *gandu*; Kar. *ganda*.

Av. paradigm C (*gʷandi-l*, *gʷənda-l*; but Chad. C: *gʷandū-l*, *gʷandā-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tlan., Ratl. *gabda* 'pit', Cham. Gad. *gannu*, Gig. *ganna* 'hollow (of a tree)', Kar. Rats. *gʷande*, Tok. *gabda* 'pit'. The Andian form was borrowed in Tsezian languages: Tsez. *gʷandi* / *gʷando*, Gin. *gangʷi*, Inkh. *gaIndu*, Bezht. *gand* (borrowing is proved by the preservation of -n-, which would otherwise yield nasalisation), and in Arch. *gundi* 'pit'.

| Lak. *kuInʃa* small pit.

Cf. Khosr. *kuInʃa* 'stone trough; a hollow in stone'. Lak. *kurf-* 'deep' probably belongs here, too (< **ku(n)ʃV-rV-*).

| W.-Cauc. **gʷəda* (~*-gʷ-*, ~*-dʷ-*) vulva: Ad. *gʷəda*; Kab. *gʷəda*.

PAK **gʷəda*.

[] One of several roots with a KVRTV (KVNTV, TVNKV) structure meaning 'pit' or 'hole'. The Lak form is irregular, probably because of contamination with another root, PEC **dwōnkV* q.v.

**gilgV* egg: Nakh. **gagan*; Lak. *k:unuk*; Darg. **k:ik:ari/k:idik:ari*;

Lezg. **k:uk:uj*.

| Nakh. **gagan* egg: Bacb. *gagā*.

Isolated in Bacb., but with rather reliable external parallels.

| Lak. *k:unuk* egg.

3d class. Cf. Khosr. *k:unuk* (gen. pl. *k:unuk:-irt:al*) id. Proto-Lak may be reconstructed as **k:enuk*: - cf. the old Archi loanword *genuk* (pl. *genuk:ur*) 'egg'.

| Darg. **k:ik:ari/k:idik:ari* egg: Ak. *gidgari*.

Cf. also Ur. *gidgari*, Kharb. *k:idik:ari*, Gapsh. *č:ik:ari* etc. An expressive root, liable to irregular transformations (not clear is the syllable -di- in Inlaut); -ari is probably a former plural suffix.

| Lezg. **k:uk:uj* 1 fried egg 2 testicle: Lezg. *k:uk:u* 1; Tab. *gugu* 2.

In some dialects the Lezg. root also means 'egg' (in general). The root should be distinguished (although partial contamination is occurring) from Lezg. *k:ak:a* 'egg' q.v.

[] An expressive reduplicated root; the vocalism is hard to reconstruct (because of vowel assimilations). The root is reflected only with suffixes: **gigwV-jV* > PL **k:uk:uj*; **gigwV-rV* > PD **k:ik:ari*; **gigwV-nV* > PN **gagan*, Lak. **k:ek:u-n* > (with metathesis) **k:enuk*.

**gitəwV* key (or some other device): Av.-And. **giliwV*; Darg.

**gilagʷ*; Lezg. **gilagʷ*.

| Av.-And. **giliwV* balance: God. *gilewka*.

Isolated in God., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. **gilagʷ* key: Chir. *gilaw*.

| Lezg. **gilagʷ* 1 lock 2 key: Lezg. *k:təleg* 1,2; Tab. *zuleg* 2; Ag. *gilegʷ* 2; Rut. *gūlag* 2; Tsakh. ?*kuklak* 1.

The Tsakh. form is phonetically aberrant (a result of some contamination?); also irregular is Tab. Düb. *žunərgū* 'lock' (probably an expressive influence of another root - cf. Tab. Kand. *žunərg* 'hawk'). All other forms regularly go back to PL **gilagʷ*.

See Khaidakov 1973, 84.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. It is interesting to note similarity to PIE **klēu-* / **klāu-* 'hook; key'.

**gimʔi* (~*-u*) popular assembly (godekan): Lak. *dak:awu*; Darg.

**k:ejma*; Lezg. **k:im*.

| Lak. *dak:awu* popular assembly.

| Darg. **k:ejma* godekan: Ak. *gumaj*; Chir. *k:ama*.

Cf. also Ur. *gumaj*, Kait. *č:ima-sala*, Kub. *k:uma-la*. All dialects (except Chirag) reflex suffixed forms (original locatives).

| Lezg. *k:im 1 godekan 2 tower: Lezg. *k:im* 1; Tab. *gim* 1; Ag. *gim* 2; Rut. *gim* 1; Tsakh. *gim* 1 (Mishl.); Kryz. *gan-gah* 1; Bud. *gin-ga* 1; Ud. *gim-ga* 1.

3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. Obl. base *k:imi- (Lezg. *k:imi-*, Tab., Ag. *gimi-*, Rut. *gima-*, Tsakh. Mishl. *gimi-*). The Shakhdag and Udi languages (cf. also Tsakh. proper *gim-ga*) possibly reflect a compound with Pers. *gah* 'place' as the second part (in this case the form **gimgah* had spread from one of these languages into others rather recently).

See Khaidakov 1973, 80.

[] The root denotes (in all languages) the traditional popular assembly, as well as the place for it (usually an open place in the middle of the village). Reconstructed for the PEC level, but spread only in the Eastern Dagestan area. The Lak. form contains a prefix *da-* (< **ra-*). The initial part (*go-*) of the Avar word *godekan* could be somehow related; but this can not be asserted, unless we know the meaning of the second component (-*dekan*).

**girgwV* circle, round: Nakh. **gōga*; Av.-And. **girg(°)V-*; Lak. *k:urk:i-*; Darg. **gulgul-/gurgur-*; Lezg. **girg°V-*; Khin. *gong°az*; W.-Cauc. **gaga/g°agwa*.

| Nakh. **gōga* circle: Chech. *gō*; Ing. *gō*; Bacb. *gogō*.

6th class in all languages. A wide-spread derivative is PN **gōg-rV-* "round": Chech. *gorga*, Usl. *gorga-η* (**gōg-ra-n*), Ing. *gerga*, Bacb. *gogrī* (**gōg-ri-n*).

| Av.-And. **girg(°)V-* round: Av. *gurgina-b*; Chad. *gurgina-b*; And. *gurguma*; Akhv. *giga-da*; Kar. *gergamo-*; God. *girgamu-*.

The root is normally supplied with suffixes (-*n*- or -*m*-); cf. also Kar. Anch. *girgin* 'wheel', God. *gurgu-s:il* 'circle, ring, wheel', And. *girgin* 'roof roller; skein, hank'.

| Lak. *k:urk:i-* round.

Cf. also *k:urk:u(r)* *jun* 'to roll'. An expressive reduplicated root; with variation *k:/g* cf. also *gurzi* (< **gurgi*) "snow-ball", probably also *girgir-ča* 'a k. of dance'.

| Darg. **gulgul-/gurgur-* round: Ak. *zuruga*; Chir. *gulgulze*.

The root is expressive and liable to irregular changes. Cf. also Kharb. *gurgura*, Sirg. (with metathesis) *rugrug-ce*. Some dialects (like Ak.) reflect a quite irregular change **g-* > *ž-*, cf. also Ur. *zuruga*, Tsud. *zuruk:a-se*, Muir. *zuruk:a* etc.

| Lezg. **girg°V-* round: Tab. *gergmi*; Ag. *gulgurf*; Tsakh. *girgira-n*; Kryz. *gurgum*; Bud. *gungurfi*; Arch. *guk:i*; Ud. *k:ank:oroj*.

Reconstruction is rather difficult because of the root's expressive nature. The Arch. form *guk:i* may be influenced or borrowed from Lak. *k:urk:i-* (as also the verb *k°ek:i-s* 'to roll'). In Tsakh. the pronoun 'all' (*girgi-n*) is also probably derived from this root (< *all around, everywhere). Note also the form Tsakh. Mishl. *gilgilen* preserving -*l-*: this and Ag. *gilgen-f* probably go back to **girg°V-* with a suffixed -*l-* (with subsequent -*r-* > -*l-* assimilation). The same root in a nominal function is preserved in Lezg. *gig* (erg. *gigini-*) 'axis', Ag. *k:uk:* 'roller (for ramming

roof)' (with emphatic reflex *k:*); Bursh. *gilgen* 'small round stone', Arch. *gik:u-r* 'roof roller'.

See Leksika 1971, 221; Giginayshvili 1977, 68.

| Khin. *gong°az* circle.

Serves as a base for *gong°az-li* 'round'.

| W.-Cauc. **gaga/g°agwa* 1 ring 2 circle: Abkh. *a-g°arg°alēj* 1; Abaz. *gaga* 2.

Cf. also Abkh. Bz. *a-g°arg°alēj* / *a-g°arg°arēj* 'ring', *a-gargalās* 'ring made of twisted branches', Abaz. *gaga-ra* 'to roll, turn round'. Reflected are variants **ga(r)ga* and **ga(r)ga* which are hard to separate from each other. Since there are no AK or Ub. parallels, we can assume both **g* (**g°*) and **k:* (**k°*) in PWC.

[] An expressive and rather universal root (cf., e.g., PK **mrgod-* 'round', IE **krengho-* (WP 594, Vasmer 2,385)); it is, however, widely spread in NC languages and certainly can be reconstructed for PNC. See also **gwerV* (it is possible that **girgwV* is historically a reduplication of that root).

**giχV* a k. of bird: Lak. *č:ix:a*; Lezg. **k:ix(a)*.

| Lak. *č:ix:a* bittern, snipe.

| Lezg. **k:ix(a)* jay: Lezg. *k:ix* (~ *k-*).

Attested only in lit. Lezg. (thus it is not clear, whether the word has initial *k:-* or *k-* - the opposition not being stated in the Lezghi-Russian dictionary), with a probable parallel in Lak.

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss. The word probably exists in other languages, too, but is not recorded.

**gi[r]žwV* noodles: Nakh. **garža* (~*a-*, *č-*); Lezg. **č:uk:ala* / **k:uč:ala*.

| Nakh. **garža* (~*a-*, *č-*) noodles: Chech. *garža*; Ing. *garža*.
4th class in both languages.

| Lezg. **č:uk:ala* / **k:uč:ala* 1: bark 2: bast 3: sour cream 4: noodles: Lezg. *čk:al* 1; Ag. *gužal* 1; Rut. *žugal* 1; Tsakh. *giziwa* 3; Kryz. *žigal* 2; Bud. *žigal* 4.

Cf. also Ag. (Shaum.) *žigal* 'bark'. 3d class in Rut., Tsakh.; 4th class in Kryz., Bud.

See Талибов 1980,299.

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss. Since the meaning coincides precisely in Nakh and some Lezg. languages (Bud.), we think that the comparison is valid and the original meaning was 'noodles', or at least some kind of food rising to the surface after boiling; hence the meaning 'sour cream' (usually connected with 'top', 'surface') in Tsakh., and the later development > 'bark' in other Lezg. languages.

The PL form has a suffix *-*la*; medial *-*r-* was probably lost as a result of dissimilation.

**gōnzi* (~ -*e*) threshold; ladder: Darg. **k:anc:i*; Lezg. **k:onc:VI*.

| Darg. **k:anc:i* ladder: Ak. *ganzi*.

Cf. also Ur. *ganzi*, Tsud. *k:anc:i*, Kharb. *k:anc:i* 'ladder', Mek. *ganzi* 'funeral stretcher'.

| Lezg. **k:onc:VI* 1 threshold 2 door-jamb, door-post 3 ladder: Lezg. *gür:el* 2; Tab. *gurzil* 1; Ag. *günzel* 1; Rut. *rigmizal* 2; Ud. *k:ac:k:al* 3.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *gr:al* 'threshold', Ag. Burk. *k:urzal* 'ladder' (this form and Lezg. *gür:el*, *gr:al* reflect rather PL **g-* than **k:-*), Rut. Khniukh. *rigizan* 'door-post'. Rutul reflects a compound with *rak* (obl. *rigi-*) 'door' (**rig-ginzal* with further non-phonetic transformations of the long compound). Ud. *k:ac:k:al* is probably a metathesis < **k:ac:VI-ak:* with a diminutive suffix.

[] A Darg-Lezg. isogloss.

**görV* (~ -i-) pole, piece of log: Nakh. **gāra*; Av.-And. **gVrV-IV*; Tsez. **gerV* (~ -i, -l-); Lezg. **k:or(a)* (~ -i-).

| Nakh. **gāra* 1 a piece of cloven log 2 block: Chech. *gāra*; Ing. *gar*. 3d class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **gVrV-IV* rolling-pin, beater: Av. *gerélo*. Gen. *gerélo-dul*.

| Tsez. **gerV* (~ -i, -l-) 1 pole 2 log: Tsez. *giri* 1; Gin. *giri* 2; Khvarsh. *giri* (*Radzhibov*).

PTsKh **g[e]Re* (possibly also **-i, -ə* - if Gin., Khvarsh. *giri* < **geri* by assimilation).

| Lezg. **k:or(a)* (~ -i-) pole: Ud. *gor*, *gorgor*.

Isolated within Lezghian, but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**görV* a k. of vessel: Av.-And. **gigar* (~ -or); Lezg. **k:or(a)*; W.-Cauc. **k:ara* (~ *g-*).

| Av.-And. **gigar* (~ -or) mug: Tind. *gigar*.

A reduplicated form; attested only in Tind., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **k:or(a)* cup, basin: Lezg. *k:ur*; Rut. *gir* (*Shin.*).

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *k:ir* id. Oblique base unknown.

| W.-Cauc. **k:ara* (~ *g-*) cradle: Abkh. *a-gāra*; Abaz. *gara*.

PAT **gara*.

[] The root is not widely spread, but seems phonetically and semantically reliable. It must have denoted some middle-sized wooden vessel.

Cf. perhaps also Urart. *kerā* 'bowl' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 55), although the vocalism raises doubts.

**gugu* / **kuku* cuckoo: Nakh. **guguʃ*; Av.-And. **gugu* / *gigu*; Tsez. **kuku* / **kuku*; Lak. *čik:u*; Darg. **k:ek:ʷa-*; Lezg. **guguj* / **giguj*; Khin. *k:ok:u* / *k:ak:u*; W.-Cauc. **kʷəkʷə*.

| Nakh. **guguʃ* cuckoo: Bacb. *guguʃ*.

Preserved only in Bacb., but having good external parallels.

| Av.-And. **gugu* / *gigu* cuckoo: Av. *gagū*, *giguk*; Chad. *gigo* / *gigu*; And. *giggu*; Akhv. *gegu*; Cham. *gegʷ*; Tind. *gegu*; Kar. *gugu*; God. *gugu* (*Zib.*).

In Av. cf. also Uskar's notation: *gigo*. Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *gigu*, Cham. Gig. *guggu*, Kar. Tok. *gigu*.

| Tsez. **kuku* / **kuku* cuckoo: Tsez. *kuku*; Gin. *kuku*; Khvarsh. *kuku* (*Khaidakov*); Inkh. *kuku*; Bezht. *kukuʃo*; Gunz. *kukuʃo*.

PTsKh **kuku* / **kuku* (cf. also Tsez. Sh. *kuku*); PGB **kuku-ʃo* / **kuku-ʃo*. Both subgroups reflect variants with **k* and **kʰ*; the PGB form has an expressive suffix **-ʃo*.

| Lak. *čik:u* cuckoo.

| Darg. **k:ek:ʷa-* cuckoo: Ak. *geguʃ*; Chir. *k:ik:up*.

Darg. dialects reflect a basic form **k:ek:ʷa-* with various expressive suffixes: cf. Kub. *kʷəkʷə*, Ur. *gigug*, Tsud. *k:uk:uk*, Kait. *k:uk:up*.

| Lezg. **guguj* / **giguj* cuckoo: Lezg. *k:uk:up*; Tab. *k:uk:um*; Ag. *k:ek:u*; Rut. *giggu*; Tsakh. *guk:i* / *guk:i*; Kryz. *gugu*; Bud. *guguʃ*; Arch. *gik:u*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *k:ik:u*, Tab. Düb. *gak:um*, Ag. Fit. *k:uk:u*, Burk. *k:ik:u*, Bursh. *k:uk:um* etc. Most languages reflect a PL form with an expressive suffix **-j* (regularly dropped, but still present in oblique forms, cf. Ag. erg. *k:ek:uj*, pl. *k:ek:uj-ar*, Rut. erg. *gigguj-ar* etc.). Some forms reflect other expressive suffixes; this variation and some phonetic irregularities are explained by the root's onomatopoeic character.

The root usually means 'cuckoo'; however, a similar phonetic shape is sometimes used for other birds, cf. Tab. *gugu-ʃip:*, Düb. *gugunaj* 'owl', Ag. Bursh. *k:uk:-balw* 'eagle-owl', Ud. *k:unk:uri* '(wild) pigeon'.

See Bokarev 1961, 62; Leksika 1971, 154; Giginayshvili 1977, 78; Талибов 1980, 286.

| Khin. *k:ok:u* / *k:ak:u* cuckoo.

| W.-Cauc. **kʷəkʷə* cuckoo: Abkh. *a-kʷəkʷə*; Abaz. *kʷəkʷə*; Ad. *kʷəkʷəw*; Kab. *čəgʷəwəgʷə*; Ub. *kʷəgʷə*.

PAT **kʷəkʷəV*; PAK **kʷəkʷəw* / **kʷəgʷəw*. In Ub. Vogt notes also variants: *gʷəgʷə*, *kʷəkʷə*, *kʷəgʷə*. Modern forms reflect various dissimilatory/assimilatory processes (with respect to glottalisation); otherwise the correspondences are regular.

[] A universal onomatopoeic root (cf. Engl. *cuckoo*, Rus. *кукушка*, PK **gugul* etc.); because of its expressive nature it is hard to make a precise reconstruction. We may note, however, that two basic variants (with **g* and with **kʰ*) are predominant in most languages. It is also interesting that some expressive suffixes seem to occur in several groups; cf. notably Bacb. *gugu-ʃʃ*, PGB **kuku-ʃo* / **kuku-ʃo*, Darg. *gegu-ʃ*, Bud. *gugu-ʃ*. See Abdokov 1983, 117.

**gurci* (/ **kurzi*; ~ -u) a k. of dumplings: Nakh. **kurzi* (~ -ə, -e); Darg. **k:urci*; Lezg. **k:orc* (~ -i-).

| Nakh. **kurzi* (~ -ə, -e) a k. of dumplings: Chech. *kurza*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. **k:urci*: dumpling: Chir. *k:urci*.

The form is attested only in Chir.; however, from one of the Darg. dialects it

was borrowed in Lak. (Arak., cited from Khaidakov 1966) *k:urc:ari* 'dumplings stuffed with curds' (the form in -ari is typically Darghian).

| Lezg. **k:orc* (~ -i-) 1 cake, cookie 2 dumpling: Rut. *girc* 1; Tsakh. *girc* 2.

4th class in both languages. Obl. base **k:orci-* (Rut., Tsakh. *girci-*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PN form goes back to **kurzĩ*, the PL - to **gũrcĩ*; Darg. reflects an assimilated form **gurzĩ*. Phenomena like this are typical for roots containing two stops, so they do not throw doubt on the etymology.

**gũrçə* (~ -ĩ, -ō) a k. of small bird: Av.-And. **gũrçV*; Tsez. **ķica* (~-i); Lak. *k:urçu*; Lezg. **ķo(r)ç-* (~-i-).

| Av.-And. **gũrçV* lark: Av. *gũrç*.

| Tsez. **ķica* (~-i-) bird: Khvarsh. *keca*; Inkh. *ķica*.

PTsKh **ķica*.

| Lak. *k:urçu* snipe.

| Lezg. **ķo(r)ç-* (~-i-) 1 sparrow 2 starling: Tsakh. *ķiçaçaj* 1 (*Gelm.*); Ud. *k:erç:al* 2.

An expressive root, thus the reconstruction is not very secure.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except some assimilations and dissimilations (usual in a root with two stops), correspondences are regular.

**gV* that (below the speaker): Av.-And. **gV-*; Tsez. **gV*; Lak. *ga*; Darg. **gi-y*; Lezg. **gi-*;

| Av.-And. **gV-* 1 that (below the speaker) 2 that: And. *he-ge-w* 1; Akhv. *hu-gu-we* 1; Cham. *a-zo*, *u-zo* 1; Tind. *a-ga-u-ga-* 1; Kar. *wu-gu-b* 1; Botl. *go-b* 2.

This pronominal stem is used independently only in Botlikh (with the neutral meaning 'that'); in other languages it is combined with other pronominal stems and is used for 'this, that (below the speaker)'. The same root is probably reflected in Akhv. *ge-λ-i* 'below (adv.)', *ge-λ-i* 'inside'.

| Tsez. **gV* a demonstrative stem: Gin. *ha-go*; Bezht. *hu-gi, ho-go*; Gunz. *ə-g, o-gu*.

The root **gV* is used only for far deixis and only in conjunction with other demonstrative stems. It has lost the original meaning 'that (below)', which is perhaps preserved in some adverbs: Inkh. *gi-λ* 'below; inside', Gin. *ge-λ* / *ge-λ* 'below'.

| Lak. *ga* that (below).

Cf. Khosr. *g^wa* id. (with secondary labialisation < **gV-wa*). Cf. also *gi-lu* (Khosr. *gi-lu*) 'there (below)'.

| Darg. **gi-y* that, this (near to the speaker): Ak. *i-i*; Chir. *iy* / *i*.

In Ak. -l is secondary (probably from obl. cases like dative: Chir. *iyi-la*).

| Lezg. **gi-* that (below): Tab. *k:u-mu*; Ag. *gi*; Arch. *gu-du*.

In Arch. and Tab. the first vowel is assimilated to the second; for Tab. it is clearly seen in the Dübek dialect, where we have *žu-mu* (< **ži-mu* < **gi-mu* with palatalisation of **g*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The original spatial meaning of this deictic morpheme is well preserved in most languages. Note the voiced reflexes in all the Eastern Daghestanian languages (an irregular development, restricted to deictic and expressive morphemes).

**gwālgV* spine, back-bone: Nakh. **gagu* (~-ā-); Tsez. **gugu* (~-o); Lezg. **k:alk:*.

| Nakh. **gagu* (~-ā-) knee: Chech. *gola*; Ing. *go*; Bacb. *gawgũ*.

The Chech. form goes back to **gagu-la* (= Ing. *gola* 'elbow; curve') and means also 'elbow, curve'.

| Tsez. **gugu* (~-o) back: Tsez. *gugu*; Khvarsh. *gugu*; Inkh. *gugu*.

PTsKh **gugu*.

| Lezg. **k:alk:* spine: Lezg. *k:arg* (*Khl.*); Rut. *g^warg*.

In Lezg. *Khl.* there is also a variant *k:arg^w*. 3d class in Rut. Preservation of liquid in Rut. points directly to PL **-l* (**-r* would have disappeared in this position).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Phonetically correspondences are quite regular. The meaning 'knee, elbow' in PN is probably secondary ('joint' < *'spine joint' ?).

**gwāmpV* raspberry: Nakh. **kamu-r* / **kumV-l*; Av.-And. **g^wabi* (~-o-); Tsez. **g^wem A*.

| Nakh. **kamu-r* / **kumV-l* 1 raspberry 2 mulberry: Chech. *komar* 2; Ing. *komar* 1,2; Bacb. *kumel* 1.

Cf. also Chech. *çen komar* 'raspberry' (lit. 'red mulberry'). In Ing. the word also means 'strawberry'. The word contains different suffixes in Chech./Ing. and Bacb.; in Bacbi there was, additionally, a vowel metathesis.

| Av.-And. **g^wabi* (~-o-) 1 raspberry 2 strawberry: Cham. *g^wab* 1; Tind. *g^wabi* 1; Kar. *gobe* 2.

Cf. also Cham. *Gig. g^wabi*.

| Tsez. **g^wem A* 1 raspberry 2 strawberry 3 a k. of berry: Khvarsh. *kim* 1; Inkh. *kem* 1; Bezht. *gemalo* 3; Gunz. *gomi* 2.

PTsKh **k[e]m*; PGB **gōm(V)*. For the suffixed form in Bezht. cf. the Nakh forms.

[] Reconstructed for PEC (the root is characteristic for the Western area).

**gwanV* (~ -ō-) supply (of meat): Av.-And. **bVg^wVn*; Lezg. **k:an*.

| Av.-And. **bVg^wVn* portion of meat (of a slaughtered animal): Av. *bugun*.

Av. paradigm C (*bugnā-l, bugna-l*).

| Lezg. **k:an* 1 bag (of a hunter) 2 winter-supply of dried meat: Lezg. *k:an* 1; Tab. *g^wan* 2; Rut. *g^wan* 2; Tsakh. *gon-na* 2 (*Mishl.*).

In Tsakh. the stem is an adjective, serving as an attribute in *gonna q:arg* 'supply of dried mutton', *gonna jac* 'supply of dried beef'. 3d class in Rutul. Obl. stem unknown.

[] An Av.-Lezg. isogloss, rather probably having an old Iranian source: cf.

Iran. *ava-kana- 'dug-out' > Osset. *ogän* (*wogän*) 'a hidden place for supplies' (see Abayev 1973, 225). Avar *bugun* < *wugwVn is thus very close to the original form.

- **gwan3u* earth, ground: Av.-And. **gʷanzV*; Darg. **gʷanca*.
- | Av.-And. **gʷanzV* waste ground: Av. *gʷanzu*.
- | Darg. **gʷanca* earth: Ak. *wanza*.
- Cf. Ur. *gʷanza*, Kub. *gʷansa* id.
- [] Reconstructed for the PEC language.

- **gwāja* (~-3-, -e) hen: Nakh. **kōta-m*; Tsez. **gudV*; Lezg. **kaʃa*;
- W.-Cauc. **k:(ʷ)Vja*.
- | Nakh. **kōta-m* hen: Chech. *kōtam*; Ing. *kotam*; Bacb. *kotam*.
- Cf. also Chech. Lev. *kwōtam*. 4th class in Chech., Ing., 5th class in Bacb.
- | Tsez. **gudV* (~-gʷ+-) hen: Bezht. *gūdā*; Gunz. *gudo*.
- PGB **gudV*.

- | Lezg. **kaʃa* hen: Rut. *kaʃ*; Tsakh. *kaʃe*.
- Cf. also Tsakh. Gelim. *kaʃa* (with dissimilative deglottalisation -t- > -t-). 3d class in both languages.

- | W.-Cauc. **k:(ʷ)Vja* hen: Abkh. *a-kʷja*; Abaz. *kʷju*; Ad. *čata*; Kab. *ʃad*.
- PAT **kʷja*; PAK **k:at:ə*. The AT and AK forms are obviously related; we can reconcile discrepancies if we assume an initial structure with different laryngeal features of the two stops (tense **k:* and glottalised **ʔ*) with subsequent assimilations **k:(ʷ)Vja* > PAT **kʷja* and **k:(ʷ)aja* > PAK **k:at:ə*.

- [] A difficult case. See Dzhevakhishvili 1937, 613-617, Klimov 1963, 195-196, Shagirov 1977, 159 (comparing the above forms and Kartvelian **katam*- 'hen'), Abdokov 1983, 116.

The listed forms are related with a great degree of probability, but several assimilative processes must have happened in different languages (which is usual for root structures of this type, containing two stops. In PN (where **gw*- regularly > **k*-) **gwāja* > **kōja*- > **kōta*- (progressive assimilation); in PTs **gwāja* > **gʷijV* > **gʷidV* (also progressive assimilation). In PL **gwāja* > **k:(ʷ)aja* (regressive assimilation); on PWC see above.

A suspicious feature is loss of labialisation in PL and PAK; it may suggest that the protoform should be rather reconstructed as **gāʃwa* (with shift of labialisation in PN and PAT), because labialisation of dentals is in general easier lost than the labialisation of velars.

In view of everything said it seems probable that the Kartvelian name for "hen" (**katam*-) is an old Nakh loanword - since the Nakh form can not be separated from other EC data.

- **gwāʃe* mare; donkey: Tsez. **ʃigʷə* (~-ʃ:-, -t-); Darg. **kʷaca*;
- W.-Cauc. **kʷəʃə* / **čəkʷə*.
- | Tsez. **ʃigʷə* (~-ʃ:-, -t-) mare: Gin. *segʷe*; Bezht. *sugo*; Gunz. *sugu*.
- PTsKh **ʃigʷə* (~-t-). The same root can be probably discovered also, with

irregular transformations, in Tsez. *siršaʃlu* 'horses (collect.)', probably going back to **ʃigʷ(V)-sirjo* 'mare+stallion' (cf. the same compound in Gunz. *sugu-sarjo*, Bezht. Tlad. *sugō-sojra*).

PGB **sugu*.

- | Darg. **kʷaca* mare: Ak. *gaza*; Chir. *kʷaca*.

Cf. also Ur. *gʷaza*, Kub. *kʷaca*. Darg. > Lak. *kʷaca* (Khosr. *kʷaca*) 'mare', Arch. *gʷac:i* id.

- | W.-Cauc. **kʷəʃə* / **čəkʷə* 1 mule 2 donkey: Abkh. *a-gʷəʃ 1*; Ub. *čəgʷə 2*.

There are several competing forms in Ub. (see Vogt 1963, 98): *čəgʷə*, *čəgʷə*, *čəgʷə* (also listed is *čədə* which is a quite separate root). The form *čəgʷə* corresponds best to Abkh. *a-gʷəʃ* (if we assume a rather common metathesis). In PWC we must reconstruct **č* and either **gʷ* or **kʷ*.

[] A probable common NC etymon, denoting some domestic equid. (Trubetzkoy's comparison - see Trubetzkoy 1930, 277 - of EC forms with PAK **bza* 'female' should be rejected for phonetic reasons).

- **gwāʃe* bitch, dog: Av.-And. **gʷiʃi*; Lak. *kʷač:i*; Darg. **kʷač:a*;
- Lezg. **kʷač:a*; W.-Cauc. **kʷəʃə* (~-ʃ:-).

- | Av.-And. **gʷiʃi* bitch: Av. *gʷaʃi*; And. *gezi*; Akhv. *gezi*.

Av. paradigm B (*gʷaʃu-l*, *guʃ-bi*). Kar. *gʷaʃi* 'bitch', judging from its phonetic shape, is an Av. loanword.

- | Lak. *kʷač:i* dog.

- | 3d class. Khosr. *kʷač:i*. Lak. > Arch. *gʷač:i* 'bitch'.

- | Darg. **kʷač:a* bitch: Ak. *gaza*.

Cf. also Ur. *gʷaʃa*, Kharb. *kʷač:a*, Tsud. *kʷuč:a*. Kub. *kʷač:e*, because of final -e, is irregular and may be a Lak. loanword. On the other hand, the Darg. word (forms like Ur. *gʷaʃa*) was borrowed in Lak. *guʃa* 'bitch' (thus creating an etymologic doublet *kʷač:i* 'dog' : *guʃa* 'bitch'), whence Arch. *guʃa* id.

- | Lezg. **kʷač:a* bitch: Tsakh. *goze*.

Cf. also Tsakh. Gelim. *gʷaʃə*. Isolated in Tsakh., but having good external parallels.

- | W.-Cauc. **kʷəʃə* (~-ʃ:-) wolf: Abkh. *a-kʷəʃma*; Abaz. *kʷəʃma*.

PAT **kʷəʃma* (nature of the final *-ma is not quite clear).

[] The comparison seems plausible both semantically ('wolf': 'dog') and phonetically; not quite clear, though, are the laryngeal features of the first consonant (we may deal with an assimilation in PEC, and then we will have to reconstruct **kwāʃe*; or it may be a dissimilation in PWC: **gwāʃe* > **kwāʃe* > PWC **kʷəʃə*).

EC > Osset. *gaza*, Balk. *gaʃə* 'bitch' (see Abayev 1958, 504).

- **gwāʃIV* (~-t-) horse: Nakh. **gile*; Tsez. **gurV* (~-o-, -L-);

- | Nakh. **gile* horse, steed: Chech. *gila*; Ing. *gila*.

6th class in both languages.

- | Tsez. **gurV* (~-o-, -L-) 1 stallion 2 horse: Tsez. *gulu 1*; Gin. *gulu 1,2*.

PTsKh **guRu*.

[] A Nakh-Tsez isogloss; borrowing is excluded (for phonetic reasons), thus the PEC reconstruction is probable. We must note also the existence in PN of another similar root: Chech., Ing. *gowr* 'horse'. This could be a loan from PTs **gurV*, and thus an etymologic doublet with PN **gile*.

**gwāndV* oat flour, malt: Nakh. **kādu* (~b-,g-); Av.-And. **g'inV*; Tsez. **g₁[e]dā*.

[] Nakh. **kādu* (~b-,g-) malt: Chech. *ko*.

The Chech. word is taken from Karasayev-Matsiyev 1978; vowel length and correspondences in other Nakh languages are unknown, thus the PN reconstruction is provisional (**kādu* is one of several possibilities).

[] Av.-And. **g'inV* 1 oat flour 2 roasted flour: And. *gun* 1; Cham. *guni* (*Gig.*) 1; Kar. *goni* 2; God. *guni* 1.

[] Tsez. **g₁[e]dā* oat flour: Tsez. *kudi*; Khvarsh. *kude* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *k'edo*; Bezht. *gudo*.

PTsKh **k'eda*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Spread mostly in the Ando-Tsez. area; the Chech. parallel is not very secure (because of lacking Bacb. match).

**gwēmV* (/ **mēgwV*) twig, bough; splinter, spill: Av.-And. **mig'V*; Lak. *mak*; W.-Cauc. **k:ama* (~k:~).

[] Av.-And. **mig'V* splinter, spill: Akhv. *migo*.

Attested only in Akhv. (cf. also Tseg., Tlan., Ratl. *migo* id.), but having probable external parallels.

[] Lak. *mak* softwood, softwood splinter.

Lak. > Arch. *mak'* 'splinter' (showing labialisation, not recorded in lit. Lak).

[] W.-Cauc. **k:ama* (~k:~) twig, bough: Ad. *k'ama*; Kab. *g'ana*.

PAK **k:amá* (/ **k:aná* with dissimilation).

[] Despite metathesis, the comparison seems phonetically and semantically plausible.

gwērdV* (gwētV-rV*) a beast or bird of prey: Nakh. **kōri*; Av.-And. **g'VrV*; Darg. **k:urt:a*; Lezg. **k:ert:(a)*; Khin. *gra*.

[] Nakh. **kōri* hawk: Chech. *kūra*; Ing. *ker*; Bacb. *kujr*.

Cf. also Bacb. pl. *kore-lē*, Chech. *kwōri*, Shar. *kū(?)ri*, Ved. *kwiri* etc. Since the PN form has very reliable EC parallels, we must assume that Georg. *kori* 'hawk' is an old Nakh loan (preserving the PN phonetic structure).

[] Av.-And. **g'VrV* hyena: Av. (*an-*)*gūr*.

Etymology of the first part (*an-*) see under PEC **swamhV*. There exists also a dialectal word Unt. *g'ed* 'sparrow-hawk' which in all probability is a Lezghian loan.

[] Darg. **k:urt:a* fox: Ak. *gurda*; Chir. *k:urt:a*.

Cf. also Ur. *gurda*, Kub. *k:ūt:a*, Tsud. *k:urt:a*.

[] Lezg. **k:ert:(a)* 1 falcon 2 hawk: Lezg. *k:ard* 1; Rut. *g'ad* 1

(*Khniukh.*); Arch. *g'et:u-b* 2.

Lezg. erg. *k:at:ra* (< *k:art:-ra*). 3d class in Rut. and Arch. (in Arch., moreover, the word has a suffix -b of the 3d class, as if it were an adjective). See Khaidakov 1973, 17.

[] Khin. *gra* wolf.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level; correspondences are regular. This is an interesting word, signifying both a beast (hyena, fox, wolf) and a bird (hawk, falcon) of prey.

It is interesting to note that the word for 'hawk' in Gunz. is *gudba-q* (derived from *gud-ba* 'fowl'), and in Abkhaz we have *a-k'ət-rā-χš* 'a hawk hunting for fowl' (*ā-χš* 'hawk') and *a-k'ət-rā-bga* / *a-k'īt-r-bga* 'fox' (*ā-bga* 'fox'). In both cases we have forms containing PNC **gwātV* 'hen' (q.v.), and phonetically close to the root **gwērdV* that we are dealing with. This may have several explanations:

a) a pure coincidence (which is rather unlikely);

b) the root **gwērdV* meaning 'beast or bird of prey' merged in Gunz. and Abkh. with **gwātV* (Gunz. *gudo*, Abkh. *a-k'īt*) and came to mean 'bird of prey hunting for fowl';

c) the PEC root **gwērdV* could be assimilated from **gwētV* < **gwētV-rV*-, representing the oblique base of **gwātV* 'hen', and was itself actually meaning '(one hunting) for fowl' in PNC.

[One may note also an aberrant form: Bezht. Tlad. *kordako* 'kite' which may represent a contamination of this root with another one, reflected in Bezht. Khosh. *korzako* id.]

We are inclined to accept the third hypothesis (because it explains well all the semantic diversity in modern EC reflexes).

**gwerV* circle, round, to roll: Nakh. **gorV-mV* (~u-,V-); Av.-And. **g'irV* (~gu-); Tsez. **gVr-*; Lak. *k:ur*; Darg. **g'er* (~k:~); W.-Cauc. **k:arā* (~k:).

[] Nakh. **gorV-mV* (~u-,V-) a wheel for hitching the plough: Chech. *gurma*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

[] Av.-And. **g'irV* (~gu-) 1 circle 2 wheel: Av. *gor* 1; Akhv. *goro* 1; Kar. *guri* 2 (*Tok.*).

Av. paradigm C~A (pl. *gorā-l*). Cf. also Av. *gorō* (*garī-l*, *garā-l*) 'small ball; hail'; *gír-* 'to roll'; Kar. *Tok. guri-l* 'to roll, whirl'.

[] Tsez. **gVr-* round: Tsez. *gelmaçu*; Gin. *gemediju*; Inkh. *girma*; Bezht. *gerdijo*; Gunz. *gerdu*.

An expressive root with somewhat irregular correspondences. PTsKh **gir-mV*- (with metathesis in Gin.); PGB **ger-*.

[] Lak. *k:ur* to roll.

A compound verb. With the same root cf. also *k:uru -an* 'to roll down', *k:ur-an* 'circle', (with reduplication) *k:urk:ur fun* 'to roll'.

An immediate derivate from the same verb is Lak. *k:uručaj* (Khosr. *k:urunčaj*) 'round stone, roof roller'. Since PEC **k* in tense words > Lak. *k:*, it is possible, however, that this Lak. word is a result of contamination of PEC **gwerV* 'round' and **mVkirV* 'roller' q.v.

Lak. *k:uručaj* > Arch. *goroχci* 'rolling stone'. Arch. *goro-χ:as* 'to roll (intr.)', *golrol atis* id. (trans.), *golrol* 'ball-shaped substance' are also most probably borrowed from Lak. (sometimes with expressive pharyngealization).

| Darg. **gʷer* (~ **k:ʷ-*) to roll: Ak. *ger -ikes*.

A compound verb; cf. also Ur. *gʷir duqis* 'to roll'. In Ak. cf. also *gera* 'lump, clot', *guru* 'ball, sphere'.

| W.-Cauc. **k:ʷara* (~ **k:*) 1 ring 2 wreath 3 to roll: Abkh. *a-gʷargʷən* 2; Abaz. *gʷargʷar* 1; Ad. *čara-za* 3; Kab. *ɜara-za* 3.

PAT (reduplicated) **gʷaragʷara*; PAK **k:ara-* (with secondary delabialisation).

[] An expressive (and rather universal) root; but there is no doubt in its PNC antiquity. Reduplicated forms like Lak. *k:urk:ur* or PAT **gʷaragʷara* may provide a link between this stem and the reduplicated **gʷirgʷ* q.v. See Abdokov 1983, 146.

**gʷəčV* arm: Av.-And. **ʷVčV-n*; Tsez. **gʷə:ə* (~ **e-ə*); Lezg. **guč*; Khin. *čigin*.

| Av.-And. **ʷVčV-n* shoulder, arm: Akhv. *ḃēča*; Kar. *ḃar-ḃačan*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *ḃašan*, Tlan. *ḃʷašan* 'shoulder, arm'. The element *ḃar* Kar. reflects the PA **q:ʷar-* 'arm' (which in Kar. yielded *ḃʷar-*). This is an archaic root which in all other Andian languages merged with **ḃazu* q.v.

| Tsez. **gʷə:ə* (~ **e-ə*) arm; foreleg: Khvarsh. *geša* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *geša*.

PTsKh **geša* (~ **ḃ*).

| Lezg. **guč* arm: Tsakh. *guč*.

Isolated in Tsakh. (obl. base Mik. *guči-*, Gelm., Tsakh. *guče-*; 4/3 class), but having probable external parallels.

| Khin. *čigin* shoulder.

[] A rare root, preserved only in some peripheral languages (for the discussion of PA **ʷVčV-n* see **qārčwV*). However, the correspondences are regular (except for a metathesis in Khin. – not unfrequent in roots with two stops), and the comparison seems safe. Note an identical suffixation in PA and Khin.

**gʷəpV* group, heap: Nakh. **gub* (~ **-ū-*); Tsez. **gup*; Lezg. **kaḃal*; W.-Cauc. **k:ʷəpə*.

| Nakh. **gub* (~ **-ū-*) 1 hill, barrow 2 island: Chech. *gū* 1; Ing. *guw* 1; Bacb. *gub* 2 (*Schiefner*).

6th class in Chech. and Ing. The Bacb. form is quoted from Schiefner; Kadagidze has only Bacb. *gub* 'pool' which is obviously borrowed from Georg. *gube* 'pool, pond'.

| Tsez. **gup* 1 hill 2 heap: Tsez. *gup* 1; Khvarsh. *gub* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *kupʲiʲo* 2 (*Khosh.*).

PTsKh **gup* (with dissimilation in Khvarshi). The Bezht. form has a frequent suffix -iʲo; k- < g- through assimilation.

| Lezg. **kaḃal* 1 group, heap, crowd 2 grove 3 small sheep-flock: Lezg. *kaḃal* 1; Tab. *kaḃal* 2; Kryz. *kaḃal* 3; Bud. *kaḃal* 3.

In Bud. *kaḃal* is the MSU recording; Meilanova has *kapal* (either another variant or a misspelling). 3d class in Kryz. (the Kryz. word also means 'cloud'), 4th class in Bud.

| W.-Cauc. **k:ʷəpə* group: Abkh. *a-gʷəp*; Abaz. *gʷəp*; Ad. *kʷəp*; Kab. *gʷəp*.

PAT **gʷəpə*; PAK **k:ʷəpə*. Ad. > Ub. *kʷəp* (in case of direct inheritance Ub. would have *gʷ-*).

[] Except secondary assimilations (typical for roots with two stops; PN **gub* < **gup*; PL **kaḃ-al* < **k:ap-al*) correspondences are quite regular. The comparison is quite satisfactory both phonetically and semantically.

**gʷirdwV* (~ **-i-*) a k. of clothes: Nakh. **kati-r* / -b; Av.-And. **gʷirdV*; Tsez. **gʷid*; Lak. *k:urt:u*; Darg. **k:urt:i*; Lezg. **gurd*.

| Nakh. **kati-r* / -b 1 fur-coat, sheepskin coat 2 upper clothes: Chech. *ketar* 1; Ing. *ketar* 1; Bacb. *katib* 2.

4th class in Chech., Ing., 3d class in Bacb. Cf. also Chech. Cheb. *katir*, Shar., Ved. *ketir*.

| Av.-And. **gʷirdV* 1 shirt 2 dress: Av. *gordē* 1; Chad. *gurdē* 1; And. *gurdo* 2 (*Khaidakov*); Kar. *gordi* 2.

Av. paradigm C (plur. *gōrda-l*; but Chad. B: *gurdī-l*, *gurda-l* / *gurd-bī*).

| Tsez. **gʷid* shirt: Tsez. *ged*; Khvarsh. *gud*; Inkh. *gid*.

PTsKh **gʷid*.

| Lak. *k:urt:u* quilted jacket, caftan.

| Darg. **k:urt:i* 1 shirt 2 dress: Ak. *gurdi* 2 (*Muir.*); Chir. *k:urt:e* 1.

Cf. also Kait. *k:urt:i* 'shirt'.

| Lezg. **gurd* shirt: Tab. *k:urt:*; Ag. *k:urt:* (*Bursh.*); Tsakh. *gurt*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *gut:u* / *gurt:u* id. -t in Tsakh. is not clear (a result of dissimilation?). It is not excluded that some (or all) of the listed forms are actually borrowed from Lak. or Darg. A certain loanword is Lezg. *kurt* (cf. also Khl. *k:urt*, Akht. *k:urt*; the quite irregular glottalisation suggests a source like Georg. *kwardi* 'shirt').

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level; the common meaning can be formulated as "some clothes for the upper part of body". A cultural root; similar forms can be found in many languages, and PEC may have borrowed it from some neighbours. Cf. Indoeuropean forms: in Slavic – Russ. *кypm(к)а*, Ukr. *кypm(к)а*, Pol. *kurt(k)a* (despite Vasmer 2, 429-430 etc., it is hardly borrowed from Lat. *curtus* 'short'); in Indo-Iranian – Osset. *kʷarāt* / *kurāt* 'shirt, jacket', Sogd. *qwrty* 'shirt', Avest. *karati-* 'a k. of clothes', Old Ind. (late) *kuratu-* 'shirt' etc. (see Abayev 1, 609); in Kartvelian – Georg. *kwardi* 'shirt', Megr., Chan. *kurta* 'drawers, pants'; in Turkic – Turk. *kürtä* 'short dress' etc. (*Radlov* 2 1265, 1461). A direct Iranian source should be suggested for Arm. *grat* 'war cloak', whence Ud. *gurat*: 'shirt'.

**gʷitanV* plough: Nakh. **gōtan*; Darg. **k:utan*; Lezg. **kʷitan*; W.-Cauc. **kʷatanV*.

| Nakh. *gōtan plough: Chech. *gōta*; Ing. *gota*.

Obl. base *gōtana- (cf. Chech. *gōtana*-). Bacb. *gutan* id. has an aberrant vowel and is obviously borrowed from Georgian (Georg. *gutani* 'plough').

| Darg. *k:utan plough: Ak. *gutan*.

Cf. also Kad. *γutan*, Kharb., Tsud. *k:utan* id.

| Lezg. *kʷitan plough: Lezg. *kūten*; Tab. *kutan*; Ag. *kutan*; Kryz. *kʷatan*; Bud. *kutan*; Arch. *kutan*.

Cf. also Ag. Tp. *kutal*, Burk. *kʷatal*. 3d class in Kryz. and Bud., 4th class in Archi. The Archi form may be borrowed from Avar (Av. *kután*), but this is less probable for other Lezgian languages (regularly going back to PL *kʷitan).

| W.-Cauc. *kʷatanV (~ kʷ-) plough: Abkh. *a-kʷatán(a)*; Abaz. *kʷatan*.

PAT *kʷatanV.

[] Besides the listed languages in EC the word is present also in Lak. (*kutan*), Av. (*kután*). The Lak. and Av. word are probably borrowed (cf. the secondary devoicing of *k-*, resembling the devoicing in the PL form: it is, however, hardly possible to deduce PL *kʷitan from Lak. or Av., thus the loan was probably reverse).

The PNC reconstruction given here is highly tentative, primarily, because of the irregular correspondence between EC and WC. The word is also present in other languages of the Caucasus: Georg. *gutani*, Osset. *gūton* / *goton*, Arm. *gutan*, Azer. *kotan*, but does not have a secure etymology in any of these languages. See Genko 1930, Abayev I, 527: "a common Caucasian word of unknown origin".

*gwī3V part of leg: Nakh. *gā3V (~ -č-); Tsez. *guZ (~ -o-); Darg. *q:Vc: (?); W.-Cauc. *k:ʷac:(ʷ)V (~ gʷ-).

| Nakh. *gā3V (~ -č-) part of leg (thigh+shin+foot): Ing. *gəz*.

Attested only in Ing., but with probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *guZ (~ -o-) elbow: Khvarsh. *guz*.

Isolated in Khvarsh., but having possible external cognates.

| Darg. *q:Vc: hoof: Chir. *q:uc:*.

The probable PD form is *q:ʷac: : cf. a Darg. load in Agul - Ag. *q:ʷac:* 'hoof'.

| W.-Cauc. *k:ʷac:(ʷ)V (~ gʷ-) 1 shin 2 calf of leg: Abkh. *a-šargʷāčʷ*; Ub. *ša-šāca* 2.

The Abkh. and Ub. form are in perfect correspondence. In both cases there is a compound with PWC *ʃa 'foot' (in Abkh. also a connecting morpheme -r-). The second consonant can also be reconstructed as *c(ʷ-).

[] The Darg. form is somewhat dubious (not clear is the initial uvular instead of an expected velar); otherwise the correspondences are regular, and the root may be safely reconstructed for PNC.

*gwi||gwə round object; skull: Av.-And. *gʷVngʷV-; Tsez. *gʷig(ʷ)V- (~ -o-); Lak. *k:ark*; Lezg. *k:u|r|k:.

| Av.-And. *gʷVngʷV- skull: Av. *gʷangʷāra*.

Av. gen. *gʷangʷāra-dul*. The Av. word is borrowed in God. *gʷangʷāra* id.

| Tsez. *gʷig(ʷ)V- (~ -o-) cheek: Bezht. *gogā*; Gunz. *gogor*.

PGB *gogor(u) (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *gugaro*, Khosh. *gogaro*).

| Lak. *k:ark* edge; top of a round or oval object.

Lak. *k:ark* < *k:ʷark:; cf. gen. *k:urk:a-l*.

| Lezg. *k:u|r|k: 1 skull 2 occiput 3 crown of head 4 pumpkin: Lezg. *k:ug* 4; Tab. *gug* 2,4; Ag. *gurga-h* 1; Rut. *gug-uj* 3 (*Khniukh*).

PL obl. base *k:u|r|k:a- (cf. Tab. *guga-*, Ag. *gurga-h* which is originally a locative form). Reconstruction of *-r- is not very reliable, since it should have been preserved in Tab.

[] An expressive root with some uncertainty about the medial resonant. It must be distinguished from *girgwV 'round' q.v.

*gwim(V)gV tube, chute: Av.-And. *gVmVgV; Lezg. *k:ʷimk:.

| Av.-And. *gVmVgV tube, chute: Av. *gomóg*.

Av. paradigm C (*gongí-l*, *góngal*).

| Lezg. *k:ʷimk: 1 tube, chute 2 tube, tube-shaped vessel 3 gutter: Lezg. *gung* 1; Bud. *gung* 3; Arch. *gak:i* 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Akht. *k:ing* (indicating that *g-* in Lezg. lit. is a later assimilation). Lezg. > Turk. *künk* 'watering tube' (without any Turkic connections).

[] An Av.-Lezg. isogloss, but both semantically and phonetically quite plausible.

*gwVcV lean: Av.-And. *gʷačV- (~ -o-); Tsez. *gʷVš(:)V-; Lezg. *k:očV-.

| Av.-And. *gʷačV- (~ -o-) lean: Tind. *kʷača*; Kar. *gʷača* (*Anch*).

Tindi and Kar. proper have forms with assimilation (*gʷ- > kʷ-). Cf. also Tind. *kʷač*- 'to become lean'. Tind. > Inkh. *kʷačču* id.

| Tsez. *gʷVš(:)V- lean: Tsez. *guš-iju*.

Attested only in Tsez., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *k:očV- left: Rut. *giči-d* (*Ikhr*).

Attested only in Rut., with possible external parallels.

[] The root is very sparsely represented; the Rutul word may belong here if the original meaning was 'lean; bad' (with a typologically frequent change > 'left'). Not very secure.

*gwVntV pit, hollow: Nakh. *gōte (~ *getu); Av.-And. *gʷVnta (~ -o-).

| Nakh. *gōte (~ *getu) anus: Chech. *gōta*.

Taken from the Russian-Chechen dictionary.

| Av.-And. *gʷVnta (~ -o-) 1 pit 2 hollow (of a tree): Av. *gʷadār* 2; Akhv. *gatta* (*Tseg*.) 1; Cham. *guntā* 1.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. *gʷadri-l*); -d- obviously under the influence of *gʷend* 'pit' q.v. (note that there also exists Av. *gōrdo* 'window; hole' with an absolutely obscure Chad. parallel: *gōrsu*). Despite similarity, the root should be distinguished from PA *gʷandV q.v. (there is an opposition in Av. and Cham. between these two roots). [For Av. Chad. *gōrsu* cf. perhaps Ag. Bursh. *gʷaršin* 'window' - an equally isolated form].

[] A Nakh-Av.-And. isogloss (one of several roots with the KVNTV / TVNKV structure meaning 'pit' or 'hollow').

*gwVnV a k. of cereal: Nakh. *ken; Av.-And. *gVnVgV.

| Nakh. *ken oats: Chech. *keŋ* (*Uslar*); Ing. *ken*.

5th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing. Cf. also Chech. (in the Ingush-Chechen dictionary) *kena* (6th class) 'oats'.

| Av.-And. *gVnVgV a sort of millet with small grains: Av. *gonéga*.

Av. > Lak. *gunugi* 'a local sort of millet'. Some Av. or Lak. dialect is probably the source of Arch. *gamgi* 'a drink made of young millet'.

[] A Nakh-Avar isogloss (the Avar form is reduplicated, which is rather usual for names of cereals).

*gwVrV enclosure: Av.-And. *gVrV-n; Lezg. *k:er; W.-Cauc. *gVra.

| Av.-And. *gVrV-n enclosure (for cattle): Av. *gorén*.

| Lezg. *k:er 1 fence 2 boundary 3 place before the yard: Tab. *gur* 1; Tsakh. *gor* 2; Bud. *gir-iž* 3.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *gur* 'fenced boundary between fields'. Obl. base *k:ere- ~ *k:era- (Tsakh. *gora*-). 3d class in Tsakh., 4th class in Bud.

| W.-Cauc. *gVra 1 yard 2 fence 3 enclosure: Abkh. *a-gVra* 1; Abaz. *gVra* 2; Kab. *gVran* 3; Ub. *gVra* 1,3.

PAT *gVra; Ub. def. *a-gVra*. The Kab. word has a specific meaning: 'a place in court, divided into three parts: for the judge, for the accused and for the witnesses'.

[] Although there are not enough data to reconstruct the first vowel, correspondences are regular and the etymology seems quite satisfactory. Avar > Osset. (Dig.) *goren* 'fence' (see Abayev 1958, 524-525, comparing the Osset. form with Abkh.).

G

*Gwiwle a k. of tuber: Nakh. *bola (~ -ō-); Av.-And. *q:ili; Lezg.

*q:Iiw(a).

| Nakh. *bola (~ -ō-) some edible weed: Bacb. *bola*.

The Bacb. word is cited from Desheriyev, and its precise meaning is unknown.

| Av.-And. *q:ili 1 tuber 2 edible root 3 potato: Av. *q:āli* 1; Akhv. *q:ole* 3; Kar. *q:olo* 3; God. *q:ulu* 2.

Av. paradigm A (gen. *q:ālu-l*).

| Lezg. *q:Iiw(a) 1 tuber, *Chaerophyllum caucasicum* 2 radish: Lezg. *q:ew* 1; Ag. *uj* (*Tr.*) 2; Arch. *q:Iib* 1.

The Ag. word is cited from Magometov; cf. ibid. Ag. Fit. *bluj* 'radish'. Obl. base unclear. 4th class in Archi.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*GačV (~ -ə-) calf, bull-calf: Lak. *q:alča*; Darg. *q:āča; Khin. *q:ič-ež*.

| Lak. *q:alča* bull-calf.

Gen. *q:alč-lul*; cf. also Khosr. *q:alča*, *q:lač-lul*.

| Darg. *q:āča calf: Ak. *q:āča*.

Cf. also Mek., Sirg., Ur. *q:āča*; in some dialects there occurred an assimilation *q:āča* > *q:āč:a*, cf. Kub., Kharb., Tsud. *q:āč:a*.

| Khin. *q:ič-ež* calf (less than 2 y. old).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is mostly spread in the Eastern area. In some of the Darg. dialects and in Khin. there occurred an assimilation č > č: after q:.

*Gamčā (~ -ə) a k. of goat, mountain goat: Av.-And. *bʷanč:V;

Darg. *q:aca.

| Av.-And. *bʷanč:V hornless goat: Av. *bʷacā* (*dial.*); Cham. *bunc:a* (*Gig.*); Tind. *bʷac:i*.

The Avar word (classified as "dialectal" in the Avar-Russian dictionary) must stem from a dialect, where *č: > c (probably some Southern dialect of Avar).

| Darg. *q:aca mountain goat: Ak. *q:aca*.

[] An Av.-And-Darg. isogloss; more or less regular (except dissimilation in PD: *q:aca < *q:ac:a which would be regularly expected).

*GanχV carcass: Lak. *χ:anχ:a*; Lezg. *q:aχ.

| Lak. *χ:anχ:a* body, carcass.

Cf. Khosr. *χ:anχ:a* id.

| Lezg. *q:aχ dried carcass: Lezg. *q:aχ*; Tab. *baχ*; Kryz. *q:āχ*;

Bud. *q:ax*.

Oblique vowel base unclear. Serves as basis for the adjective 'yellow' in Tab. (*batxu* with infixed adjectival -t-; cf. also Düb. *q:arxi* (with -r-) "yellow" and a back-building *q:arx* 'bile, gall'). An influence of Azer. *Gax* is possible, but the root is no doubt genuine.

[] A Lak.-Lezg. isogloss. The Lak. word (with assimilation: *x:anx:a* < **q:anx:a*) was borrowed in Darg. *xamxa* (Chir. *x:amx:a*) 'carcass'. Arch. *x:amx:i* 'carcass (of a ram)' is borrowed either from Lak. or from Darg.

***GawV** roof, ceiling: Lezg. **q:aw*; Khin. *q:uw*.

| Lezg. **q:aw* 1 roof 2 thatch 3 ceiling 4 bridge 5 garret, shed: Lezg. *q:aw* 1,2,3; Tab. *ɸʷaʷ* 1,3; Ag. *ʷuj* 1 (*Bursh.*); Rut. *q:aw* 1; Kryz. *q:aw* 4; Ud. *uɖl* 5.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *q:uj* (the lit. and Kand. *ɸʷaʷ* is actually a locative form < **q:owe-* 'on the ceiling'), Ag. Burk. *ɸu* (*ɸuji-*). 4th class in Rut. and Kryz. The oblique base can be reconstructed as **q:owe-* (cf. Lezg. *q:awu-*, Tab. *ɸʷa-*, Düb. *q:uja-*, Ag. *Bursh.* *ʷuji-*, Burk. *ɸuji-*, Rut. *q:awi-*).

See Leksika 1971, 200.

| Khin. *q:uw* ceiling.

[] A Lezg.-Khin. isogloss. It is interesting to mention Tind. *q:awu* 'garret': it is quite isolated within Andian, and can not correspond phonetically to PL **q:aw* (Tind. *ɸabV* would be expected) - perhaps it should be regarded as a loan from some Lezghian language (although we do not know of any other cases of early Lezghian loanwords in Andian languages).

***GəbV** (~ **ɸ-*, -*w-*) foot: Av.-And. **ɸabu* (~-o-); Tsez. *ʧχɸɸo* A.

| Av.-And. **ɸabu* (~-o-) foot: Cham. *ɸab*.

Cf. also Gad., Gig. *ɸabu* id. Isolated within Andian, but having probable Tsezian parallels.

| Tsez. *ʧχɸɸo* A 1 leg 2 foot: Gin. *hobo* 1; Bezht. *χəbə* 2.

One should expect *ɸ-* in Bezht.; reasons for devoicing are not clear.

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss.

***GəGVbV** partridge: Av.-And. **ɸobibo* / **ɸobɸo*; Tsez. **ɸ:ɸ:ba*; Lak. *q:aqnu*; Darg. **q:aq:ba*; Lezg. **q:äq:Vp:-* (~-a-).

| Av.-And. **ɸobibo* / **ɸobɸo* partridge: And. *ɸobɸo*; Akhv. *ɸaɸba* (*Tseg.*); Cham. *ɸaɸa*; Tind. *ɸaɸa*; Bagv. *ɸaɸa*; God. *ɸaɸa*.

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *ɸaɸiba*.

| Tsez. **ɸ:ɸ:ba* partridge: Gin. *ɸobmo*; Khvarsh. *ɸobba*; Inkh. *ɸobba*; Bezht. *ɸaɸba* (*Tlad.*).

PTsKh **ɸobba* (-mo in Gin. is not quite clear).

| Lak. *q:aqnu* partridge.

Probably from **q:aq:Vb-nu*, cf. Arak. *q:aqmu* id. and *q:aq:aba* 'the cry of a partridge' (preserving the more archaic structure). The second *q:* is regularly weakened before a consonant, cf. the genitive form *q:aq:un-t:ul*.

| Darg. **q:aq:ba* partridge: Ak. *ɸaɸba*; Chir. *q:aq:ba*.

Cf. also Ur. *ɸaɸba*, Kub. *q:aqba*.

| Lezg. **q:äq:Vp:-* (~-a-) partridge: Tab. *q:aq:uba* (*Düb.*).

Isolated in Tab., but with good external parallels.

[] The root is onomatopoeic (like many bird names), but very well reconstructable for PEC.

***GəlcwV** skin: Av.-And. **ɸʷiča* (~**ɸičʷa*); Tsez. **χʷš:e* B; Lak. *q:aču*.

| Av.-And. **ɸʷiča* (~**ɸičʷa*) skin, sheep skin: Akhv. *ɸoča*; Tind. *ɸoča*.

| Tsez. **χʷš:e* B 1 skin 2 sheepskin: Tsez. *hoši* 1; Gin. *χʷiši* 1; Khvarsh. *hiše* 1. Inkh. *heše* 2; Bezht. *Räše* 1.

PTsKh **χ* *ðše*.

| Lak. *q:aču* sheepskin coat.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level (this root should be distinguished from **qHäčwa* q.v.). Correspondences are regular (medial -l- reconstructed to account for PTs nasalisation).

***Gətu** thigh, leg: Nakh. **ɸölu-k*; Av.-And. **riɸil*; Tsez. **riɸil(a)* A;

Lezg. **q:el*.

| Nakh. **ɸölu-k* bone for playing dice: Chech. *ɸulg*; Ing. *ɸolg*.

The stem contains a usual diminutive suffix. 3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing.

| Av.-And. **riɸil* 1 thigh 2 leg 3 hindleg: And. *reɸil* 3; Akhv. *leɸi* 1; Cham. *jeɸil* 2; Kar. *reɸi* 1,2; Botl. *reɸil* 1; Bagv. *reɸel* 1 (*Tlis.*); God. *reɸil* 2.

Cf. also Akhv. *Tseg.*, Tlan. *reɸel*, Ratl. *reɸil* (North. *leɸi* < **reɸil*), Cham. *Gig. reɸil*.

| Tsez. **riɸil(a)* A thigh, hip: Khvarsh. *lihil*; Inkh. *lihil*; Bezht. *jiɸla*; Gunz. *riɸla*.

PTsKh **Riχ iR* (~-h-) (obviously < **Riχ iR* with vowel assimilation); PGB **riɸla* (cf. also Bezht. *Tlad.*, Khosh. *riɸla*).

| Lezg. **q:el* foot, leg: Rut. *ɸil*; Tsakh. *q:el*; Kryz. *q:il*; Bud. *q:il*.

Oblique stem **q:eli-*, cf. Rut. *ɸili-*, Tsakh. *ɸeli-*, 4th class in all languages.

See Talibov 1980, 304.

[] Reconstructed for the EC level. All the forms certainly correspond to each other. However, there are two possible reconstructions:

a) the one proposed above - in this case we must consider **r-* in PA and PTs a former class prefix (which raises some doubts);

b) we can reconstruct **Gəlu* (with **l*) and a metathesized variant **leGV* > PA **riɸi-*, PTs **riχi-* (with a rather frequent *-IV extension). At present it is hard to choose one of these solutions only.

***Gərkwe** (~-a) skin, sheepskin: Nakh. **qaqan*; Lezg. **q:ärkʷa*.

| Nakh. **qaqan* 1 sheep-skin 2 skin: Chech. *qaqa* 1; Ing. *qaqa* 1; Bacb. *qaqā* 2, 6th class in all languages.

| Lezg. *q:ärk'a 1 nut-shell 2 bark 3 skin: Lezg. q:ark (Khl.) 1; Ag. q:ark (Burk.) 2; Tsakh. bek'a 3.

Cf. also Tsakh. Tsakh. q:ek'a 'skin', Ag. Fit. q:ark 'bark'. Not quite clear is loss of labialization in Lezg. and Ag.

[] Phonetically the correspondence is satisfactory (in Nakh *qaqa- with double assimilation < *baqa- < *baka-, a usual process when we deal with a combination uvular+velar within one root); but since the etymology is a Nakh-Lezg. isogloss, it is not very reliable.

*GērVnV / *rēGVnV (~ 6) spring wool: Av.-And. *bōrVn (~ -a-); Tsez. *b:orVnV / *rōb:VnV.

| Av.-And. *bōrVn (~ -a-) spring wool: Chad. ruḡēn; Akhv. bari; Cham. bārā; Tind. baram.

| Tsez. *b:orVnV / *rōb:VnV spring wool: Tsez. boroni; Gin. boroni; Khvarsh. bore (Radzhibov); Inkh. borone; Bezht. jōšin; Gunz. robin.

PTsKh *borone (absence of -n- in Khvarshi is rather strange); PGB *robin (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. robin 'clot of wool'). In PGB we would rather expect *-ɔ; the -o-reflex is irregular.

[] An Av.-And-Tsez. isogloss.

*Gō twenty: Nakh. *tā (~ -ā); Av.-And. *q:V-; Tsez. *qo-(no); Lak. qu; Darg. *ba-; Lezg. *q:a; Khin. qā(n).

| Nakh. *tā (~ -ā) twenty: Chech. tā; Ing. tā; Bacb. tā.

Ing. tā either presupposes PN *tā (connected with *tā by Ablaut), or else is a suffixed form < *tā-w(V). Original vowel length is unknown.

| Av.-And. *q:V- twenty: Av. q:ō-go; Chad. qō-gu.

| Tsez. *qo-(no) twenty: Tsez. qu; Gin. qu; Khvarsh. qun; Inkh. quno; Bezht. qona; Gunz. qono.

PTsKh *qu-(no); PGB *qo-(no).

| Lak. qu twenty.

Cf. Khosr. qu=a.

| Darg. *ba- twenty: Ak. ba-l; Chir. ba-jal.

| Lezg. *q:a twenty: Lezg. q:a-d; Tab. q:a-b; Ag. q:a-d; Rut. q:a-d; Tsakh. q:a-llā; Kryz. q:a-d; Bud. q:a-d; Arch. q:a; Ud. q:a.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. q:a-d (the Akhty-type reflex penetrated into literary Lezg., where normally qā-d would be expected).

See Bokarev 1961, 64; Leksika 1971, 238; Giginayshvili 1977, 108.

| Khin. qā(n) twenty.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. In PN the initial dental is possibly a trace of an original class prefix (it can hardly be explained in any other way). The only subgroup which has lost this archaic numeral is Andian (where 'twenty' is formed by 'two' + 'ten').

*GHabrišWE gooseberry: Av.-And. *baraš:V; Lezg. *q:labriš(:); W.-Cauc. *š'əxərəbə.

| Av.-And. *baraš:V gooseberry: Av. barāš (dial.);

| Lezg. *q:labriš(:) gooseberry: Lezg. q:ibriš; Rut. blibriš (Khniukh); Tsakh. bIabriš (Mishl.).

| W.-Cauc. *š'əxərəbə gooseberry: Ad. šxərəb; Kab. šxərəb.

PAK *šxərəbə.

[] An interesting four-syllabic common NC root. The WC form has underwent metathesis (*š'əxərəbə / possibly with assimilation < *š'əbərəbə / < *bərəbəš'V), which is not surprising in a word like this. Cf. perhaps also Darg. harus 'elderberry' (the meaning in the Russian-Dargwa dictionary is given as 'millet beverage, bouza', but this is probably a misspelling: Russ. бѳза 'bouza' instead of бѳзѳна 'elderberry').

Since gooseberry is a thorn-plant, it is tempting to compare the word with the Greek substratum word kypārisso-s 'cypress' (whence also Lat. cupressus), see Nikolayev 1985, 70.

*GHāGV (~ G) thigh, haunch: Nakh. *bōb; Lezg. *q:laq:l.

| Nakh. *bōb thigh, haunch: Chech. bōb; Ing. bōb.

Obl. base *bōbā- (Chech. bōbā-, Ing. bōbō). 3d class in both languages.

| Lezg. *q:laq:l the inner side of the thigh: Lezg. q:eb.

Erg. q:eq:ini. Attested only in Lezg., with probable correspondence in PN.

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss.

*GHīIGi (~ -e) dirt, dung, faeces: Nakh. *barbV (~ -ā-); Av.-And. *q:a(n)q:ara (~ o); Lak. qalrqi; Darg. *q:ulqi; Lezg. *q:llq:l-.

| Nakh. *barbV (~ -ā-) crumbs of bread: Ing. barba.

Attested only in Ing., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *q:a(n)q:ara (~ o) snot, snivel: And. GenGe; Cham. q:aq:ara; Tind. q:aq:ara.

And. GenGe 'snot' (< *qVnqV) is a result of contamination of this root with PA *qāqā q.v.

| Lak. qalrqi dirt.

Cf. Khosr. qalrqli id.

| Darg. *q:ulqi faeces: Ak. q:illqi (Kait).

Cf. also Kub. q:ulq:e id. Pharyngealisation in Kait. is secondary (before a new front vowel).

| Lezg. *q:llq:l- sheep's dung: Tab. bīrbīl; Ag. rūlR-an.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. q:ilq:il id.; with irregular metathesis and an expressive suffix probably also Ag. Burk. q:ūsq:el (< *q:ullq:as) "horse's dung". An expressive reduplicated root, but having probable external parallels.

[] An expressive reduplicated root; but the correspondences are regular, and it may be safely reconstructed for PEC.

*GHīrāwV sack; pillow: Av.-And. *q:īlin(dV); Tsez. *qeā-cV; Lezg. *q:lurt:ī:an.

| Av.-And. *q:īlin(dV) 1 sack 2 pillow: Av. q:andālo 1,2; Chad. qanātru 1; Akhv. q:ēhe 1,2; Cham. q:ehī 1; Kar. q:ēlin 1,2; Bagv. q:ehen 1,2; God. q:ēlen 1.

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *q:ēlen*, Cham. Gig. *q:ēhan*. The Av. forms go back to **q:VndVλV < *q:VλVn-dV*.

| Tsez. **qeλ-cV* pillow: Tsez. *qliλci*; Gin. *qicca*; Khvarsh. *qicca* (*Radzhibov*). PTsKh **qeλcV*.

| Lezg. **q:lurt:iλ:an* pillow: Lezg. *quc:agan*; Ag. *Rurdek:in*; Rut. *burdigān*; Tsakh. *bunelek*; Kryz. *q:užukan* (*Al.*); Bud. *q:ušku-d*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *q:ūcūgen*, Ag. Burk. *Rardek:en*. 3d class in Rut., Tsakh. and Kryz., 4th class in Bud. A long word with rather expected metatheses and dissimilations; nevertheless, the PL form is sufficiently well reconstructable. Major irregularities: Lezg. -g- instead of (lit.) -k-, (Khl.) -k- - a result of early deglottalisation (**-λ:- > *-λ:-*); Tsakh. *bunelek* (with a variant *bulenik*; cf. also Gelm. *bulanik*, Tsakh. proper *q:uñanik*) < **q:udinVλ:* / **q:ulinVλ:* (note the early secondary lateralisation -d- > -l- under the influence of **-λ:-*, which later regularly changed to -k); loss of pharyngealisation in the Eastern area (for PL it must be reconstructed on the Lezg. and Ag. evidence).

Since the meanings 'pillow' and 'sack' are often interchangeable, it seems tempting to link with this root also Arch. *λ:ut:ali* 'sack' - possibly an assimilative development from the expected **qIut:aλ:i(n)*.

In Proto-Shakh-Dagh the word must have sounded **q:užik:in* (cf. modern forms: Kryz. *q:užukan*, Bud. - with some irregularities - *q:ušku-d*). This form was most probably borrowed in Khin. *iχčikin* 'pillow' (which can not be a genuinely related form).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. A complicated case, because of active segmental phonetic interaction. In Proto-Av.-And. we must suppose an early dissimilatory deglottalisation *-λ:- > -λ:-*. The PL form is a metathesis: **q:lurt:iλ:an < *q:IurλVn-t:V*, probably reflecting an original suffixed (plural?) form exactly corresponding to Av. *q:andālo < *q:VλVn-dV*. The final part **-cV* in the PTs form is unclear (is it also a development of **-dV* in the cluster **-λd- > *-λc-??*). Despite these difficulties, the EC etymology seems to us rather probable.

***GHōlnV** (~ -t-) summer, rain season: Av.-And. **q:inu*; Lezg. **q:lol*; Khin. *qula*.

| Av.-And. **q:inu* summer: And. *q:inu*; Akhv. *q:inu* / *q:ino*; Cham. *q:in*^w; Tind. *q:inu*; Kar. *q:ino*; God. *q:inu*.

Cf. also Cham. *q:ina* 'in summer' (= And. *q:ina* 'summer'), Gig. *q:enu* 'summer'.

| Lezg. **q:lol* summer: Ag. *Rul*; Rut. *βilil-d*; Tsakh. *βilil*; Arch. *qlit-iq*.

The Arch. form is originally locative ('in summer'); the primary noun has been also preserved, but vice versa - in locative function (*qlit* 'in summer').

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 83; Leksika 1971, 190; Giginishvili 1977, 115.

| Khin. *qula* rain.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. See Trubetzkoy 1930, 276 (and comments on p. 456).

***GHōni** (~-u) pregnant: Av.-And. **q:inV-*; Lezg. **q:lan*.

| Av.-And. **q:inV-* 1 pregnant 2 a sheep that has not yet yeaned: Av. *q:ina-b 1*; Tind. *q:ena 2*; Kar. *q:ena-b 1*.

| Lezg. **q:lan* 1 pregnant 2 intestines: Lezg. *q:en 2*, *q:eni 1*; Tab. *βlan 2*; Ag. *Ran 2*, *Rane-f 1*; Rut. *βlan-di 1*; Tsakh. *q:lan-na 1* (*Mishl.*); Arch. *qlan 1*.

Obl. base **q:lan-*, as seen both from Lezg. adj. *q:eni* and from obl. bases: Lezg. *q:eni-*, Tab. *βlana-*. The locative (inessive) case is used in Ag. and Lezg. as an adverb 'inside': Lezg. *q:ene* (Khl. *q:ena*), Ag. *Rana*^c (*Bursh. Rana?*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level.

***GHwālčV** stick, board; bolt: Tsez. **χ^wēš:u* A; Lak. *q:iča*; Lezg. **ql^warč(a)*; Khin. *q:ičā*.

| Tsez. **χ^wēš:u* A bar, bolt, door-bolt: Tsez. *hišuni*; Gin. *χišu*; Bezht. *beso*; Gunz. *βōsi*.

PTsKh **χ^wēsu* (~ -š-, -V-); PGB **βōš[u]* (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *beso*). There exists also a denominal verb: Tsez. *hiš-*, Bezht. Tlad. *βōs-*, Khosh. *bes-* / *bes-* 'to lock'.

| Lak. *q:iča* bolt, door-bolt.

Cf. Khosr. *q:iča* id.

| Lezg. **ql^warč(a)* stake, wedge: Rut. *ql^warč* (*Khnov.*).

Attested only in Rut., but with probable external parallels.

| Khin. *q:ičā* branch.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. A problem is raised by Av. *q:ars:ī* 'board' (*Chad. qirš*): it looks rather similar, but does not correspond phonetically to other forms.

***GHwālV** frog: Nakh. **phit*; Darg. **βlaṭa*; Lezg. **q:l^wet-* > **q:l^wet:-*.

| Nakh. **phit* frog: Chech. *phid*; Ing. *phid*; Bacb. *phit*.

Obl. stem **phita-* (cf. Chech. *phida-*, Ing. *phido*). 4th class in Chech., Ing., 6th class in Bacb.

| Darg. **βlaṭa* frog: Chir. *βlaṭa*.

Cf. also Sirg., Ur., Tsud. *ʔaṭa*, Kub. *hiṭa*.

| Lezg. **q:l^wet-* > **q:l^wet:-* tortoise: Ud. *q:oldil*.

Attested only in Ud., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. There exist also several other forms which can be distorted reflexes of the same root (which is obviously expressive and thus liable to irregular changes): Bezht. Tlad. *ʔote*, Gunz. *χōtoχo*; PAK **hanṭVr-*, PAT **ada* (see under **q^wVrVqV*). However, they may also reflect another root, possibly represented in Chech. *anta-phid* 'tortoise', with a tentative protoform **HVntV*. The evidence is not sufficient, and this question must still remain open.

*GHwōpV a k. of worm or reptile: Nakh. *qōpe; Av.-And. *q:VbV; Lezg. *q:lop:.

| Nakh. *qōpe 1 trichina 2 worm: Chech. *qōba* 1; Ing. *qop* 1; Bacb. *qawpū* 2. 4th class in all languages. The Bacb. form probably reflects a former obl. stem *qāpu- (which was lost in Chech. and Ing.).

| Av.-And. *q:VbV malaria: Av. *q:ob* (dial.).

| Lezg. *q:lop: frog: Lezg. *q:ib*; Tab. *blub*; Ag. (*q:arka*)-*Rub*; Rut. *blib*; Kryz. *q:ub*; Bud. *q:ub-laḡa*.

Cf. also Lezg. erg. *qip:re*, Tab. Khiv. *q:Iub*, Ag. Bursh. *Ru*, Burk. *Ruwan-caj*, Tp. *ub*. 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. The Bud. form may have experienced the Azer. influence (cf. Azer. *Gurbaba* > Tsakh. *qulbaba*), but is certainly not a loanword. Irregular transformations of the same root can be discovered in Tab. Kand. *blumpa-ḡaḡa*, Düb. *baq:la-cacaj* 'frog'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The meaning in Av. ('malaria') is secondary, derived from 'pathogenic worm' (cf. the meaning in Nakh languages).

*GHwVtV a k. of bird (jackdaw, crow): Av.-And. *b'ilV; Darg. *q:ulq:a; W.-Cauc. *q:l'ala (~ -L-).

| Av.-And. *b'ilV 1 jackdaw 2 partridge: Av. *ḡalo* 1; Cham. *ḡola* 2 (*Gig*.).

| Darg. *q:ulq:a crow: Chir. *q:ulq:a*.

| W.-Cauc. *q:l'ala (~ -L-) 1 crow 2 wild birds (generic) 3 jackdaw: Ad. *q:aLa-ḡ* 1; Kab. *q:aLa-bzuw* 2; Ub. *q:laLa* 3.

PAK *q:aLa (cf. also Ad. *q:aLa-bzaw* = Kab. *q:aLa-bzuw*). Despite Shagirov (1,232) the Ub. form can not be regarded as an Adyghe loan (because of pharyngealisation); see Mészáros 1934, 352, Abdokov 1973, 55. Although loss of labialisation in Ub. is not quite clear, other correspondences are quite regular.

The comparison of PAK *q:aLa and Abkh. *a-lah'a* 'raven' (Lomtatidze 1961, 121) is untenable; see Shagirov 1,232, Klimov 1967, 302.

[] An onomatopoeic root; however, correspondences are quite regular and the PNC reconstruction seems probable. The Darg. form is reduplicated; since the root is present only in a part of Av.-And. languages and Darg., the vocalic reconstruction for PEC is uncertain.

*Ghwānsā (~ -h-) back (of head); end (of loaf): Av.-And. *b'anš:a (~ o); Lak. *qalnša*.

| Av.-And. *b'anš:a (~ o) back (of head): Av. *b'anš:ā*; Akhv. *b'āš:a*; Cham. *b'anš:a* (*Leksika*); Kar. *b'anš:a*; God. *b'anš:a*.

Av. paradigm B (*b'anš:i-l*, *bunš:-bī*).

| Lak. *qalnša* end (of loaf).

[] An Av.-And-Lak. isogloss. Lak. *q-* (instead of the expected *q:-*) must be explained by assimilative weakening (before the following weak fricative -ḡ-).

*GhimbV (~ -ḡ-) cluster, bunch: Av.-And. *bōbu (~ -a-); Tsez. *χomV

(~ ḡ:-, -ḡ-); Lak. *q:ulmaj*; Lezg. *q:im- (~ -u-).

| Av.-And. *bōbu (~ -a-) grape vine: Av. *ḡābu*; Akhv. *ḡabu*; Cham. *ḡab*. Av. paradigm A or C (pl. *ḡābu-dul*).

| Tsez. *χomV (~ ḡ:-, -ḡ-) a bunch of sheaves: Bezht. *ḡoma* (*Khosh*).

Attested only in Bezht. (cf. also Tlad. *ḡoma* id.), but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *q:ulmaj* cluster, bunch (of grapes).

| Lezg. *q:im- (~ -u-) cluster, bunch: Ud. *ḡuma*.

Isolated in Ud., but with probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level.

*Ghāmčā (~ -ḡ-) tongs, pincers: Av.-And. *ḡimčV; Tsez. *χ:ḡčV A; Lak. *q:laça*; Darg. *q:lamčā; Lezg. *q:lamč(a).

| Av.-And. *ḡimčV tongs, pincers: Av. *ḡeç*; Chad. *ḡeç*; And. *ḡuçu*; Akhv. *q:enčo* (*Tseg*.); Cham. *ḡiç*; Kar. *ḡeçe*; Bagv. *ḡeç* (*Tlond*.); God. *ḡuçu*.

Av. paradigm C (*ḡoçō-l*, *ḡuç-dul*; Chad. *ḡoçō-l/ḡiçī-l*, *ḡeça-l*). Cf. also And. (*Leksika*) *ḡuçu*, Akhv. Ratl. *q:ibčo*, Tseg. *q:ebçu* (coexisting with *q:enčo*), Cham. *Gig. ḡizu*, Kar. Anch., Archo. *ḡerçe*.

A complicated case: the most probable reconstruction is *ḡimčV (-m- is suggested by -b/-n- in Akhv. and by the -u- vowel in And. and God.). There are, however, some unexplicable irregularities: *ḡ-* in Andi (at least in the MSU recording) and Cham., *q:-* in Akhvakh.

Northern Akhv. *ḡeçi* is obviously a loan from Avar; Av.-And. origin is also probable for Arch. *ḡaçi* 'tongs' (quite irregular as compared to other Lezghian forms, see below).

| Tsez. *χ:ḡčV A tongs, pincers: Tsez. *ḡoçu*; Gin. *ḡoçu*; Bezht. *ḡaço*; Gunz. *ḡḡḡḡ*.

PTsKh *ḡoçu (~ -ḡ-); PGB *χḡḡḡ.

| Lak. *q:laça* tongs, pincers.

Cf. Khosr. *q:laça* id.

| Darg. *q:lamčā tongs, pincers: Ak. *Glamčā*; Chir. *ḡlaça*.

Cf. also Ur. *Galmčā*, Kub. *q:laça*, Tsud. *q:imčā*, Sirg. *q:lamčā*. Chir. *ḡlaça*, as well as Gapsh. *ḡlança* are irregular (reflecting dis-/assimilations).

| Lezg. *q:lamč(a) tongs, pincers: Lezg. *q:lāç* (*Kh*.); Tab. *ḡlanc*; Ag. *ḡlaç*; Rut. *q:laç*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *ḡlanc:a*, Ag. Bursh. *Ranç*, Burk. *qeç* / *q:ēç*. 4th class in Rut. The root reveals a variation between *q:l- (which is the original variant) and *q:l- (result of assimilation). Oblique base is not clear. See *Leksika* 1971, 202, 173; Khaidakov 1973, 89.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Most languages regularly (sometimes with assimilations, expectable in a root with two stops) reflect *Ghāmčā (not quite clear is the *-i- vowel in PA). However, in Av.-And.-Tsez. there must have existed an irregular variant with initial *χ:-, reflected in PTs *χ:ḡčV and in some Andian languages.

*GhVnVḡā (~ -ḡ-) hook: Av.-And. *ḡVnčV / *ḡVnč:V; Darg. *q:lamc:i;

Lezg. *q:la[n]ç(a); W.-Cauc. *ɬlanəç:a.

| Av.-And. *ɬVnçV / *ɬVnç:V 1 hook 2 molar tooth: Av. *ɬançá* 1; Akhv. *ɬʷenç:i* 2.

Av. paradigm B (*ɬançá-dul*, *ɬunç-bí*). There are some irregularities (usual for expressive roots with two stops): excessive labialisation in Akhv., variation between *ç and *ɬ. The Av. word is also borrowed into several And. languages (Kar. Anch., Cham., God. *ɬançá*).

| Darg. *q:lamç:i corner: Ak. *q:almzi*.

| Lezg. *q:la[n]ç(a) 1 hook 2 horn: Tab. *ɬlaɬlac* 1; Ud. *q:lanc*: 2.

There are some irregularities due to the root's expressive nature. Arch. *qançá* 'hook put on shoes in slippery weather' is probably not genuinely cognate, but rather borrowed from Old Avar.

| W.-Cauc. *ɬlanəç:a hook: Ub. *ɬlanca*.

Isolated in Ub., but having good EC parallels.

[|] The root is expressive (KV(R)CV structure) and contains two stops, thus there are some irregularities in reflexation. However, it is not borrowed and must be reconstructed for PNC. Note that it has penetrated some geographically close languages: cf. Turk. *kança*, Osset. *xəz* 'hook'. One could also compare Ing. *hoz* 'ring' - which should be kept apart from Chech. *hoz* id. (phonetically absolutely incompatible).

*Gfwāmdū crow: Av.-And. *ɬbandi; Tsez. *ɬ:āde; Lak. *q:alda*; Lezg.

*qɪʷad.

| Av.-And. *ɬbandi crow: Av. *ɬədu*; Chad. *ɬədu*; And. *ɬanni*; Akhv. *ɬādi*; Cham. *ɬan* (*Gudava*); Tind. *ɬandi*; Kar. *ɬande*; Botl. *ɬandi*; Bagv. *ɬandʷ*; God. *ɬandi*.

Av. paradigm B (*ɬadī-l*, *ɬudū-l*; but Chad. A: *ɬədu-l*, *ɬəda-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *ɬande*, Ratl., Kar. Tok. *ɬandi*.

| Tsez. *ɬ:āde crow: Tsez. *ɬʷaldi*; Gin. *ɬʷad(e)*; Khvarsh. *ɬāde*; Inkh. *ɬade*; Bezht. *ɬade*; Gunz. *ɬāde*.

PTsKh *ɬʷald[e] (with some variations: cf. also Tsez. Sh. *ɬʷaldu*, Gin. (Lomtadze) *ɬʷadi*, Inkh. (Bokarev) *ɬʷaldi*); unclear is the loss of nasalisation in Inkh. PGB *ɬāde.

| Lak. *q:alda* crow.

Lak. *q:alda* is a dialectal form mentioned in Khaidakov 1973. Both literary Lak and the Khosr. dialect have an irregular reflex *qaɬu*.

| Lezg. *qɪʷa(m)d crow: Tab. *qɪʷat*; Ag. *qɪʷat*: (*Burk.*).

Cf. also Tab. lit. *qɪʷut*(:), Düb. *qɪʷut:u*, Ag. Tp. *qɪʷat*. These forms should be kept distinct from the reflexes of PL *qɪʷan: q.v.; -t: in Tab. and Ag. most probably reflects the PL voiced *d typical for expressive roots.

[|] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*Gəlʔc (~ -a) wheat: Av.-And. *q:iru; Tsez. *qɪ; Lezg. *q:ol / *q:lol.

| Av.-And. *q:iru 1 wheat 2 grain: And. *q:ir* 2; Akhv. *q:iru* 1; Cham. *q:ew* 1; Tind. *q:eru* 1; Kar. *q:eru* 1; Botl. *q:eru* 1; Bagv. *q:erʷ* 1; God. *q:eru* 1.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *q:eru*, Kar. Tok. *q:eri*.

| Tsez. *qɪ wheat: Bezht. *qibo* (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *qibə*.

PGB *qɪ-bə, where -bə is most probably the old plural marker.

| Lezg. *q:ola / *q:Iola wheat: Lezg. *q:ul*; Rut. *ɬil*; Kryz. *q:ul*; Bud. *q:ul*; Arch. *qoqol*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *q:ul*. 3d class in Rut., Arch., but 4th class in Kryz and Bud. There is a vacillation between reflexes of PL *o and *ol (just as in the name of 'rye', PL *s:ol q.v.); the pharyngealized variant is reflected in Lezg. and Kryz (without pharyngealisation we would have Lezg. *q:ul* and Kryz. *q:il*). The Arch. form is reduplicated. The obl. base can be reconstructed as *q:(l)olə- (cf. Rut. *ɬila*-).

See Leksika 1971, 166; Талибов 1980, 304.

[|] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. Abdokov (1983, 106) compares the EC root with PAK *ɬa- (in compounds like *ɬa-zʷa 'crops'), but Shagirov (1, 123) is probably right in identifying this element with PAK *ɬa 'season, time'.

*GōIHV (~ -t-) noise, thunder: Lak. *q:uw*; Lezg. *q:al(a) (~ -l:-).

| Lak. *q:uw* thunder.

Lak. > Arch. *qu-bus* 'to thunder'.

| Lezg. *q:al(a) (~ -l:-) noise: Lezg. *q:al*; Tab. *ɬal*.

Obl. stem unknown.

[|] An expressive Lak-Lezg. isogloss.

*GōLV skin, wineskin; sheath: Tsez. *qɔɬu; Lezg. *q:aɬ.

| Tsez. *qɔɬu 1 skin, goatskin 2 wineskin: Tsez. *qɪoɬu* 1; Khvarsh. *qoɬu* 1 (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *qɪoɬu* 1; Bezht. *qəɬə* (*Tlad.*) 1,2; Gunz. *qɔɬu* 1.

PGB *qɔɬu; PTsKh *qɪoɬV.

| Lezg. *q:aɬ: scabbard, sheath: Lezg. *q:aɬ*; Tab. *ɬaɬ-ar*; Ag. *q:aj*; Rut. *q:aɬ*; Tsakh. *ɬag*; Kryz. *q:ow*.

Cf. Lezg. erg. *q:aq:u-ni*, Khl. *q:ak*, Ag. Bursh. *ʔaj-ar*, Rut. Shin. *q:ag*, Ikhr. *q:əj*, Tsakh. (Tsakh.) *q:aɬ*. The second consonant is undoubtedly *ɬ:, with uvular assimilation in some languages (Lezg., Rut., Tsakh.). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

[|] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss; in PL we would rather expect *q:-, but this is probably an assimilative loss of glottalisation (*q:aɬ: < *q:aɬ:).

*GōrGV stone: Nakh. *ɬorɬ; Av.-And. *ɬarɬV (~ -o-); Lak. *ɬurɬa*;

Darg. *q:arq:a; Lezg. *qɪarqɪ(a).

| Nakh. *ɬorɬ 1 coarse sand 2 rough, coarse: Chech. *ɬorɬ* 1, *ɬorɬa* 2; Ing. *ɬorɬa* 2.

The Chech. and Ing. adjectives go back to PN *ɬorɬ-a(n).

| Av.-And. *ɬarɬV (~ -o-) gravel: Kar. *ɬarɬa*.

Isolated in Kar., but with reliable external parallels.

| Lak. *ɬurɬa* stone in river.

3d class.

| Darg. *q:arq:a stone: Ak. q:arq:a; Chir. q:arq:a.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. q:arq:a, Kub. q:aq:a etc.

| Lezg. *qlarql(a) rock: Ag. qlarql.

Obl. base qlarqla-. Cf. also Ag. Burk. qerq 'conglomeration of stones'. Attested only in Ag., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive reduplicated root. Some minor irregularities (vowel in Kar. -i- or -e- would be expected; ʃ in Lak. instead of q; pharyngealisation in Agul - reflecting a variant *GHorGV) are explained both by the root's expressiveness and by contamination with another similar PEC root, *ʃHēwʃā q.v..

*Go3V green colour; dirt: Av.-And. *ʒizi; Tsez. *χis (~ ʒ:-, -z:); Lezg.

*q:ac:i-.

| Av.-And. *ʒizi dirt: And. ʒuzi; Akhv. ʒizi; Cham. ʒiz; Tind. ʒizi.

Tind. > Inkh. ʒizi id.

| Tsez. *χis (~ ʒ:-, -z:) dirt: Bezht. ʒiz (Khosh.); Gunz. ʒiz.

PGB *ʒiz (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. ʒiz).

| Lezg. *q:ac:i- green: Lezg. q:ac:u; Ag. ʒaze-f.

Actually a denominative (PL *q:ac; *q:ac:i-), cf. Lezg. q:az (erg. q:ac:u) 'green colour, anything green'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The meaning 'green colour' in PL is obviously secondary (originally "colour of mud, slime").

*GūrGV thunder: Nakh. *ʒuʒ; Av.-And. *ʒurʒV-; Lak. q:urq:ur / q:arq:ar; Darg. *q:uq:u; Lezg. *q:u(r)q:ur-; W.-Cauc. *ʒʷaʒʷa.

| Nakh. *ʒuʒ rumble, thunder: Chech. ʒuʒ.

Obl. base ʒuʒa-.

| Av.-And. *ʒurʒV- 1 thunder 2 to thunder: Av. ʒuʒáj; Kar. ʒurʒuri; Botl. ʒuʒu-d- 2.

Cf. also Av. ʒuʒá-d-ize 'to thunder', ʒuʒa-b haraʃ 'rumble, boom'.

| Lak. q:urq:ur rumble, crash, boom.

Cf. also q:arq:ar id.

| Darg. *q:uq:u thunder: Ak. q:uq:u.

| Lezg. *q:u(r)q:ur- thunder: Lezg. q:uq:um.

An onomatopoeic root; attested only in Lezg., but having obvious external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *ʒʷaʒʷa to thunder, to rumble: Ad. ʒʷaʒʷa-n; Kab. ʒʷaʒʷa-n.

PAK *ʒʷaʒʷa-.

[] A common NC onomatopoeic reduplicated root. See Trubetzkoy 1934, 276, Balkarov 1964, 133, Shagirov I, 133.

*GwabV root: Tsez. *ʒib(a) / *biʒ:(a); Lak. q:ubi; Lezg. *q:ʷap:.

| Tsez. *ʒib(a) / *biʒ:(a) 1 foundation 2 stake, wooden peg: Tsez. ʒlab (Radzhibov); Khvarsh. ʒeb (Radzhibov); Inkh. ʒib 2; Bezht. biʒa 1; Gunz. biʒa 1.

PTsKh *ʒib/ib; PGB *biʒa.

| Lak. q:ubi deep pit.

In lit. Lak this root regularly changed to q:uj, thus coinciding with a Turk. loanword q:uj 'well' (which has nothing to do with the present root).

| Lezg. *q:ʷap: root: Rut. ʒwab.

Isolated within Lezghian languages, but seems to have external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Semantically close forms, but known only in four languages and, though phonetically plausible, involving a metathesis - thus not very reliable.

*Gwāʃie udder; breast: Av.-And. *ʒʷarHV; Tsez. *χeru A; Lak.

q:ʷar.

| Av.-And. *ʒʷarHV 1 udder 2 pimple: Av. ʒʷari 1; And. ʒaʔa (Khaidakov) 1; Cham. ʒʷar 2; Tind. ʒʷabʷara 2; Kar. ʒori (Tok.) 1.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. ʒʷarú-l). The Tind. form is reduplicated (cf. also Cham. Gig. ʒoʒara 'pimple').

| Tsez. *χeru A 1 breast 2 udder 3 shoulder: Tsez. hiro 3; Khvarsh. hel-lokʷa 1; Bezht. bejo 1,2; Gunz. ʒeru 1,2.

PTsKh *χeRV (in Khv. - within a compound with lokʷa 'heart'); PGB *ʒeru (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. ʒero).

| Lak. q:ʷar udder. q:ar is orthographic (Khaidakov writes: q:ʷar). Cf. Khosr. q:ʷal 'udder' indicating that -r in literary Lak. is secondary (either under influence of words like quru 'brisket', qara-lu 'on the shoulder' or under Avar influence).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. PEC *-l- is proved here by Lak. dialectal forms as well as by the old Lak. loanword in Archi: Arch. qʷal 'udder'.

*Gwāʃa doc, hornless goat: Nakh. *ʒala; Av.-And. *ʒʷalV (~ -o-);

Tsez. *ʒʷel (~ -r).

| Nakh. *ʒala doc: Chech. ʒala; Ing. ʒala.

6th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *ʒʷalV (~ -o-) 1 hornless goat 2 hornless ram or goat: Av. ʒʷalá 1; Akhv. ʒoli 1; Cham. ʒʷalu-b 2 (U.-Gakv.); Kar. ʒʷala 1.

Av. paradigm B (ʒʷalá-dul, ʒul-bí). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. ʒʷala, Tlan., Ratl. ʒʷeli, Kar. Tok. ʒoli id. In Akhv. there is also a form ʒolaʃa 'deer' which is a compound *ʒʷalV + *biʃV 'deer, ram' q.v.

Av. ʒʷala > Arch. ʒula 'hornless goat'; an Andian loan is also Inkh. ʒiʷala id.

| Tsez. *ʒʷel doc: Gin. ʒʷil; Gunz. ʒel (Gunz.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*Gwāʃho (~ -ə) gossip, rumour; offence, anger: Nakh. *qel;

Av.-And. *ʒʷVIV; Lak. q:al; Darg. *ʒʷaj (~ ʒ-); Lezg. *qal(:); Khin. qol.

| Nakh. *qel 1 sentence, fate 2 custom 3 court, justice: Chech. qel 1; Ing. qel 1; Bacb. qel 2,3.

Obl. base *qela- (Chech. qela-, Ing. qelo). 4th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *ʒʷVIV gossip, rumour; abuse: Av. ʒʷel.

Av. paradigm B ~ C (gen. ʒʷali-l).

| Lak. q:al gossip, rumour.

| Darg. **ḡaj* (~ ḡ-) rumour, news: Ak. *ḡaj*.
 | Lezg. **qIal*(:) offence, anger: Lezg. *qel*; Tab. *qIal*; Ag. *qIal*; Rut. *qIal*; Tsakh. *qIal* (*Mishl.*); Bud. *qe*le.

Cf. also Lezg. Nlüt. *qIall*. Obl. base **qIola*- (Lezg. *qile*-, Tab. *qIula*-, Tsakh /with vowel levelling/ *qIali*-). 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh., 4th class in Bud.

| Khin. *qol* offence.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**GwāmV* (~ā-) big stone: Av.-And. **ḡVmV*; Tsez. **χemu* A; Darg. **ḡuma* (~ **ḡama*).

| Av.-And. **ḡVmV* pan: Akhv. *miχ:i-ḡama* (*Ratl.*).

A compound with *miχ:i* 'iron', cf. also Tseg. *miχ:il ḡoma* id. Attested only in Akhv., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. **χemu* A 1 tomb-stone 2 stone 3 boundary stone: Tsez. *himu* 1,3; Gin. *χemu* 2; Khvarsh. *himu* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *hemu* 3; Bezht. *ḡemo* 1 (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *ḡemu* 1 (*Nakh.*).

PTsKh **χemu*, PGB **ḡemu*.

| Darg. **ḡuma* (~ **ḡama*) big stone: Chir. *ḡuma*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**Gwāṭf* bush, tree; stalk: Nakh. **ḡaṭ*; Av.-And. **ḡVṭV*; Tsez. **ḡ:eta* (~ḡ-, -i-, -ə-); Lak. *q:ata*; Darg. **ḡaṭa*; Lezg. **q:ṭaṭa* (~ *q:ṭ-*).

| Nakh. **ḡaṭ* stem, stalk: Chech. *ḡad*; Ing. *ḡad*.

Obl. base **ḡaṭ/u-* (cf. Chech. *ḡoda*-, Ing. *ḡado*-); 3d class in both languages. Cf. also PN **ḡaṭ/u-*m > Chech. *ḡodam* 'maize stalk', Ing. *ḡadam* 'stalk'.

| Av.-And. **ḡVṭV* tree: Av. *ḡeṭ*; Chad. *ḡeṭ*.

Av. paradigm B (*ḡoṭo-l*, *ḡut-bi*).

| Tsez. **ḡ:eta* (~ḡ-, -i-, -ə-) goat's wool: Tsez. *ḡlita*.

Isolated in Tsez., but having possible external parallels.

| Lak. *q:ata* bush, shrub.

Cf. Khosr. *q:ṭata* id. Lak. (or old Av.) > Arch. *qṭati* 'tree'. In Lak. the word probably meant also "log, wooden block", whence another modern meaning "stool, bench".

| Darg. **ḡata* bush, shrub: Chir. *ḡata*.

Cf. also Tsud. *ḡata* id.

| Lezg. **q:ṭaṭa* (~ *q:ṭ-*) stump: Rut. *q:ṭaṭ*.

Isolated in Rut., but having probable external parallels. The word also means 'lock', which is a frequent semantic development ('stump' > 'log, block' > 'lock').

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Tsez. word for "goat's wool" (*ḡlita*) perfectly fits phonetically; semantically it must be explained as *'stalk' > 'long hair' > "goat's wool" (the variation between "hair" and "bush, shrub" is observed also in several other cases).

**GwāṭV* street, block, village: Nakh. **phēṭa*; Av.-And. **q:ṭaṭV*;

Lak. *qat*; Darg. **q:ṭaṭ*.

| Nakh. **phēṭa* a village (high in the mountains): Chech. *phēda*.

| Av.-And. **q:ṭaṭV* street: Av. *q:ṭaṭ*; And. *q:ṭaṭa* (*Khaidakov*) 1; Akhv. *q:ṭaṭa*; Tind. *q:ṭaṭa*; Kar. *q:ṭaṭa*; God. *q:ṭaṭi*.

Av. paradigm B ~ C (gen. *q:ṭaṭu-l*). Av. *q:ṭaṭ* > Arch. *qṭaṭ* 'street', Gunz. *qat* 'street' (Bok.).

| Lak. *qat* community, folk assembly.

The meaning 'street' is present in locative derivatives (e.g. *qatuw* 'on the street'). The Khosrek form is not attested, but Khaidakov (1966) spells the Lak. word as *qṭaṭ*.

| Darg. **q:ṭaṭ* street-block: Ak. *q:ṭaṭ* (*Ur.*).

Cf. also Kub. *q:at:ala*, Kharb. *q:at:i* 'street' (with assimilation | > t:).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is close phonetically to **qḡhwaṭi* 'ravine, mountain pass' (q.v.), but the two roots are opposed in several subgroups, so it seems best to keep them separate (although they tend to contaminate).

**Gwānme* heap, stack: Nakh. **ḡama*; Av.-And. **ḡini*; Tsez. **χeme* (~ ḡ:-); Lezg. **q:ṭān-* (~ -e-).

| Nakh. **ḡama* 1 haystack 2 haycock: Chech. *ḡama* 1; Ing. *ḡama* 2.

4th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **ḡini* 1 stack 2 heap 3 mound, hillock: Av. *ḡuni* 1; And. *ḡun* 1,2; Akhv. *muḡu* 2,3; Cham. *ḡu* / *ḡun* 1,2,3; Kar. *ḡane* 1,2; God. *ḡuni* 2.

Av. paradigm B (*ḡunō-l*, *ḡunā-l*). In Akhv. there occurred a metathesis: *muḡu* < **ḡumu* (< **ḡinV*). Cf. also Cham. *Gig. ḡuni* '(hay)stack'.

| Tsez. **χeme* (~ ḡ:-) small stack: Bezht. *ḡeme*; Gunz. *ḡeme* (*Gunz.*).

PGB **ḡeme*.

| Lezg. **q:ṭān-* (~ -e-) a convex heap; a ball-shaped bush: Arch. *qIṭeni*.

Attested only in Archi, but having probable external parallels (although the Arch. pharyngealisation here is excessive, and probably secondary). Arch. *qIṭeni* presupposes a suffixed form **q:ṭānV-j*; the suffixless form (with a transformed meaning) is also preserved in Archi: Arch. *qIṭen* 'rock, cliff'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**G(w)ēdV* hole: Tsez. **qəd* A; Darg. **q:ata*.

| Tsez. **qəd* A 1 hole, burrow 2 pit: Tsez. *qold* 1; Gin. *qod* 1; Khvarsh. *qud* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *qad* 2 (*Khosh.*).

PTsKh **qold*.

| Darg. **q:ata* gorge, ravine: Ak. *q:ada*; Chir. *q:ata*.

Cf. also Mek. *q:ada*, Tsud. *q:ata* id.

[] A Tsez-Darg. isogloss.

**GwērV* stone: Nakh. **qēra*; Tsez. **ḡ:ur* (~ḡ-, -o-, -l).

| Nakh. **qēra* stone: Chech. *qēra*; Ing. *qera*; Bacb. *qer*.

6th class in all languages.

| Tsez. **ḡ:ur* (~ḡ-, -o-, -l) stone: Tsez. *ḡlul*; Khvarsh. *ḡur*; Inkh. *ḡur*.

PTsKh **ḡur*.

*GwetV (~ *GētV) crop, craw; beak, Adam's apple: Lak. qiti;
Darg. *q:ut-q:ut:i; Lezg. *q:l'e].

| Lak. qiti uvula.

Initial q:- is probably secondary (expressive?).

| Darg. *q:ut-q:ut:i beak: Ak. q:udq:udi.

| Lezg. *q:l'e] 1 crop, craw 2 gullet 3 third stomach: Tab. *8Iud8Iud* 1; Tsakh. *8Iof* 2; Bud. *qatqat* 3.

In Tab. and Bud. there occurred assimilations (usual for roots with two stops).

[] An expressive root (which is sometimes hard to distinguish from a similar *qwi?i q.v.; partial contamination has occurred). Pharyngealization in PL is clearly secondary (expressive) - otherwise PL *ql' (not *q:l') would be expected.

*GwezV long hair, mane: Nakh. *qēs; Av.-And. *b'isV; Darg. *bez.

| Nakh. *qēs mane: Chech. *qes*; Ing. *qes*.

Cf. Chech. obl. stem *qēsara-*; Lev. *qjes*, Pharch. *qes*. 4th class in Chech. and Ing.

| Av.-And. *b'isV 1 forelock 2 hair (on head): Akhv. *8oso* 2; Cham. *8usu* (*Gig.*) 1.

| Darg. *bez hair; wool: Ak. *8ez*.

Cf. also Ur., Kharb., Tsud. etc. *8iz*, Sirg. *8es*, Kub. *8is* 'hair'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

Cf. also Osset. *qis* / *yesä* 'thick hair' < Iran. **gaisa-* (see Abayev 1973, 304-305). If not for the labialisation (reflected in PA), it would be tempting to consider the listed Caucasian forms as an old loan from Iranian.

*Gwāl'i hole, burrow: Nakh. *qor-Vk (~ -ō-); Av.-And. *q'irV;
Tsez. *q:ru; Lezg. *q:ul; W.-Cauc. *b'a.

| Nakh. *qor-Vk (~ -ō-) burrow: Ing. *qorg*.

Attested only in Ing. (with a frequent diminutive *-Vk), but having probable external parallels. Nakh > Osset. *qorγ* / *γorγä* 'pit' (Abayev 1973, 311).

| Av.-And. *q'irV 1 wolf-hole 2 burrow 3 dug-out 4 hut 5 trap: Av. *q:or* 1; Chad. *q:or* 5; Akhv. *q:oro* 2; Cham. *q:uru* 4 (*Gig.*); Tind. *q:ara-λ:i* 3.

Av. paradigm A (gen. *q:ori-l*; but Chad. C: *qorō-l*, *q:ōra-l*); the word has also a meaning 'underground passage'. Tindi reflects a locative form (in -λ:i) with irregular vocalism (*q:ura-λ:i* or *q:ora-λ:i* would be expected).

Av. *q:or* > Gin., Bezht., Gunz. *qor* 'trap'.

| Tsez. *q:ru 1 cave, cavern 2 trap, pitfall: Tsez. *boç-aqu* 2; Gin. *oqru* 1; Khvarsh. *oqru* 1 (*Radzhibov*).

PTsKh *q:ru (with metathesis < *q:ru, or < *q:ruV with a laryngeal prefixation). The Tsez. word is a compound with *boçi* 'wolf', lit. 'wolf-hole' (cf. the meaning of Av. *q:or*).

| Lezg. *q:ul 1 hole 2 hearth 3 wall-niche, nest 4 window 5 village: Lezg. *q:ul* 2; Tab. *8ul* 5; Ag. *8ul* 3; Rut. *8ul* 1,4; Tsakh. *8ul* 4; Ud. *8Iul* 4.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *q:ul* 'village', Ag. Bursh. *ul* id., Tsakh. *q:ul*, Gelm. *8ul* 'window'. Obl. base **q:ule-* (cf. Lezg. *q:ula-*, Tab. *8ula-*, Ag. *8ule-*, Rut. *8uli-*, Tsakh. *8ule-*). 3d class in Rut., but 4th class in Tsakh. The original meaning is obviously 'hole, opening' (subsequently > 'dwelling hole, nest, settlement').

| W.-Cauc. *b'a hole, burrow: Abkh. *ā-^{ra}*; Abaz. *ā-^{ra}*; Ad. *8'a*; Kab. *8'a*; Ub. *8'a*.

PAT *a-^{ra}* (a building with a productive suffix -*ra*; without it cf. Abkh. *a-g'a-^{ra}* 'hollow (of a tree)'; PAK **8'V*).

[] Correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems quite reliable. See Abdokov 1983, 186. The Kartvelian data compared with PWC by Lomtadze 1955 (Georg. *m8'ime* 'cavern', *8ru* 'hollow', Old Georg. *qureli* 'hole') are heterogeneous and probably do not belong here. On the other hand, cf. PK **8ele-* 'ravine' which may be borrowed from **Gwāl'i*.

*GwātV a k. of vessel: Nakh. *qul-ek (~ -ū-); Av.-And. *q:(^u)VIV;

Lak. *qali*.

| Nakh. *qul-ek (~ -ū-) churn: Chech. *qulg*; Ing. *qulg*.

4th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing. The word contains a frequent diminutive suffix *-(e)k.

| Av.-And. *q:VIV box; gutter; measuring vessel (about 14 kg.): Av. *q:alí*; Chad. *qalí*.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *q:olō-l*; Chad. *qalí-l* / *qolō-l*, *qalā-l*). The word (with the meaning 'measure, measuring vessel') was borrowed into many surrounding languages: And. *qali*, Tsez., Gin., Arch. *qili*.

| Lak. *qali* barrel.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. It is not excluded that either the Lak. form is borrowed from Av., or vice versa.

*GwāmV dense: Av.-And. *b'omV- (~ -a-); Lak. *q:uma-*; Lezg. *q:(^u)amV-; W.-Cauc. *b'amā (~ G'-).

| Av.-And. *b'omV- (~ -a-) 1 dense 2 to be dense: Av. *8un-k-* 2; Chad. *8únka-ra-b* 1; Kar. *8'amo-b*.

A secondary 'stem I' with class prefixation is represented in Kar. Tok. *-e8u-b* 'dense'. The Av. form has a suffixed -k-.

| Lak. *q:uma-* narrow, cramped.

| Lezg. *q:(^u)amV- dense: Ud. *8alm*.

Attested only in Udi, but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *b'amā (~ G'-) thick (of objects with circular surface): Ad. *8'amā*; Kab. *8'am*.

PAK **8'amā*. Shagirov's (1,137) attempt to analyse the PAK form as 'board' (PWC **G'wā*, not retained in AK) + 'thick' (**mā*, a root which does not exist) was certainly unsuccessful.

[] Phonetically the EC-WC parallel is quite satisfactory. As far as the

meaning is concerned, for PWC we have to suppose a change *'dense' > 'thick' which seems to be quite motivated.

*GwHVbV stack, haystack: Av.-And. *b^wiba; Tsez. *χob (~*b^w-); Lak. q:aw; Darg. *blep:V; W.-Cauc. *ql:(^w)abla.

| Av.-And. *b^wiba 1 stack, haystack 2 heap: Chad. *ḡob* 1; Akhv. *ḡoba* 1; Tind. *ḡoba* 1,2.

Av. paradigm C (*ḡobó-l*, *ḡóba-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *buba*. Tind. > Inkh. *ḡoba* 'haystack'.

| Tsez. *χob (~*b^w-) haystack: Gunz. *ḡob*.

Isolated within Tsezian, but having probable external parallels. Cf. also (with a suffix) Gunz. *ḡobej* 'small stack'.

| Lak. q:aw sheaf.

Cf. Khosr. q:aw id. The Proto-Lak. form was *q^wab, as seen clearly from the Archi loanword: Arch. q^wab 'sheaf'.

| Darg. *ḡlep:V haystack: Ak. *ḡeba*.

Cf. Kait. *ḡep:i*, Kharb. *ḡep:a*, perhaps also Chir. *baḡla* (with metathesis and assimilation).

| W.-Cauc. *ql:(^w)abla a heap of sheaves: Ub. qIabla.

Isolated in Ub., but having very probable external parallels.

[] Cf. also Ag. *ḡeb/ḡāb* (Shaumyan) 'haystack', borrowed from Darg. There is a good correspondence between Av.-And., Darg. and Ub., although the vocalic reconstruction is not certain.

*GwibV ploughshare: Av.-And. *q^wibV; Tsez. *q^wV(bV); Darg. *b^wab; Khin. quw; W.-Cauc. *qaba.

| Av.-And. *q^wibV ploughshare: And. q:eb; Akhv. q:obe; Cham. q:ob; Tind. q:oba; Kar. q:obo.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. q:ubu.

| Tsez. *q^wV(bV) ploughshare: Tsez. qIu; Gin. qu; Khvarsh. qu (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. qIu; Bezht. qo (*Khosh.*); Gunz. qe.

PTsKh *qul (source of pharyngealization unclear); PGB *q^we (cf. also Tlad. qo). The root *q^we is a result of reanalysing the final *-bV as a plural suffix (cf. plural forms like Gunz. qebur; note that in Gunz. the oblique stem is also qebo-).

The vocalism is hard to reconstruct (probably some Ablaut type is reflected).

| Darg. *b^wab ploughshare: Ak. *ḡab*; Chir. *ḡ^wab*.

| Khin. quw ploughshare.

| W.-Cauc. *qaba ploughshare: Abaz. qaba.

Isolated in Abaz., but having very probable EC parallels.

[] An important common NC cultural term. Although within WC the root is attested only in Abaz., the probability of borrowing is rather small. Phonetic correspondences are quite regular (although there is some uncertainty about the first vowel; it is only clear that it was short and front); the uvular consonant had undergone a usual delabialisation before the following labial in PWC.

*GwinV (~ -h-, -f-) village; house: Nakh. *phē; Tsez. *q^win B; Lezg. *muq:I(a); W.-Cauc. *ḡI^wana.

| Nakh. *phē village: Chech. *pha*; Bacb. *phē*.

Obl. stem *phāna- (cf. Chech. *phāna-*); its vocalism has influenced the Chech. direct stem. 4th class in Chech., 6th class in Bacb.

| Tsez. *q^win B farmstead: Tsez. qun; Gin. q^wen; Khvarsh. q^wan (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. qon; Bezht. qun (*Khosh.*); Gunz. qun (*Gunz.*).

PTsKh *q^wan; PGB *qun.

| Lezg. *muq:I(a) village, farmstead: Rut. muq:I.

Erg. muGGIur (3d class). The word is isolated in Rut., but has probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *ḡI^wana house: Abkh. a-ḡnā; Abaz. ḡna; Ad. wāna; Kab. wāna.

PAT *ḡanV; PAK *wānā. It is impossible to compare Ub. ḡ^wanā 'tree' - both for semantic and phonetic reasons (within the correspondence PAT *ḡ^w : PAK *w < PWC *ḡI^w we would expect w- in Ub.). Unacceptable is Kuipers' attempt (Kuipers 1960) to regard the PAK form as a compound.

[] The etymology seems reliable semantically and phonetically (although the PN vowel length is not quite clear: the PWC form presupposes a short PNC vowel).

All other parallels suggested for the PWC form meet serious phonetic obstacles (Trubetzkoy's [1930, 278] comparison with Chech. *ben* 'nest' etc.; Lomtadze's [1955] comparison with Old Georg. *saqudeli*, Megr. *ḡude*, Av. *ruq*: 'house'; Abdokov's [1983, 133] comparison with obvious late loanwords like Gunz. *bina* 'building' etc.). The Georgian form *wani* 'house, dwelling', cited by Charaya (1912) and Bouda (1950) is most probably an Adygh loan.

*GwāGwV / *qwinqV pigeon: Nakh. *qaqu; Av.-And. *ḡunḡu; Lezg. *q^wiq: (~ *q:uq:-); W.-Cauc. *χ^wəχ^wə (~*χ^w, *q^w).

| Nakh. *qaqu pigeon: Chech. qoqa; Ing. qoq; Bacb. qawqū.

6th class in all languages. Cf. also Cheb. qaqu, Shar., Ved. etc. qoqu id.

| Av.-And. *ḡunḡu pigeon: And. ḡuḡu; Akhv. ḡuḡu; Cham. ḡuḡ; Tind. ḡunḡu; Kar. ḡuḡu; Botl. ḡunḡu; Bagv. ḡunḡ^w; God. ḡuḡu.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. ḡunḡu.

| Lezg. *q^wiq: (~ *q:uq:-) a bird similar to a pigeon (вяхирь, вятюшень); Rut. q:uq:aj (*Kich.*).

The root is attested only in Rut., but has probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *χ^wəχ^wə (~*χ^w, *q^w) pigeon: Abkh. a-ḡ^wəḡ^w; Abaz. ḡ^wəḡ^w.

PAT *ḡ^wəḡ^wə. The comparison with PAK *ḡhar(ə)q^w 'pigeon' (Shakryl 1968, 48-49) is untenable.

[] An onomatopoeic root (like many other birdnames), which explains the presence of phonetic variants (voiceless *q^w is reflected in PWC, voiced *Gw - in PA and PL; PN *q may reflect both variants). Cf. Abdokov 1983, 121. Similar onomatopoeic roots are attested in other languages (cf., e.g., PK *ḡuḡun- 'to coo').

*GwintV mound, hill: Lak. q:unt; Lezg. *q:unt(a).

| Lak. q:unt mound, hillock.

Gen. pl. q:unti-rdal.

| Lezg. *q:unt(a) barrow, mound: Lezg. q:unt.

Erg. q:unt-uni; cf. also Akht. q:unt id. The word is attested only in Lezg., but has a probable Lak. parallel.

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss. There exists, however, a HU parallel: Hurr. qund-arā 'mountain, abode of gods' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 24), which makes the EC antiquity of the root rather probable.

*Gwir'i (~ -ñ-, -ǝ-) root, stalk; leaf: Nakh. *ba; Lak. q:ur; Lezg.

*q:ur.

| Nakh. *ba leaf: Chech. ba; Ing. ba.

3d class in Chech., Ing. Obl. base *ba-na- (Chech. bana-, Ing. bano).

| Lak. q:ur carrot.

| Lezg. *q:ur 1 stalk 2 k. of grass 3 carrot (plant): Lezg. q:ur 1; Tab. bur / q:ur 1; Ag. bur 2; Rut. bur (Shin.) 1; Tsakh. bur 1; Arch. qur 3.

Obl. base *q:ura- (cf. Tsakh. buro-). 4th class in Arch. and Tsakh.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*Gwör'e hare: Nakh. *pha-kal; Tsez. *q̄j A; Darg. *bɪ'ari; Lezg.

*q:lora.

| Nakh. *pha-kal hare: Chech. phagal; Ing. phagal; Bacb. p̄xakal.

4th class in Chech., Ing., dd in Bacb. Reasons for irregular development in Bacb. (*ph- > p̄x-) are unclear.

| Tsez. *q̄j A hare: Tsez. q̄laj; Gin. q̄i; Khvarsh. qe (Radzhibov); Inkh. q̄l̄e; Bezht. q̄i (Khosh.); Gunz. q̄i.

PTsKh *q̄l̄ej (cf. also Tsez. Kid. qa, Kh. q̄la, (Imn.) q̄laj / q̄le); PGB *q̄l̄, obl. base *q̄ijV- (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. q̄ija / reflecting the original oblique base/, Gunz. obl. base q̄ijo-, Gunz. Nakh. q̄l̄ with preservation of nasalisation).

| Darg. *bɪ'ari hare: Ak. ʕalra; Chir. bɪlura.

Cf. also Ur. ʕalri, Kait. bɪ'ari, Kub. bɪ'ā, Tsud. ʕuri.

| Lezg. *q:lora hare: Lezg. q:ur; Tab. blur; Ag. Rur; Rut. blir; Tsakh. blije; Kryz. q:ur; Bud. q:ur; Ud. bu.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. q:lur, Ag. Fit. blur, Burk. Rar, Tp. ʕur, Tsakh. Gelm. blija. Oblique stem *q:lora- (Lezg. q:ure-, Tab. blura-, Düb. q:lura-, Ag. Rura-, Fit. blura-, Rut. blirā-). 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Talibov 1960a, 297.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. PN has a form with a diminutive suffix *-k, enhanced by an additional *-IV (cf. the same suffixation in *chokal 'fox', and in PA *ʕan-kala 'hare').

*Gw[ũ]tō (~-ǝ) side: Av.-And. *b̄VIV; Lezg. *q:ʷal; W.-Cauc.

*(b̄a)ʷV.

| Av.-And. *b̄VIV side, slope (of mountain): Av. b̄ʷel.

Av. paradigm C (loc. b̄olo-da, pl. b̄ul-dul).

| Lezg. *q:ʷal (~-l:) side: Lezg. q:ʷal; Tab. b̄ʷal; Ag. q:ʷal.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. q:ʷal, Ag. Fit. q:ʷal id. Obl. stem *q:ʷala- (cf. Lezg. q:ʷala-, Tab. b̄ʷala-).

| W.-Cauc. *(b̄a)ʷV side: Ad. b̄b̄ʷa; Kab. b̄b̄ʷa; Ub. b̄a-kā.

PAK *b̄b̄ʷa; the Ub. form contains a frequent singular suffix -k(a). Shagirov (1977) compares the AK form to PAT *γʷə 'board', Ub. b̄ʷə 'post' (PWC *Gʷə), which seems much less trustworthy. The initial *b- of the PAK form is a historical prefix.

[] The comparison is reliable both phonetically and semantically. There is some uncertainty about the vocalic reconstruction (since there are general doubts about the vowel reconstructed as *ū).

*GwVnGwV throat, larynx: Nakh. *qam'ar-ik; Av.-And. *q:ʷanq:ʷa; Tsez. *q̄ʷiq (~-i, -~); Darg. *q:umq:um; Lezg. *ql:āql:ʷ.

| Nakh. *qam'ar-ik throat, larynx: Chech. qamqarg; Ing. qamarg.

4th class in Chech. and Ing. The stem contains a frequent PN diminutive suffix *-ik.

| Av.-And. *q:ʷanq:ʷa gullet: And. q:ʷanq:ʷa; Cham. q:ʷaq:a; Tind. q:ʷanq:ʷala; Kar. q:ʷanq:ʷa; Bagv. q:unq:u; God. q:ʷanq:ʷaʔil.

Cf. also Cham. U.-Gakv. q:ūqa. The God. form is a compound with some unclear second component.

| Tsez. *q̄ʷiq (~-i, -~) 1 throat 2 crop, craw: Tsez. q̄elq 1; Gin. q̄ʷaq 1,2; Khvarsh. qeqʷa (Radzhibov).

PTsKh *q̄ʷilq (~-~). We probably should relate here (supposing irregular changes in an expressive stem) PGB *b̄ʷb̄ 'crop, craw' (Gunz. b̄ʷb̄, Bezht. b̄ʷb̄).

| Darg. *q:umq:um crop, craw: Chir. q:umq:um.

| Lezg. *ql:āql:ʷ 1 craw, goitre 2 throat, larynx 3 top (of boot): Lezg. qūq:-ūm 1; Tab. q̄iq 2; Ag. q̄laq 2; Arch. q̄laq:li 3; Ud. q:ib̄ (Nidzh.) 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Akht. q:ūq:ūm 'craw, goitre'. In Tab. and Ag. (cf. also Tab. Düb. q̄iq, Ag. Bursh. q̄iq, Burk. qeq) the root means both 'throat' and 'top (of boot)'. Some irregularities (notably, the loss of glottalization in Lezg. and the weak reflex -q in Ag. and Tab.) are explained by the roots reduplicated and expressive nature.

[] An expressive reduplicated stem (cf. also PNC *h̄ōmGwi), reconstructed for the PEC level. Pharyngealisation in PL is perhaps expressive.

*yatʔV step; interval between legs: Nakh. *ʁa; Av.-And. *gVIV.

| Nakh. *ʁa (~ -ā-) 1 step 2 interval between legs, groin: Chech. *ʁa-s* 1; Ing. *ʁa* 1; Bacb. *ʁa* 2.

In Chech. the root is used only in the former plural form (*ʁa-s*) with the meaning 'a side-step'. 4th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing., 8th class in Bacb.

| Av.-And. *gVIV step: Av. *gáli*.

Av. paradigm C (*galú-l*, *gála-bi*).

[] A Nakh-Avar isogloss.

*yimgwV(IV) cake, round bread: Av.-And. *hingʷVra; Darg. *gemgV / *gergV; Lezg. *gimgʷV-IV / -rV.

| Av.-And. *hingʷVra 1 bread 2 stuffed bread 3 small round bread: Av. *gurgá* 3; And. *ingura* 2; Akhv. *ĩgʷara* 1; Kar. *hingor* 1.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *gurgá-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *ingoro*, Ratl. *ungora* 'bread'. Av. *gurgá* > Lak. *gurga* 'round bread'. In Av. the root may have been influenced by *gurgina-b* 'round' (q.v.), but the Andian parallels (with the specific correspondence Av. g- : PA *h-) show that this is a secondary coincidence.

| Darg. *gemgV / *gergV 1 round bread 2 dough; Ak. *gerg* 1; Chir. *gamga* 2.

| Lezg. *gimgʷV-IV / -rV 1 cake, cookie 2 flour made of roasted wheat: Ag. *k:uk:alaj* 1; Rut. *gugalaj* 1; Tsakh. *gurguma* 2.

The Tsakh. form, in view of external evidence, is best explained as a metathesis < *gumgura < *gimgʷV-raj (Ag., Rut. < *gimgʷV-laj). In all these forms the expressive suffix *-j is present.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In several languages the root was influenced by the similar PEC *girgwV 'round' q.v.; the Andian reflexes, however, show that this is quite a different root.

*yimtV stool; pillow: Nakh. *ʁant (~ -ā-); Av.-And. *ʔotu (~ -a-); Darg. *ʁuta; Lezg. *k:u(m)taɟ.

| Nakh. *ʁant (~ -ā-) 1 chair 2 bench: Chech. *ʁant* 1,2; Ing. *ʁand* 1.

Cf. also Cheb., Shar. *ʁanit* 'chair' (with secondary -t). Final -d in Ing. is not clear. 3d class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *ʔotu (~ -a-) stool: Tind. *atu*.

Attested only in Tind., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *ʁuta chair: Ak. *uta*.

Cf. also Mek. *uta*, Kub. *guta* id.

| Lezg. *k:u(m)taɟ pillow: Tab. *guta*; Ag. *gutaj* (Bursh.);

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *gutaj* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. The original meaning must have been simply "wooden block", used as a support both while sitting and while sleeping (the custom of using wooden pillows is nowadays spread only in South East Asia, but was probably more widely spread earlier).

*ʔonʔV pear: Nakh. *ʁam-maʁa; Av.-And. *hinhV; Tsez. *hĩ.

| Nakh. *ʁam-maʁa 1 peach 2 apricot: Chech. *ʁammaʁa* 1; Ing. *ʁamaʁa* 2.

| Av.-And. *hinhV pear: Av. *gēni*; Chad. *gēni*; And. *hĩhĩ*; Cham. *hĩhĩ*; Tind. *hĩha*; Kar. *hĩhĩ*; Bagv. *hĩha*; God. *hĩhu*.

Av. paradigm A (gen. *gēnu-l*, pl. Chad. *gēna-l*). And. (Tind.-Cham.) > Inkh. *hĩhe* 'pear'. Av. > Tsez., Gin., Bezht. *gēni* 'pear'.

| Tsez. *hĩ pear: Bezht. *hĩ* (Khaidakov); Gunz. *hĩ*.

PGB *hĩ, on the reflexes of this root in PTsKh (in the compound *hĩʔēs) see under *ʔēs: 'apple'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PN form is a compound < *ʁan + *paʁa (about the second part see PEC *pĩrqa). It is interesting to note a form, isolated within Andian: Akhv. *maʁ:aʁ:o* 'pear', very much resembling the PN *ʁammaʁa (but obviously not related genetically, because there is no correspondence between PN *ʁ and PA *ʁ:). This may be an old loanword from Nakh (with ʁ: reflecting the PN *ʁ - probably before the original *G changed to *ʁ in PA).

*ʔwāʔi (~ -e) team-work, help: Nakh. *ʁo; Av.-And. *haʔi; Lak.

guj.

| Nakh. *ʁo help, support: Chech. *ʁo*; Ing. *ʁo*.

3d class in both languages. Obl. base *ʁo-ne- (Chech. *ʁona-*, Ing. *ʁono*).

| Av.-And. *haʔi team-work (followed by regalement): Av. *gʷaj*; And. *haj* (Leksika); Akhv. *he* (Leksika); Tind. *haj* (Leksika); Kar. *haʔe* (Leksika).

Av. paradigm B ~ C (loc. *gʷawú-ʁ*). All the Andian data are taken from Leksika 1971; the MSU recordings list only Avar loanwords with the meaning "team-work" (And. *gʷaj*, Akhv. *gʷe*, Cham. *gʷaj*, Tind. *gʷa*). The Avar word is also borrowed in Tsez., Inkh. *gʷaj*; a dialectal or Old Avar form *gʷah is borrowed in Arch. *gʷah*, Bezht., Gunz. *gahi*.

Av. *gʷaj* : PA *haʔi is one of the rare cases of the g : h correspondence (going back to the hypothetical PEC *ʔ).

| Lak. *guj* animation, merriment.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of the roots with the rare voiced fricative *ʔ. The Lak. form may be ultimately borrowed from Av. (with a semantic change), as are many Andian and Tsezian forms listed above; however, the PN : Av. : PA correspondence can not be explained by borrowing.

*ʔwar(V)tV group, flock: Nakh. *ʁāri; Av.-And. *gʷVrV; Lak.

hurt-u; Lezg. *ʁa(r)t:V-r; W.-Cham. *ʔarəta.

| Nakh. *ʁāri band, gang: Chech. *ʁəra*; Ing. *ʁəra*; acb. *ʁajri*.

4th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *g^wVrV crowd, medley: Av. *gūri*.
 Av. paradigm C (*gurā-l*, *gūra-bi*). The Avar source is most probable for Osset.
g^wir / *gur* 'crowd' (see Abayev 1958, 531).
 | Lak. *hurt:u-* common, joint, collective.
 | Lezg. **ba(r)t:V-r-* herd of cattle: Arch. *bat:əra*.
 Attested only in Archi, but having probable external parallels.
 | W.-Cauc. **k:arəta* flock of sheep: Abkh. *a-g^warta*; Abaz. *g^warta*; Ad. *k^wart*;
 Kab. *g^warta*.

PAT **g^warəta*; PAK **k:arəta*.

[] For PEC we must reconstruct an intermediate form (with assimilation) **γwardV*. Some Caucasian source is probable for Osset. *kord* / *k^ward* 'group, flock' (despite Abayev 1958 who suggested to derive the Osset. form from Got. **kaurdr* 'herd' - an impossible form - and proposed further the direction of borrowing Osset. > Adyghe. A reverse direction is more probable in this case, although phonetic problems still remain). A special problem is the etymology of PL **karef* 'group, herd' (Tab. *keref*, Ag. *karaf*, Lezg. *keref*): it can not be derived from **γwardV* (> Arch. *bat:əra*) and may be, in fact, a secondary loan from Ossetian (Alanian).

**ba*+V plait, mane: Av.-And. **bVIV*; Lak. *bal*; Darg. **bal*; Lezg.

**bla*blal.

| Av.-And. **bVIV* plait; bundle, bunch: Av. *bal*; Chad. *bal*.
 Chad. paradigm C (*bal-l*, *bal-a-l*). Cf. also Av. *balā-ko* 'forelock'.
 | Lak. *bal* goat's wool.
 Cf. Khosr. *bal* id.
 | Darg. **bal* mane: Ak. *bal* (*Sirg.*).
 Cf. also a compound in Kub., Tsud. *bal-qama* 'main'.
 | Lezg. **bla*blal horse's mane: Rut. *bla*blal (*Ikhr.*).
 Isolated in Rut., but with probable external cognates.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PL form is reduplicated; its pharyngealization is probably expressive. Since the Av., Lak. and Darg. forms coincide precisely, borrowing is not excluded.

**bamV* (~ ə, o) near: Lak. *ban-*; Darg. **bam-*.

| Lak. *ban-* near.

| Darg. **bam-* near: Ak. *bam-si*; Chir. *bamle*.

[] A Lak-Darg. isogloss (possibly loaned from Lak. into Darg. or vice versa, thus the PEC antiquity is rather dubious).

*[*ba*]ančV a bite, to bite: Av.-And. **HVNč-*; Lezg. **banč*.

| Av.-And. **HVNč-* bite: Av. *hanč-*.

The root is also present in Akhv. (Tseg., Tlan. *hanč-*), where it is obviously borrowed from Avar (judging from initial *h-*).

| Lezg. **banč* 1 bite 2 gnaw: Lezg. *ba^warč awun* 2; Tab. *banč apub* 1; Arch. *haInč bos* 1.

An expressive root, thus the correspondences are violated (excessive labialisation in Lezg., irregular correspondences between affricates). The Arch. word has been modified under Avar influence (cf. Av. *hanč-ize*), but it must not be considered a loanword because of its Lezg. and Tab. counterparts.

[] An expressive and irregular Av.-Lezg. isogloss. Not very reliable.

**barhV* harrow: Av.-And. **barV*; Lak. *ba*j; Lezg. **bar(a)*.

| Av.-And. **barV* 1 harrow 2 wooden ladder: Av. *bari* 2; And. *bari* 2.

The Av. word is formally a deverbative from *bar-ize* 'to harrow'. In Andian the semantic shift was probably conditioned by the external similarity of the wooden harrow and the wooden ladder.

| Lak. *ba*j *harrow.

The Lak. noun is used only in compound verbs *ba*j *tun*, *ba*j *učin* 'to

harrow'. An old borrowing from Lak. is Arch. *hej-bos* 'to plough'.

| Lezg. **ḡar(a)* harrow: Lezg. *ḡar*; Tab. *ḡar*.

There is not enough evidence to establish the PL oblique base.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**ḡeḡ* 'ne stone plate, rock layer: Av.-And. **ḡoʷV* (~ -a-); Lak. *ḡuni*; Darg. **ḡlena*; Lezg. **ḡlān* (~ -a-).

| Av.-And. **ḡoʷV* (~ -a-) foundation, groundwork: Cham. *ḡaj*.

Isolated in Cham. (cf. also Gad., Gig. *ḡaj*), but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *ḡuni* (stone) plate.

Cf. Khosr. *ḡun-ḡi* id. (a suffixed form).

| Darg. **ḡlena* stone plate, boulder: Ak. *ḡena*; Chir. *hana*.

Cf. also Kub. *hana*, Ur. *ḡina*, Tsud. *ḡena*, Sirg. *ḡāna*, Kait. *hana* id.

| Lezg. **ḡlān* (~ -a-) rock layer: Rut. *ḡlan* (*Shin*).

Attested only in Rut., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root contains a rare combination of **ḡ-* and the emphatic laryngeal *-ḡ-*, which influenced the development of **ḡ;* nevertheless, the etymology seems acceptable (despite the irregularity of vowel *-u* in Lak.).

**ḡHwadVrV* river, stream: Nakh. **ḡadurV*; Av.-And. **ḡador(V)*; Lak. *altara*; Darg. **q:l(ʷ)art*: (~ -d).

| Nakh. **ḡadurV* mountain stream (after rain or thawing): Chech. *ḡowr-aḡ*.

The Chech. form is a pluralis tantum. The reconstruction is tentative (without Bacb. it is impossible to establish whether PN had here **-d*-, **-b*-, **-g*- or **-w*-, as well as the precise PN vowel quality and quantity).

| Av.-And. **ḡado(rV)* 1 stream, brook 2 ravine: And. *ḡador 1*; Akhv. *ḡada* (*Tseg.*) 1; Cham. *ḡada 1*; Tind. *ḡaja 1*; Botl. *ḡadaru 1*; God. *ḡada 2*.

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *ḡarda* 'stream, ravine', Cham. Gig. *ḡada* 'ravine'.

| Lak. *altara* mountain stream.

Cf. also Khosr. *altala* id. There exists also an Archi loanword: Arch. *haltara* 'river', pointing to a variant with **h-* in Old Lak. or some Lak. dialect.

| Darg. **q:l(ʷ)art*: (~ -d) valley: Ak. *q:alrd*.

Borrowed from Darg. is probably a Tab. form, isolated within Lezghian: Tab. *ḡlar*, Düb. *q:lar* 'brook, stream' (preserving the more archaic meaning).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Some irregularities may be explained by lexical interference: *-t-* in Lak. is probably due to a merger with PEC **ḡāV* (/*ḡāV*) 'kennel, gutter' q.v. (cf. especially the Khosr. variant *altala*); **q:* in PD may be due to the influence of PD **q:at:a* 'ravine' (< **G(w)edV* q.v.).

**ḡHwōr[ḡ]o* (~ -ḡ-, -ḡ-) deer, game: Av.-And. **ḡʷorḡo* (~ a); Lezg. **ḡlorḡ*; Khin. *ḡaḡ*.

| Av.-And. **ḡʷorḡo* (~ a) deer: Tind. *ḡʷarḡa*; Bagv. *ḡʷarḡa*.

| Lezg. **ḡlorḡ* 1 hunting, game 2 mountain goat: Lezg. *ḡurḡ 1*; Tab. *ḡlurḡ 1*;

Ag. *ḡlurḡ 1*; Rut. *ḡlirḡ 2*.

Obl. base **ḡlorḡa-* (cf. Lezg. *ḡurḡe-*, Ag. *ḡlurḡa-*, Rut. *ḡlirḡa-*). 3d class in Rut. Voiceless *ḡl-* in Tab. is a result of assimilation.

See Maromero 1966, 341.

| Khin. *ḡaḡ* mountain goat.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PA and PL/Khin. forms are obviously related, although reasons for variation between *ḡ* and *ḡ* are not clear.

**ḡḡeḡḡḡ* small stone: Av.-And. **ḡoḡV*; Tsez. **ḡ:ḡ:V* (~ -ḡ-, -a-); Lak. *ḡalwḡa*; Darg. **ḡlabḡla*.

| Av.-And. **ḡoḡV* 1 small stone 2 heap of stones: Av. *ḡeḡ 2*; And. *ḡoḡu 1* (*Khaidakov*); Cham. *ḡaḡ 2*; Tind. *ḡaḡa 1*; Kar. *ḡaḡe-r 1* (*Anch.*).

Av. paradigm C (*ḡoḡo-l, ḡuḡ-dul*). Cf. also Kar. Rach. *ḡaḡe* 'small stone'.

| Tsez. **ḡ:ḡ:V* 1 small stones, road-metal 2 chip, sliver: Tsez. *ḡoḡu 2*; Bezht. *ḡaḡa*.

Cf. also Tlad., Khosh. *ḡaḡa*.

| Lak. *ḡalwḡa* gravel, road metal.

| Darg. **ḡlabḡla* gravel, road-metal: Ak. *ḡalḡal*; Chir. *ḡlabḡla*.

A variant *ḡlawḡla* is also recorded for Chir. (possibly a loan from Lak.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive reduplicated root, but correspondences are regular and the PEC reconstruction seems probable (although there is a possibility of borrowing either in Lak. from Darg., or vice versa).

**ḡōlʷV* (~ -ḡ-, -ḡ-) sledge, sleigh: Nakh. **ḡo*; Av.-And. **ḡilV*; Darg. **ḡall*; Lezg. **ḡlal(ḡ)*.

| Nakh. **ḡo* sledge runner: Chech. *ḡo*; Ing. *ḡo*.

Obl. base **ḡo-ne-* (Chech. *ḡōna-*, Ing. *ḡono*). 3d class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **ḡilV* wheel: Cham. *ḡil*.

Attested only in Cham., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. **ḡall* sledge, sleigh: Ak. *ḡalj*; Chir. *ḡlal*.

Cf. also Kait., Sirg., Muir. *ḡlal*, Kub. *ḡlar* (with obviously a secondary *-r* < **-l* through assimilation, because original **r* > Kub. *j/0*).

| Lezg. **ḡlal(ḡ)* sledge, sleigh: Lezg. *ḡel*; Ag. *ḡlal-ar*; Rut. *ḡlal* (*Khniukh*).

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *ḡallar-ar* (a double plural). The Rut. obl. base *ḡlilir-* points to a PL obl. base with Ablaut (**ḡlilV-*). 3d class in Rut.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. In Cham. the meaning 'wheel' is secondary (< **sledge runner*).

**ḡurḡV* grumbling, roar: Nakh. **ḡerḡ* (~ -ḡ-); Av.-And. **ḡurḡ*; Tsez. **ḡ:ḡVr-*; Lak. *ḡurḡu*; Darg. **ḡurḡ*; Lezg. **ḡVrḡV* / **rVḡV*.

| Nakh. **ḡerḡ* (~ -ḡ-) to roar: Chech. *ḡerḡ*.

| Av.-And. **ḡurḡ* to roar: Chad. *ḡurḡur-d*; Cham. *ḡurḡur-id*; Tind. *ḡuḡ-ih*.

| Tsez. **ḡ:ḡVr-* to roar: Bezht. *ḡor-ah* (*Tlad.*).

| Lak. *burbu* grumbling, roaring.

Cf. perhaps also (with irregular variation of liquids) *balba* 'talk, speaking'.

| Darg. **burb*- 1 to grumble 2 to roar: Ak. *burbur-bikes* 1; Chir. *buḥ buči* 2.

| Lezg. **ḅVrḅV* / **rVḅIV* 1 to roar 2 to speak: Tab. *k:a-ra=ḅI-* 1; Ag. *ḅurḅ-* 2; Rut. *q:lirḅ waʔas* 1; Tsakh. *mirḅ as* 1.

An onomatopoeic root with several irregularities.

[] A reduplicated and obviously onomatopoeic root; it is, however, very widely spread and in some cases serves as a basis for the words meaning 'to speak, talk', so perhaps its PEC reconstruction is not completely senseless.

**ḅV* a demonstrative pronoun: Av.-And. **ḅV-*; Lezg. **ḅu-*; Khin. *ḅi*.

| Av.-And. **ḅV-* 1 that 2 this, he: Av. *ḅo-b* 1; Chad. *ḅa, ḅa-b* 2.

The Av. root has no parallels in Andian languages, but seems to have external parallels.

| Lezg. **ḅu-* demonstr. pronoun ('that (above)'): Tab. *ḅu-mu*; Arch. *ḅu-du*.

See Алексеев 1985, 75.

| Khin. *ḅi* that, he (obl. stem).

The stem is used in obl. cases of the pronoun *du* / *dä* (q.v.) in the 1st and 2d classes (1st class: erg. *ḅi*, dat. *ḅu*, 2d class: erg. *ḅʷi*, dat. *ḅu*).

[] The identity of the Av., PL and Khin. stems is obvious, although it is rather hard to reconstruct the precise function of this pronoun. In PL it is used to denote objects located higher than the speaker; in Avar - rather vice versa (it is either a neutral third person pronoun or denotes objects located lower than the speaker). Cf. also Khin. *q:ʷa* (with emphatic tenseness, the same as in *t:ʷa* < **dV*) 'there (below the speaker)'.

**ḅwāldV* wooden saddle for a donkey: Av.-And. **ḅʷaldi-bV(r)* (-o-); Tsez. **ḅ:ilV* (~ḅ-, i, u, r); Lak. *hallibilli*.

| Av.-And. **ḅʷaldi-bV(r)* (~o-) wooden saddle for a donkey: Av. *ḅaldiber*; Akhv. *ḅʷadiba*; Kar. *ḅanduldi*; God. *ḅardiba*.

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *ḅarioli* (< **ḅʷardiboli*), Kar. L.-Enkh. *ḅalduber*, Tok. *ḅaldimi*. The form is an original plural in *-bV(r) from a stem **ḅʷaldi* (~ -o-). The suffixless form is not attested, but is reflected in an old Archi loan from Avar: Arch. *ḅildi* 'pack-saddle'.

| Tsez. **ḅ:ilV* (~ḅ-, i, u, r) saddle for a donkey: Tsez. *ḅilelu* / *ḅilalo*.

Attested only in Tsez. (cited from Imnaishvili), but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *hallibilli* a wooden device for transporting stones on donkeys.

The word stems from the Bartkh. dialect (cited from Khaidakov 1966).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Lak. form is an irregular transformation of **halli-bVr* = PA **ḅʷaldi-bVr* (with an original plural suffix).

**ḅwānVtū* a k. of insect; small bird: Nakh. **ḅunV-* (-o-, -d-); Av.-And. **q:(ʷ)anV-*; Tsez. **ḅ:(ʷ)onV-*; Lak. *ḅʷanḅʷaraṭi*; W.-Cauc. **ḅʷəndʷA*.

| Nakh. **ḅunV-* (-o-, -d-) bug: Chech. *ḅundalḅi*.

The word is homonymous with *ḅundalḅi* 'black elder' (Ing. *ḅuldam*), but this is probably fortuitous, since it has probable external parallels (or else a development "bug" > "black elder" had taken place - since black elder berries look like small insects?).

| Av.-And. **q:(ʷ)anV-nV* butterfly: And. *q:afi-pa*.

Cf. also in Khaidakov's notation: And. *q:antina*. Isolated in And., but with probable external parallels.

| Tsez. **ḅ:(ʷ)onV* butterfly: Khvarsh. *ḅontu*; Inkh. *ḅoḅontu*.

PTsKh *ḅontu* (in Inkh. reduplicated).

| Lak. *ḅanḅaraṭi* beetle.

Khaidakov 1966 quotes the form with labialisation: *ḅʷanḅʷaraṭi*. Cf. also the variant in the Russian-Lak dictionary: *q:anḅaraṭi*.

| W.-Cauc. **ḅʷəndʷA* 1 gadfly 2 small bird, bird: Ad. *ḅʷəḁə* 1; Kab. *ḅʷəḁa* 1; Ub. *ḅʷəḁ(n)dʷə* 2.

Deriving Ub. *ḅʷəḁ(n)dʷə* from *ḅʷəḁə* 'tree' (see Dirr 77) is obviously a folk etymology. Kab. *ḅʷəḁa* > Abaz. *ḅʷəḁa* (see Шарипов 1, 137).

[] An expressive common NC root. The etymology seems rather probable, despite the irregular assimilation (ḅ- > q:-) in Andian. Abdokov (1983, 117) compares the Ubykh word with PL **q:Iʷen*: 'partridge' (reflected in Lezg. *q:ʷed*, Khl. *q:Iʷad*, Tab. *ḅlud*, Ag. *Rud*, Fit. *ḅlud*, Rut. *ḅlud*, Tsakh. *q:lon*, Mik., Gelm. *ḅlon*, Arch. *qlon*). The Lezg. root, has, indeed, no other etymology, but the phonetic side of the comparison is somewhat dubious (PL **n*: does not usually go back to clusters with dental consonants).

**ḅwērʷV* noise: Nakh. **ḅara*; Av.-And. **ḅʷVrHV*; Lak. *ḅaw*; Lezg. **ḅʷVr-*; W.-Cauc. **ḅʷV*.

| Nakh. **ḅara* noise: Chech. *ḅara*; Ing. *ḅar*.

4th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **ḅʷVrHV* 1 noise 2 thunder: Akhv. *ḅʷer* (*Tlan.*) 1; Tind. *ḅʷā* / *ḅʷār* 2.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *ḅuj* 'noise'.

| Lak. *ḅaw* rumble.

| Lezg. **ḅʷVr-* roar: Ud. *ḅurum*.

| W.-Cauc. **ḅʷV* 1 to bleat 2 to moo, bellow 3 to roar: Abkh. *ā-bʷʷ-ra* 2; Ad. *ḅʷa-n* 1; Ub. *ḅa-* 2,3.

PAK **ḅʷa-* (the same root is present in **ḅʷa-χʷa-* 'to roar' > Ad., Kab. *ḅʷaχʷa-n*, **ḅʷa-γə-* 'to weep loudly' > Ad., Kab. *ḅʷaγə-n*, **ḅʷa-wə-* 'herald, public crier' > Ad. *ḅʷawə*, Kab. *ḅʷow*, see Shagirov 1,135); Ub. *ā-ḅā-n*.

[] A common NC onomatopoeic root.

**ḅwēmdV* day: Tsez. **ḅ:ḁəḁ*; Lak. *hanta*.

| Tsez. **ḅ:ḁəḁ* 1 day 2 tomorrow: Tsez. *ḅudi* 1, *ḅude* 2; Gin. *ḅʷede* 1; Khvarsh. *ḅʷade* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *ḅode* 2; Bezht. *wodo* 1; Gunz. *wəḁa* 1.

PTsKh **ɣwədə*; PGB **wədə*. The root is homonymic with PTs **ɣ:ʷədə* 'rain' (q.v.), which is most probably accidental (cf. different parallels in Lak).

| Lak. *hant:a* 24 hours, day.

Cf. also *hunt:i*, Khosr. *hunt:i* 'tomorrow', Lak. *hant:a* > Arch. *hant:i* 'some time, a certain amount of time'.

[] A Tsez-Lak. isogloss.

**ɣwcrV* dung, excrements: Av.-And. **ɣwara* (~ o); Darg. **duɣu*; Lezg. **ɣ(ʷ)er-* / **reɣ(ʷ)*.

| Av.-And. **ɣwara* (~ o) cow's dung: Tind. *ɣwara*.

Attested only in Tind., with probable external parallels.

| Darg. **duɣu* sheep's dung (collect.): Chir. *duɣu*.

| Lezg. **ɣ(ʷ)er-* / **reɣ(ʷ)* 1 spittle, saliva 2 diarrhea: Lezg. *ɣer 1*; Ag. *q:urq:ur 2*; Kryz. *reɣ 1*.

Cf. also Lezg. Kub. *ɣer*, Akht. *ɣir* 'spittle'. The Ag. form is expressively reduplicated and somewhat irregular (*ɣurɣur* would be rather expected).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive root with some violations of phonetic rules; in Darg. a metathesis (*duɣu* < **ruɣu* < **ɣwVru*).

**ɣwɪnʔV* name of a season: Nakh. **ʔa*; Lak. **ɣi*; Darg. **ha(ni)*; W.-Cauc. **ɣɪw'a*.

| Nakh. **ʔa* winter: Chech. *ʔa*; Ing. *ʔa*; Bacb. *ʔa*.

3d class in all languages. Obl. base **ʔane-* (cf. Chech. *ʔana-*, Ing. *ʔano*). Cf. also Akk., Pharch. *ʔa*.

| Lak. *ɣi* summer.

Gen. *ɣin-tni-l*. Cf. Khosr. *ɣi*, *ɣwɪn-tni-l* id.

| Darg. **ha(ni)* summer: Chir. *ha*.

Cf. also Chir. *hane* 'in summer', Kub. *hani-si* 'summer', Kait. *han(a)-si* id.

| W.-Cauc. **ɣɪw'a* 1 spring 2 time, term, season: Abkh. *ā-pən 1*; Abaz. *ʔa-pnə 1*; Ad. *jə-ɣw'a 2*; Kab. *jə-ɣw'a 2*; Ub. *wa-fā-da 1*.

See on the PAT and Ub. compounds under **pʷV* 'spring' (PWC **ɣɪw'a-pʷV-*). PAK **jə-ɣw'a* contains a pronominal prefix **jə-*. PWC **ɣɪw'a* should be kept separate from PWC **ɣa* 'time, age' (q.v.): although reflexes of both roots have merged in PAT **ʔa-*, the PAT form **ʔa-pə-(nə)* 'spring' is very hard to separate from Ub. *wa-fā-da*, and PAT **ʔ* (instead of expected **ʔʷ*) must be explained by dissimilatory delabialisation (before following **-p-*). In AK and Ubykh the two roots are still quite distinctly opposed.

[] It is interesting to note that the roots meaning 'summer' and 'winter' have reversed their meanings in PN. The whole problem of reconstructing seasonal subdivisions in PNC still awaits investigation (there probably existed several major generic terms and a variety of names for relatively short periods of time, just as in modern languages). Despite semantic difficulties, it seems hardly possible to separate the Nakh forms from the rest.

**ɣwɔnV* tree: Nakh. **ɣānV*; Tsez. **ɣ:ʷən*; W.-Cauc. **ɣwənə*.

| Nakh. **ɣānV* elm-tree: Ing. *ɣān*.

PN length can be established by the Ing. -ā- (which in this position can only go back to *ā).

| Tsez. **ɣ:ʷən 1* tree 2 forest 3 bush: Tsez. *ɣun 1,3*; Khvarsh. *ɣwan 1*; Inkh. *ɣon 1*; Bezht. *wan 2*; Gunz. *hən 2*.

PTsKh **ɣwən* (cf. also Tsez. Asakh. *ɣwɪn*); PGB **hən* / **wən* (the Gunz. word also means 'board').

| W.-Cauc. **ɣwənə* tree: Ub. *ɣwənə*.

Isolated in Ub. with the only possible parallels in EC (despite Dumézil 1932,124 the root has nothing to do with PAK **wəna*, PAT **ʔwənə* 'house').

[] The comparison seems plausible both phonetically and semantically (although the root is not very widely represented). See Abdokov 1983, 106 (Tsez. : Ub.; other EC forms cited by Abdokov, do not belong here).

**ɣwV* thou (obl. base): Nakh. **ho*; Darg. **hu*; Lezg. **ɣu(-n)*; Khin. *ox*.

| Nakh. **hō* thou (2d p.pr.): Chech. *ho*; Ing. *ho*; Bacb. *ho*.

PN paradigm: nom. **hō* (shortened already in PN; length is preserved in forms like Chech. dat. *hū-na* < **hō-nu*), obl. **ha-* (Chech., Ing., Bacb. *ha-*), erg. **ʔah* (Chech. *ah*, Ing. *ʔa* < **aʔ* with secondary voicing, Bacb. *ah*).

| Darg. **hu* thou (2d p.pr.): Ak. *hu*; Chir. *ʔu*.

Cf. also Ur. *hu*, Tsud. *ʔuI*, Kub. *uI*, Kait. *i*; note also an interesting form (with inexplicable *g-*) Sirg. *gu*.

| Lezg. **ɣu* thou (2d p. pr.): Rut. *ɣu* (*Shin.*); Tsakh. *ɣu*; Ud. *hu-n* (*Nidzh.*).

This is a rare, but archaic pronominal stem, nearly completely superseded in most languages by PL **uɔ(-n)* q.v. The stem **ɣu(-n)* is used as a direct stem in the Nidzh dialect of Udi, in several Rutul dialects (*Shinaz*, *Khnov*, *Ikhrek*) and in Tsakhur (interchanging with the normal *wu* < **uɔ(-n)*). Most important, however, is the regular use of this stem as genitive in Tsakhur: *jiɣ-na* (1-2 class), *jiɣi-n* (3 class) < PL **-oɣ(ʷ)-*. Other languages have not preserved this usage, but it is very close to the situation in Khinalug, and allows to reconstruct the stem **-oɣ(ʷ)-* as the original oblique stem of this pronoun. See Алексеев 1985, 72.

| Khin. *ox* thou (2d p. pr., dative case).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The stem originally formed part of the suppletive paradigm of the 2d person pronoun. We can securely reconstruct the oblique stem **ʔoɣwV*, reflected in PN erg. **ʔah*, Tsakh. gen. *j-iɣ-* and Khin. dat. *ox*. It was probably used in the ergative case (the shift to genitive in Tsakhur must be secondary, because the original 2d person genitive is more or less securely reconstructed as **ʔeuV-* or **ʔiuV*, see under **uɔ*). As for the stem **ɣwV-* itself, it was either used as ergative or (interchanging with **uɔ*) also as nominative.

The complete paradigm of the second person pronoun in PEC can thus be reconstructed as **uō* (nom., perhaps interchanging with **ɸwV*), **oɸwV* (erg.), **euV*/**iV* (gen.), **du*- (dat.). There is, however, no guarantee that this situation reflects the common NC state of things, because Western Caucasian languages do not reveal any traces of the stems **ɸwV* and **du*- (reflecting only **uō*).

**hākV* (~ *fi*-) bush, branch, sprout: Av.-And. **hakV* (~ *h*-,*o*-); Tsez. **hak* (~ *h*-).

| Av.-And. **hakV* (~ *h*-,*o*-) 1 bush 2 branch: Cham. *haku* 1 (*Gig.*); Tind. *haku* 1; Kar. *hak*^{wa} 2 (*Archo.*).

| Tsez. **hak* (~ *h*-) 1 tops (of plants) 2 flower: Bezht. *hak* (*Khosh.*) 1; Gunz. *hak* 2.

PGB **hak*.

[] An And.-Tsez. isogloss.

**h[ā]tʔa* (~ -*ʔ*-,*c*) steam: Nakh. **ʔe*; Av.-And. **halHV* (~ *h*-); Tsez. **hel*- (~ *h*-); Lezg. **hlēla*; W.-Cauc. **Ła*.

| Nakh. **ʔe* steam: Chech. *ʔā*; Ing. *ʔi*.

The Chech. form reflects the vocalism of the oblique stem **ʔa-ne-rV*- (cf. Chech. *ʔānara*-, Ing. *ʔanaro*). 4th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **halHV* (~ *h*-) 1 to boil 2 boiling 3 steam: Av. *hal*- 1, *hāl* 2; Chad. *hʷal*- 1; And. *hal* (*Leksika*) 3; Cham. *hā* 3; Tind. *hā* 3; Bagv. *hal* (*Leksika*).

Cf. also Cham. *Gig. hara* (with a not quite clear -*r*- instead of -*l*-).

| Tsez. **hel*- (~ *h*-) to boil: Bezht. *hel*- (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *hel-ā*.

PGB **hel*-. The stem is obviously denominative: Gunzib forms are actually compounds *hel-ā* 'to boil (intrans.)', *hela-ka* 'to boil (trans.)'.

| Lezg. **hlēla* 1 breath 2 odour 3 steam 4 soul, spirit: Lezg. *jal* 1,2; Tab. *el* 1; Ag. *el* 1; Rut. *il* 2; Tsakh. *ewa* 2 (*Mishl.*); Kryz. *ʔal* 1; Bud. *ʔal* 1; Arch. *hil* 1,3; Ud. *el-mux* 4.

4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. Obl. base **hlēlā*- (besides Tsakh. *ewa*, cf. also Rut. *ili*-). See *Leksika* 1971, 191.

| W.-Cauc. **Ła* 1 smoke 2 god, spirit 3 to suffocate: Abkh. *ā-l-ʔa* 1; Abaz. *lʔa* 1; Ad. *tha* 2; Kab. *tha* 2; Ub. *La-L*- 3.

PAT **lʔa* (a compound with -*ʔa* < **ɸV* 'smoke' q.v.); PAK **tha*; Ub. *sā-LaLā-n*. The Ub. verb is an exact match for PAK **tha-La*- 'to suffocate' (Ad. *thāLa*-, Kab. *thaLa*-), see Bouda 1960, 200, Shagirov 2, 82. This is an additional factor in favour of Kuipers' hypothesis that PAK **tha* originally had meant 'life, breath'. Since PAK **tha* corresponds well to Ub. *La* (going back to PWC **Ła*), all other theories about the origin of PAK **tha* (comparison with Greek *theós*, fantastic comparisons with **ha* 'dog', **t:əḡa* 'sun' etc. - see the full list in Shagirov 2,79-80) should be discarded.

[] Cf. (with an a-prothesis and **t* > *r*) Hurr. *ayri* 'incense' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 55).

The EC-WC comparison seems rather probable, despite the not quite regular correspondence PEC **t* : PWC **Ł*. Resonants are normally lost in PWC, but in this case **t* was retained as the only possible element (because laryngeals were also lost,

and probably even before the resonants), but was transformed into a voiced lateral affricate.

*hamčĖ half, middle: Nakh. *ʔəcu-k (~fi-, -3-); Tsez. *hičV; Lezg. *ha(m)č; W.-Cauc. *ʒʷa.

| Nakh. *ʔəcu-k (~3-fi-) 1 core of a lash 2 island 3 core (of a boil, abscess): Chech. *ǫzig* 2,3; Ing. *eziġ* 1.

4th class in both languages. The original meaning must have been simply 'core, centre'.

| Tsez. *hičV waist: Khvarsh. *hičil* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *hičce*.

PTsKh *hičV-. The Inkh. form presupposes a PTs suffixed form *hičV-jV.

| Lezg. *ha(m)č half; body from the waist up to the head: Tab. *haç*.

Obl. base *haçi-* (< PL *ha(m)če- ~ *ha(m)čä- ~ *ha(m)çi-); cf. also Tab. *Düb. haça*. Isolated in Tab., but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *ʒʷa 1 half, middle 2 back part 3 hearth: Abkh. *a-bza* 1; Abaz. *bza* 1; Ad. *ʒa-gʷa* 3; Kab. *ža-gʷ* 3; Ub. *ʒa* 2.

PAT *baza (b- may be secondary under the influence of *baza 'between' q.v.). In PAK we have only compounds *ʒa-gʷa 'hearth' (*gʷa 'heart, middle'), *ʒa-naq:ʷa (*naq:ʷa 'middle') > Ad. *ʒa-naq:ʷ* 'place before the hearth'. See Shagirov 1977, 199 for the comparison of PAK and Ub. He reconstructs for PAK the meaning 'back part'; however, it must be secondary, cf. the older meaning 'middle, half' in PAT and Ub. *za(n)-ʒa* 'middle, half' (*za-* 'one?'). The correspondence between PAK *ʒ (Ad. *ʒ*, Kab. *z*), PAT *ʒ and Ub. *ʒ* points to a rare PWC phoneme *ʒʷ.

[] Although the root is not widely spread in PEC, it seems both phonetically and semantically reliable. Some phonetic comments: both PN and PWC seem to point to a variant with an early loss of medial *-m- and transfer of the labialisation to the following vowel (otherwise the consonant in PWC would not be labialised, and in PN we would have a reflex *-mç- > *-t-).

*hā an emphatic demonstrative stem: Nakh. *ha; Av.-And. *hi- / *ho-; Tsez. *ha-/ho-; Lezg. *ha-; Khin. *ha* / *hā*.

| Nakh. *ha demonstrative pronoun: Chech. *ha-ra*; Ing. *ja, je-r*; Bacb. *e-h, o-h*.

In Ing. there has probably occurred a contamination of *ha and *ʔi (q.v.), and thus appeared the form *ja*. The root is used for near deixis ('this'); in Bacbi it is combined with other deictic stems: *e-, o-*.

| Av.-And. *hi- / *ho- this: Av. *he-b, ha-b*; And. *he-, ho-*; Akhv. *ha-*; Tind. *a-*; Kar. *ha-di-*; Botl. *ha-*; Bagv. *a-*; God. *ha-*.

The morpheme *ho- (more rarely - *hi-), sometimes with loss of initial *h-, is the general pronoun stem for near deixis in Andian languages. In some languages (Av., And.) the variants *ho- and *hi- are separated, the 1st denoting 'this (near the speaker)' and the 2d - 'this (near the listener)'; but it is not clear if this distinction is archaic.

With an adverbial suffix *-nV the stem means 'inside': And. *hinu*, Cham. *ini* (Gig. *hini*), Tind. *hini*.

| Tsez. *ha-/ho- a deictic stem: Tsez. *ho-w-da*; Gin. *ha-go*; Khvarsh. *a-w-du* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *a-we-du, o-we-nu*; Bezht. *hu-gi, ho-go*; Gunz. *a-g, o-gu*.

The stem is used only in conjunction with other demonstrative pronouns. Variants *ha-/ho-/ʔa-/ʔo- are present, and although they may go back to different EC stems (with *h- and with *ʔ-) it is very hard to separate them from each other within Tsezian. A front vowel counterpart *ʔe- (ʔē-) is present in PTs *ʔe-du 'inside' (Tsez. *idu* 'at home', Khvarsh. *īdu* 'inside', Bezht. *īdō*, Khosh. *edo*, Gunz. *ēdu*) = PA *hi-nV.

| Lezg. *ha- a deictic (emphatic) stem: Lezg. *ha*; Tab. *ha-tmu*; Ag. *ha-mi*; Rut. *ha, he-mi*; Tsakh. *ha-man*; Arch. *h-inc*; Ud. *ha-ke, ha-me*.

The stem is used separately only in Lezg. and Rut. (where it means 'that (already mentioned)'); in other languages it is added to other pronominal stems to emphasize their own meaning (in Arch. it is preserved only in *h-inc* 'now' = Ud. *hajsa*, Tab. *hamus*).

| Khin. *ha* / *hā* she, that one (fem.).

[] A rather universal deictic pronominal stem; reconstructed for the PEC level.

*h[ā]nV now: Nakh. *hin-ca / *hin-za; Tsez. *hin-čV; Darg. *han-; Lezg. *hin-; W.-Cauc. *nə-.

| Nakh. *hin-ca / *hin-za now: Chech. *hinca*; Ing. *hanz*; Bacb. *inc*.

Cf. also Lev., Shar., Khild. *hinca* id.

| Tsez. *hin-čV today: Gunz. *hinčo-d*.

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *han- now: Ak. *hanna*.

| Lezg. *hin- now: Ag. *hin-c*.

Cf. perhaps also Ud. *hajsa* (< *hani-sa), Tab. *hamus* (restructured on analogy with *hamu* 'this') 'now'.

| W.-Cauc. *nə- today: Ad. *ne-pa*; Kab. *no-ba*.

PAK *nə-jap:a / *nə-wap:a. The element *nə- is present in several compounds: Kab. *nə-ʒə* 'now', *na-ba-ba* 'last year'; Ad. *nə-čapa*, Kab. *nə-žaba* 'tonight, this night', Kab. *nə-sadiba* 'this morning', Ad. *nə-pčāpa*, Kab. *nə-shaba* 'this evening', Ad. *ne-wəš* 'tomorrow' (see Shagirov 1, 276, 283, 288-289). The original meaning is 'now', 'this (time)', as seen both from the compounds and from the external evidence.

[] A common NC temporal adverb. We must note that in most subgroups the root can be followed by some kind of affricate (although the affricates do not correspond to each other regularly).

The root is also attested in HU: Hurr. *χenna*, Urart. *χena* 'now' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 32).

*hčārnū stone: Av.-And. *ʔančV; Tsez. *ʔāš:u; Lak. *čaru*.

| Av.-And. *ʔančV 1 a flat round stone 2 stone: Av. *horčō* 1; Tind. *anču* 1; Kar. *anča* 2; God. *anča* 2.

Av. paradigm B (*harčī-l, harčā-l*). Cf. also Kar. Tok. *ʔanča* 'stone'. An old verbal derivative may be PA *čan- (~ -o-) 'to plane, hew' (= 'make smth. look like a flat stone') > Cham. *san-* (Gig. *čan-*), Tind. *čan-* (also with reduplication

Cham. *sanš*^w-).

| Tsez. **ās*:u 1 rock 2 wheel: Tsez. *ašu* 1 (*Radzhibov*); Khvarsh. *ašu* 1 (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *āšō* (*Khosh.*) 2; Gunz. *āšu* 1.

PTsKh **ašu*; PGB **āšu*. The meaning 'wheel' in Bezht. probably goes back to 'round stone' (cf. the Andian evidence).

| Lak. *čaru* stone.

3d class. Obl. base *čari*-. Cf. Khosr. *čaru* id.

| It seems probable that the Lak. word is related to Av.-And.-Tsez., although to explain it one needs to propose an extremely complicated reconstruction (**hčārnū*) with a rather unique root structure (*HCVRRV). If the Lak. word is to be kept apart, the reconstruction will be simpler: **hāncū*, and the etymology will be an Av.-And.-Tsezian isogloss.

**hčwālō* (~ -ā-, -ā) voice, sound, word: Nakh. **āč* (~ *h*-, -3); Lak. *čū*; Darg. **ča*; Lezg. **čal*; W.-Cauc. **č*:V.

| Nakh. **āč* (~ *h*-, -3) voice, sound: Chech. *az*; Ing. *ɔz*.

3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing. Obl. base **āču*-. (Chech. *ōza*-, Ing. *ɔzo*), whence secondarily the vowel in the Ing. direct base.

| Lak. *ču* voice, sound.

There also exists a synonymous *čuka* (Khosr. *čuka*) id. - historically a diminutive.

| Darg. **ča* voice, sound: Chir. *ča*.

| Lezg. **čal*: speech, language, word: Lezg. *čal*; Tab. *čal*; Ag. *čal*; Rut. *čāl*; Kryz. *čel*; Bud. *čel*; Arch. *čat*.

4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. In Arch. cf. the conjunctive form *čat*:u (for demonstrating tense -t: < *l:). The obl. base can be reconstructed as **čol*:a- (cf. Rut. *čili*-, Kryz. *čil*-, with vowel levelling - Lezg. *čala*-, Ag. *čala(j)*-).

See Talibov 1980, 301.

| W.-Cauc. **(a)č*:V 1 word, speech 2 to say, speak 3 to take oath, swear: Abkh. *āz*^a 1; Abaz. *az*^a 1; Kab. *zā*²a- 2; Ub. *čāqā*- 3.

PAT **az*^a (cf. Bzyb. *āz*^a); Ub. *sā*-*č(ā)qā*-n (used also as a noun: *čāqā* 'oath'). The PAT root is also used in a compound **c*^a-*z*^a- 'to speak' (see under **c*:^a-). In PAK **č*: would be expected, but only the Kab. form is known (Kab. *č* can go back to PAK **č*:, **č*:, **č*:). Still, the exact parallelism between Kab. *zā*²a- and Ub. *čāqā*- (where the second part goes back to **q*la- 'say' q.v.) makes this etymology quite plausible.

The comparison of Kab. *zā*²a- and Abkh. *āz*^a was first proposed by Mészáros (1934, 308), who also compared Ub. *maša* 'word' which is impossible for phonetic reasons. See Shagirov 1, 198.

| The EC-WC comparison is quite satisfactory both phonetically and etymologically.

hčmqi* four: Nakh. **hiw*?; Av.-And. **uqu*-; Tsez. **ōqē*-(nɔ); Lak. *muq*; Darg. **aw*²a-l (ak*²a-l); Lezg. **jewqi*-; Khin. *unb*.

| Nakh. **hiw*? four: Chech. *mi*?; Ing. *mi*?; Bacb. *miw*?

| Av.-And. **uqu*- four: Av. *unq*:o; Chad. *u*^c-gu; And. *oGo*-gu;

Akhv. *oqo*-da; Cham. *o*²u-da; Tind. *o*²o-ja; Kar. *o*²o-da; Botl. *ušu*-da; Bagv. *o*-ra; God. *u*²u-da.

Av. *unq*:o < **unq*-go (cf. the Chad. form).

| Tsez. **ōqē*-(nɔ) four: Tsez. *uj*-no; Gin. *uqi*-no; Khvarsh. *ūqē*-n; Inkh. *ūqē*; Bezht. *ōqo*-na; Gunz. *oqē*-n.

PTsKh **ūqē*-n(o); PGB **ōqē*-n(ɔ) (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *ōqēnā*).

| Lak. *muq* four.

Cf. Khosr. *muq*^a.

| Darg. **aw*²a-l (**aš*^wa-l) four: Ak. *awal*; Chir. *aš*^wal.

| Lezg. **jewqi*- four: Lezg. *qu*-d; Tab. *juqu*-b; Ag. *jaqu*-d; Rut. *juqu*-d; Tsakh. *joqu*-lle; Kryz. *juqu*-d; Bud. *juqu*-d; Arch. *ebq*, *ebqa*-; Ud. *bip*:.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *qu*-d, Tab. Kand. *jaqu*-b. Ud. *bip*: < **wiq*^w < **jewq*. An analogous metathesized form is reflected in Arch. *buqi* < **wēq*^wi-j 'fourty'.

See Bokarev 1961, 64; Leksika 1971, 233; Giginayshvili 1977, 135.

| Khin. *unb* four.

| Reconstructed for the PEC level (opposed to PWC **p*λə 'four' q.v.). The final -ɔ in PN has a double nature: it also may be a reflex of the lost **q*-, but it has been anyway confused with the final -ɔ which in PN marks all numerals (**cha*?, **sr*?, **qo*? etc.).

Class prefixation in the EC numeral "four" is preserved only in PN and PA (but not Avar); PL **j*- may also be a trace of the class marker.

**həlgwč* (~ -i) roof: Av.-And. **holq*:V (~ *h*-); Tsez. **loq* (~ -ɔ-); Lezg. **halq*:(a); W.-Cauc. **b*-šā.

| Av.-And. **holq*:V (~ *h*-) 1 cover, lid 2 palate 3 to cover, thatch: Av. *heq*:el 1 (*Keg*.); Tind. *haq*:^w- 3; God. *harq*:in 2 (*Zib*.).

Cf. also Av. Unt., Shul. *eq*:el, Andal. *heq*:el/*eq*:el 'cover, lid' (all dialectal forms are cited from Mikailov 1959).

More widespread is PA **loq*:V 'roof', which is an obvious compound **la* 'up, above' (q.v.) + **holq*:V: cf. Av. *toq*:ō (par. B: *toq*:ō-dul, *toq*:ā-bi) 'shed', Kuyad. *oq*:o id., Chad. *toqi* 'roof'; And. (Leksika) *loq*:u, Akhv. *laq*:o (Tseg. *toq*:o, Tlan. *loq*:o) 'shed', Cham. (Leksika) *aq*:^a 'lid, cover', Kar. *laq*:^wa (Archo. *alq*:^wa, Chab. *jalq*:^wa, Tok. *aq*:^wa) 'shed', God. *laq*:ur 'lid, cover'. Several Tsezian forms meaning 'lid, cover' (Gin. *heq*^wi, Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *laqē*, Gunz. *loqē*) are probably borrowed from Andian languages (in Bezht. there exists thus an etymological doublet: *laqē* 'lid, cover' - *loq* 'roof').

| Tsez. **loq* (~ -ɔ-) roof: Bezht. *loq*.

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **halq*:(a) roof; sour cream (*top part): Arch. *harq*.

Arch. -r- before a uvular points only to PL **l*- (-r- would have disappeared). The root is attested only in Arch., but has good external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **b*-šā 1 top, upper part 2 to thatch: Ad. *bša*- 2; Kab. *bša*- 2; Ub. *bša* 1.

PAK **bša*-. In Adygh cf. perhaps also the noun **bša* 'breast, chest' (*the top part). See Shagirov 1, 79, 80.

[] The Bezht. form *λoq* exactly parallels PA **λolq.~V* (an old compound, see above), thus this compound with **λa-* 'above' must be dated by the Av.-And.-Tsez. period. The PWC form has a frequent labial prefix (with a usual in this case delabialisation of the following consonant). The comparison seems reliable, both phonetically and semantically (an alternative comparison of Adygh forms with PEC **mōnqī* 'breast' - see Abdokov 1983, 79 - is improbable for phonetic reasons).

It seems possible to compare also Lak. Khosr. *qalaqu* 'lid, cover' which is either a reduplication or a reflex of the same compound with **λa-* 'above' (if *qalaqu* < **kalaqu* through assimilation).

***hGwanū** (~ -ə-, -ə) large flat stone: Nakh. **ṣāqī*; Av.-And. **q:unHV*; Lak. *qun*; Lezg. **q:ʷan*.

| Nakh. **ṣāqī* stone plate, flat stone: Chech. *ṣāq*; Ing. *ṣāqā*; Bacb. *ajqī*. 4th class in Chech., Ing., 6th class in Bacb. Cf. also Chech. Cheb., Shar. *ṣāqī*, Lev. *ṣāqī* id. and a derivate: Chech. *oqam* (< **ṣāqu-m*) 'boulder; block of ice'.

| Av.-And. **q:unHV* 1 stone or metal plate 2 pan 3 plank 4 tomb-stone: Av. *q:ono* 1,2; Chad. *qōni* 1; And. *q:unu* 4; Akhv. *q:uni* 2; Kar. *q:ūji* 1,2; God. *q:unu* 1,3. Av. paradigm B (*q:ani-l*, *q:anā-l*; not clear is the reason for paradigm A in Av. Chad.: *qōnu-l*, *qōna-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tlan., Tseg. *q:un* 'big pan', Kar. Tok. *q:unu* 'pan, plate'.

| Lak. *qun* big stone, boulder. | Lezg. **q:ʷan* 1 stone 2 big flat stone: Lezg. *q:ʷan* 1; Tab. *ḡʷan* 1; Ag. *ḡʷan* 1; Arch. *qʷan* 2.

Obl. base unknown. Belongs to 4th class in Arch. See Giginayshvili 1977, 85; Talibov 1980, 304.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (the correlation PN **ṣāqī* : PA **q:unHi* etc. demonstrates the structure **HCVN̄V*).

***hilagV** key; iron: Tsez. **rig* a B; Lezg. **hilak*.

| Tsez. **rig* a B 1 key 2 curved opener, key: Tsez. *reka* 1; Khvarsh. *leka* 1; Inkh. *lika* 2; Bezht. *jiga* 1; Gunz. *riga* 1.

PTsKh **Rika* (cf. also Inkh. in Bokarev's recording: *rika* 'key'); PGB **riga* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *riga*).

| Lezg. **hilak*: iron: Rut. *hileg* / *jileg*; Tsakh. *jiwa*; Kryz. *ilāng*; Bud. *jileg*. Cf. also Rut. Ikhr. *hileg*, Khnov. *hilag* 'iron'. Not clear is the dropping of -g in Tsakhur (**jiwag* would be expected). 4th class in all languages. See Leksika 1971, 185.

[] A specific Tsez-Lezg. isogloss. The semantical shift 'iron' > 'key, lock' is quite common (cf. **rēnqwi*, **lo3V*).

***hilčwE** to run: Tsez. **-[ū]č-*; Lak. *lil=ča-*; Lezg. **hišʷā-*; Khin. *čā=p-*; W.-Cauc. **č:ʷa-*.

| Tsez. **-[ū]č-* to run (away): Khvarsh. *ič-* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *-ōč-* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *-ūč-*.

PGB **-[ū]č-* (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *-ōč-*).

| Lak. *lil=ča-* to run.

G. pr. *lil=ču-nu*. Cf. Khosr. *lil=ča-n* id.

| Lezg. **hišʷā-* to run (away): Ag. *hiš-*; Arch. *šel-*.

In Archi cf. also *helrsā-s* (dur. *helrsu-r*) 'to run' (from the Ablaut grade **hāšʷā-* with a durative infix). The MSU spelling is *helrs:a-s*, but the word is impossible to separate from *šel-s* 'to run away' (connected like *qle-s* : *helrqle-s* 'to go, walk'), thus the tenseness of -š:- is either misspelled or expressive (another solution would be a contamination with PL **[s:ʷ]ar-* q.v.). Cf. also Ag. *at:-iš-* 'to jump', perhaps also *ḡa-jša-* 'to stand up'.

See Khaidakov 1973, 119.

| Khin. *čā=p-* to run away.

The root here is *čā-*; nature of the suffix -p- is unclear.

| W.-Cauc. **č:ʷa* 1 to run 2 to walk uncertainly: Ad. *ča-n* 1; Kab. *za-n* 1; Ub. *kā-ča-* 2.

PAK **č:a-*; Ub. *sə-kā-ča-n*. The Ub. verb is a compound with *kā-* 'to go, walk'. For phonetic reasons the comparison of PAK **č:a-* and Ub. *-ča-* (pointing to PWC **č:ʷa-*) is preferable to other comparisons: PAK **č:a-* and Ub. *zaja* 'swift' (Mészáros 1934, 326); PAK **č:a-* and PAT **ča-* 'to go' (Shagirov 1, 193).

[] The EC-WC comparison seems reliable both phonetically and semantically.

***himV** (~ -ʔ-, -ʔ-) wart, abscess: Nakh. **huma* (-f-); Av.-And. **himi*; Tsez. **himV* (~ *χ-).

| Nakh. **huma* (-f-) sore, abscess, boil: Chech. *huma*.

Attested only in Chech., but having good external parallels.

| Av.-And. **himi* 1 wart 2 birth-mark, mole: Akhv. *himi* 1; Cham. *himi* 1 (*Gig.*); Tind. *himi* 2; God. *himi* 1.

| Tsez. **himV* (~ *χ-) abscess: Inkh. *himon*.

Inkh. *himon* presupposes PTs **himV-R* or **χimV-R* (the -R is obviously a suffix). Isolated in Tsez., but having good Andian and Nakh parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. It is interesting to note that both in Chech. and in Inkh. the word (Chech. *huma*, Inkh. *himon*) also means "thing". In Chech. this is probably just a case of homonymy (*huma* 'thing' < PN **fu-ma* is actually derived from an interrogative pronominal stem 'what'). The meaning of the word in Inkhokvari apparently reflects Nakh influence (and may be also affected by the presence of a similar interrogative stem - *hi-bo* 'which').

***hī** interrogative pronoun: Nakh. **ha-*; Av.-And. **hi-/ʔi-*; Tsez. **hi-* A; Lezg. **hi-* / **ha-*; Khin. *ja*; W.-Cauc. **-a*.

| Nakh. **hā-* who (obl. stem): Chech. *ha* (erg.); Ing. *ha* (erg.); Bacb. *ha* (erg.).

Cf. also Chech. gen. *hē-na-* etc. The stem also serves for building relative and indefinite pronouns (Chech. *hē-nex* 'someone', Bacb. *hane* '...who,...which' etc.).

| Av.-And. **hi-/ʔi-* interrogative pronoun (what 1, who 2): And. *e-bi- 1, e-mi 2*; Cham. *e-b 1, e-w/j 2*; Tind. *i-ma-la 2*; Kar. *he-me 2*; Botl. *e-b 1, ẽ(w) 2*; Bagv. *e-b 1, e-m 2*; God. *e-b 1, e-(w,j)2*.

The root is used either independently (with the suffixed class marker -b) - mostly in the 3d (inanimate) class, but in Cham. and God. also in the 1st/2d classes - or in conjunction with another interrogative stem, **mV* (see **ʔi-mV*) - in the 1st/2d classes. Cham., Tind. and Kar. reflect also a stem **hidV-* / **ʔidV-* 'what' - but since there does not exist a class marker **-d*, it is rather a quite different stem (see under **ʔadV* 'thing; interrog. pronoun').

The most archaic form is Kar. (with **h-*); other languages reflect the PA weakened variant, **ʔi-*.

| Tsez. **hi-* interrogative pronoun (which 1, how 2): Khvarsh. *hi-ba* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *hi-bo 1*; Gunz. *hi-na 2*.

PTsKh **hi-bə*; cf. also Gunz. *hĩ-də* 'when'.

| Lezg. **hi-* interrogative pronoun (which): Lezg. *hi*; Tab. *hi-ʔan*; Ag. *hi-na* (*erg.*); Rut. *ha-la* (*erg.*); Tsakh. *hi-su, hi-ʒo*; Kryz. *ha-lir* (*erg.*); Bud. *he-je*; Arch. *ha-n*; Ud. *he*.

We can reconstruct for PL the direct stem **hi* (Lezg. *hi* 'which', Ud. Nidzh. *he*, Vart. *e* 'what, which'); the same stem is used in Tsakh. (in conjunction with other interrogatives) *hi-su* 'who' and *hi-ʒo* 'what', and, as oblique, in Tab. *hi-ʔan* / *hi-qan* 'how many', Ag. *erg. hi-na* 'who', Bud. *he-je* 'where'. M. Alekseyev suggested that several interrogative forms in Lezghian languages beginning with *n-* actually go back to the same stem with reduction of the initial unstressed syllable (thus *n-* does not represent any independent interrogative morpheme, but is just an old oblique stem marker **nV*). Cf. Ag. Rich. *na* 'who (*erg.*)' which is obviously identic with Ag. Tp. *hi-na*. In this way we can explain Lezg. *erg. ni* (< **hi-ni*), Tab. *naʔan* 'where' (< **hi-naʔan*), Tsakh. *ne-n* 'which' (< **hi-ne-n*).

Besides the oblique base **hi-nV-* there existed in PL a variant **ha-* (sometimes also **ha-nV-* with the same oblique stem marker) reflected in Rut. *erg. ha-la* 'who', Kryz. *erg. ha-lir* id., Arch. *ha-n* 'what', Bud. *ha-nu* 'whose'.

See Алексеев 1985,74.

| Khin. *ja* what.

| W.-Cauc. **a* what, who (interrogative stem): Abkh. *-a(-)*; Abaz. *-a(-)*.

In Abkh. the meaning of interrogative pronouns is normally expressed by verbal suffixes *-da* ('who'), *-j* ('what'). Since *d-* and *j-* are class markers (animate/unanimate respectively), the only morpheme to which we can ascribe the interrogative meaning is *-a* (probably reduced in **-ja* > *-j*). The same morpheme can be seen in *-a-ba-* 'where' and independent pronouns *d-a-rban* 'who', *j-a-rban* 'what' (the *-rban* suffix is not very clear etymologically - perhaps it contains the root **-ba-* 'to see' q.v.?). In Abaz. the situation is analogous - only in the function of independent pronouns we have *d-začʷə-j-a* 'who' and *j-začʷə-j-a* (or *ačʷə-j-a*) 'what'. These are derived (by suffixing the same hypothetical interrogative morpheme **-a*) from *d-začʷə*, *j-začʷə* 'each' (*ačʷə* probably had also existed) where *-začʷə* = Abkh. *-začʷə* 'single' (from **zA* 'one').

[] One of several interrogative stems reconstructed for PNC. It has a general interrogative meaning and is most often used in oblique cases.

The root **hi-* is frequently encountered in combination with **nV-*, probably as an oblique stem construction **hinV-* 'whose, which, what'. We have mentioned above the secondary development **hinV-* > *nV-* in some Lezghian languages, but the same process probably had taken place in other languages too. Cf. PA *(*h*)*i-n-* (in *(*h*)*in-da* 'when' > And. *inna-l*, Cham. *inna*, Tind. *hin-da-la*, God. *in-da-q-i*; *(*h*)*inV-l* 'where' > And. *inu-l*, Tind. *ini-la* etc.) = PTs **hĩtə* / **nitə* (< **hini-tə*) 'when' (Inkh. *ito*, Tsez. *neti*, Gin. *nete*, Bezht. *nito*, Gunz. *hĩdə*), PTs **na* / **nija* 'where' (Inkh., Tsez. *na*, Gin. *ni*, Bezht. *nā*, Gunz. *nijō*). It is significant that an identical combination **a-na-* is also attested in WC languages: PAT **-anə* 'when' (a verbal infix > Abkh. *-an(ə)-*, Abaz. *-an(ə)-*, Ub. *anə-(n)* 'at the time, when...'. We can thus safely reconstruct the morpheme combination **hinV-* for the PNC level.

**hōnḵV* to hiccup: Nakh. **hunk*; Av.-And. **hiḵ(Vn)*; Tsez. **hāk-*; Lezg. **honḵ-* (~ *-u-*).

| Nakh. **hunk* (~ *-u-*) to hiccup: Chech. *hank jan*.

An onomatopoeic word with irregular preservation of **ḵ*; cf. also (with other irregularities) Ing. *haʔing-aš de id*.

| Av.-And. **hiḵ(Vn)*- to hiccup: Av. *hēk-d-*; Akhv. *hiḵun-*; Tind. *hiki-j-*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tsez. *hēk-* id.

| Tsez. **hāk-* to hiccup: Gunz. *hāk-dak-*.

An onomatopoeic word, attested only in Gunzib (with other suffixation: *hāk-lak-*), but having exact external parallels.

| Lezg. **honḵ-* (~ *-u-*) to hiccup: Tab. *hunk apuz*.

Attested only in Tabasaran.

[] A common EC onomatopoeic root. It is descriptive and rather universal, but correspondences are regular, and it may go back to PEC.

**howt[a]* bean(s), lentil: Av.-And. **holi*; Tsez. **hel(u)* A; Lak. *hulū*; Lezg. **hola*.

| Av.-And. **holi* 1 bean(s) 2 peas: Av. *holó 1*; Chad. *holó 2*; And. *holi 1*; Akhv. *hali 1*; Cham. *hal 1*; Tind. *hali 1*; Kar. *hale 1*; Botl. *hali 2*; Bagv. *hal 2*; God. *hali 2*.

Av. paradigm B (*hali-l, halā-l*).

| Tsez. **hel(u)* A 1 pea(s) 2 haricot: Tsez. *hil 1*; Gin. *hilu 1*; Khvarsh. *hei 2*; Inkh. *hel 1*; Gunz. *helu 1*.

PTsKh **heR(u)*. Bezht. *holo* < Avar.

| Lak. *hulū* lentil; birth-mark.

| Lezg. **hola* lentil: Tsakh. *hliwa*.

Isolated in Tsakh., but having reliable external parallels. Not quite clear is the source of Tsakh. pharyngealization; otherwise the form goes back regularly to PL **hola*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Some interlingual loans: Bezht. *holo* < Avar.; Darg. Ak. *hulu-qara* 'lentil' (*qara* 'pea') < Lak.; other adduced forms are genetically related.

The final vowel is not quite clear; PL points to *-ā, Av. - to *-u. Since we have to reconstruct -w- (to account for the reflex *-o- in PA, and possibly for *-e- in PTs), we may conjecture that final *-ā passed to *-ū in Av. under influence of the medial -w-.

*hqwēmV horn; head: Nakh. *mhaʔo; Av.-And. *qʷoni; Tsez. *qəm B; Lak. q̄i; Lezg. *qʷem.

| Nakh. *mhaʔo horn: Chech. maʔa; Ing. muʔa; Bacb. mʔaʔo.

Chech. -ʔ- instead of -ʔ- under influence of the original *-h- in the initial cluster. Cf. also Shar., Khild. mʔaʔa. 4th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *qʷoni 1 head 2 horn: And. Gʷon 2; Cham. un 1; Tind. ʔʷani 1; Kar. ʔon 2 (Tok); Bagv. un 1; God. wani 1.

| Tsez. *qəm B head: Tsez. q̄lim; Gin. q̄imu; Khvarsh. q̄em; Inkh. q̄lem; Bezht. q̄am; Gunz. q̄om.

PTsKh *q̄elm(u) (probably < *q̄olm(u) with dissimilative delabialisation), PGB *q̄om. The same root (but with another Ablaut grade) is present in Gunz. q̄ā-l (*q̄am-l) 'under the head'.

| Lak. q̄i horn.

| Lezg. *qʷem 1 back of head 2 summit, top 3 neck: Lezg. q̄am 1 (Khl. 3); Rut. q̄um 1 (Ikh.); Tsakh. q̄om 2.

Obl. base *qʷemi-, cf. Lezg. q̄amu-, Tsakh. (Gelm.) q̄omi-. 4th class in Tsakh. and Rut.

See Talibov 1980, 308.

[] Reconstructed for PEC (a case of the *HCVRV structure).

*hr̥cgwe comb: Nakh. *jexk; Av.-And. *hoʎu; Tsez. *heʎu A; Lak. t:aral; Darg. *durek:a; Lezg. *rāʎ:(ʷa) (~a-,k-); W.-Cauc. *ʎV.

| Nakh. *jexk comb: Chech. jexk; Ing. jaxk; Bacb. jexk.

4th class in all languages. The vowel -a- in Ing. is due to vowel levelling, cf. the PN obl. base *ʔaxk-ar- (Chech. axkara-, Ing. axkaro, Bacb. axkari-). Cf. also Chech. Cheb., Khild. etc. jexk, Shar., Itumk. jerk.

| Av.-And. *hoʎu comb: Av. horʎo; Chad. oʎo; And. hoʎu; Akhv. aʎu; Cham. haʎu; Tind. haʎu; Kar. haʎu; Botl. haʎu; Bagv. haʎu; God. haʎu.

Av. paradigm B (harʎi-l, harʎa-l; Chad. iʎi-l, aʎa-l - but also uʎi-l). Cf. also Cham. Gig. haʎu.

| Tsez. *heʎu A comb: Tsez. hiʎu / hiʎo; Gin. hiʎu; Khvarsh. heʎu; Inkh. heʎu; Bezht. heʎo; Gunz. heʎu.

PTsKh *heʎu; PGB *heʎu. Not clear is the source of Inkh. pharyngealization.

| Lak. t:aral comb.

| Darg. *durek:a comb: Ak. durega; Chir. darak:a.

Cf. also Ur. duriga, Kub. dak:a.

| Lezg. *rāʎ:(ʷa) (~a-,k-) rake: Kryz. rak-ar; Bud. lak-art.

3d class in both languages. Since the root is preserved only in Shakhdag, it is impossible to distinguish between *-ʎ- and *-k- in PL (both yield -k- in Shakhdag languages); indirect evidence in favour of *-ʎ- is, however, Bud. l- (instead of regular

r- through assimilation with the former lateral). The word, both in Kryz. and Bud., contains the former plural suffix *-Vr. [NB: the MSU recording for Bud. is lakard.]

| W.-Cauc. *ʎV 1 to comb 2 to scrape: Abkh. a-ʂa-ra 2; Ad. ʂa-n 1; Kab. ʂa-n 1; Ub. ʂa- 1.

In Abkh. there also exists a-ʂa-ra with the same meaning and emphatic reduplication. PAK *ʂa-; Ub. 1 p. a-z-ʂa-n. An alternative comparison (PAK, Ub. : Abkh. a-zʷa-ra "to scutch (flax)" proposed by Shagirov (1977) is unacceptable for phonetic reasons.

In PAK there also exists a derivate *mā-ʂa 'comb' (Ad. māʂ, Kab. māza) - one of the few reliable cases of the instrumental prefix *ma-.

[] For PEC *hr̥cgwe must be reconstructed. This is one of the common NC roots demonstrating the correspondence EC *ʎ (in tense words) : WC *ʎ. Correspondences are regular, except for the secondary loss of labialisation in PWC. See Abdokov 1983, 131.

*hr̥m̥cwe stone: Av.-And. *hin̥co; Lak. nuw̄ci; Lezg. *çʷar(a); Khin.

riçin.

| Av.-And. *hin̥co stone: Av. heçó; And. hinco; Akhv. ɿça; Cham. h̄ɿça; Tind. hinça; Botl. hinça; Bagv. hinça.

Av. paradigm B (pl. heçā-bi). Cf. also Cham. Gig. hinza. The same root can be discovered in a PA compound meaning "sledge hammer": *hin̥co-q:ur (origin of the second part is unclear; -q- > -ç- in some forms as a result of assimilation) > Akhv. ɿç:aq:u, Cham. h̄ɿçaq: (Gig. hinçaq:ur), Tind. hinçaq:ur (> Inkh. hiçaqur); from some Andian source is borrowed (with distortion) Bezht. Tlad. āzak, Khosh. azak id.

| Lak. nuw̄ci iron or stone plate for roasting grain.

| Lezg. *çʷar(a) road metal, small stone: Rut. çʷar.

Cf. also Rut. Khnov. çar 'a long flat stone'. The root is isolated within Lezghian, but has probable external parallels.

| Khin. riçin stone.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except for the secondary metathesis *raçʷ(a) > *çʷar(a) in PL), but the final vowel is not clear: the Avar form points to long *-ē, Lak - rather to short *-i.

*hudVhudV a k. of bird (hoopoe, cuckoo): Nakh. *huttut; Av.-And. *hudVhudV; Tsez. *huhudu / *hohodu; Darg. *wat:wati (~ d); Lezg. *hodhod (~ u).

| Nakh. *huttut cuckoo: Chech. huttut.

Attested only in Chech., but having good external parallels.

| Av.-And. *hudVhudV hoopoe: Av. hudhud, hodhod.

| Tsez. *huhudu / *hohodu owl: Bezht. huhudo; Gunz. hohodu.

PGB *huhudu / *hohodu.

| Darg. *wat:wati (~ d) hoopoe: Ak. wadwadi.

| Lezg. *hodhod (~ u) hoopoe: Tab. malla-hudhud.

Attested only in Tab. (in a compound with a recent loanword malla 'Mollah'), but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Like many other birdnames, clearly onomatopoeic (and rather universal, cf. Rus. *yðoð* etc.); but the correspondences seem to be satisfactory and the reconstruction seems rather probable.

**hūnti* (~-ē) excrescence; nipple: Tsez. **hū̃t*; Darg. **ʔũti*.

| Tsez. **hū̃t* 1 wart, nipple 2 (excrescence, lip) > mouth: Tsez. *hū̃t* 2; Gin. *hū̃t* 2; Khvarsh. *hū̃t* 2; Gunz. *hū̃t* 1.

PTsKh **hū̃t*. Cf. also Gunz. Nakh. *hū̃t* 'wart', *nenos hū̃t* 'nipple'.

| Darg. **ʔũti* nipple: Ak. *uti*.

Cf. also Kad. *ufi* 'udder, udder nipple'.

[] A Tsez-Darg. isogloss with perfect correspondences.

**hwārhw* a biting insect: Tsez. **hāj(a)*; Darg. **hʷarʔ*; Lezg. **warʔ*.

| Tsez. **hāj(a)* 1 bug, bed-bug 2 mosquito: Tsez. *haj* 2; Gin. *haja* 2; Inkh. *hāj* 1; Gunz. *hahija* 1.

PTsKh **hāj(a)*. The Gunz. reduplication may be either archaic (an incomplete loss of the EC combination *-rh(w)-), or recent (expressive).

| Darg. **hʷarʔ* mosquito: Ak. *hur*.

Cf. also Ur. *harʔ*, Ak. (in Musayev's record) *herʔ*.

| Lezg. **warʔ* 1 bee 2 bumble-bee: Lezg. *waʔ* 2 (*Khl.*); Tab. *warf* 1; Ag. *warw* 1.

The final -f in lit. Tab. (also in Düb.: *warf*) is quite unique and may reflect an occasional variant **warhʷ*. Cf. the forms of other dialects: Kand., Khiv. *warʔ*; Ag. Fit., Burk. *warw*, Bursh. *war*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An interesting root, containing a reduplicated laryngeal. Because of this reduplication, the cluster "r"+laryngeal did not undergo a usual treatment (> *-r-, *-0) in PL and PD (however, it gave a usual reflex in PTs).

**hwēnV* blood: Av.-And. **hinHi*; Tsez. **hōj* A; Lak. *ul*; Darg. **hi*; Lezg. **ʔʒʔ*.

| Av.-And. **hinHi* 1 blood 2 meat: Av. *han* 2; Chad. *han* 2; And. *hin* 1; Akhv. *hini* 1.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. *haná-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Ratl., Tlan., Tseg. *hī*.

| Tsez. **hōj* A blood: Tsez. *e*; Gin. *ijo*; Khvarsh. *tqʷa*; Inkh. *ēqo*; Bezht. *hē*; Gunz. *hāj*.

The PTs paradigm must be reconstructed as **hōj*, **hējə*. This is reflected directly in Gunz. *hāj* (Nakh. *hōj*), *hīja*- (PGB **hōj*, **hējV*-), while already in Bezht. the vowel grade of the oblique base has penetrated into the direct one: *hē*, *hēja*-. The same process had taken place in PTsKh where we have to reconstruct **ʔej* (cf. Tsez. **e*, **eje*-). The Khvarsh. and Inkh. forms contain a strange suffixed -*qʷa* (-*qo*), but must be obviously related to the same root.

| Lak. *ul* blood.

3d class. The obl. base *ul-t:u-* is sometimes used as direct.

| Darg. **hi* blood: Ak. *hi*.

Cf. also Ur., Kad. *hi*, Tsud., Kharb. *he* etc.

| Lezg. **ʔaʔ* blood: Lezg. *iwi*; Tab. *ifi*; Ag. *iʔ*; Rut. *ābir*; Tsakh. *eb*.

The single root is preserved only in Agul. Other languages reflect PL compounds with **λ:wij* or **pij* q.v.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**hwēbe* (~ -i-) post, pole; tower: Nakh. **bʔab* (~ -w); Av.-And. **Hʷbi*; Tsez. **həbV* (~ -e, -i-); W.-Cauc. **bawə* (~ p:-).

| Nakh. **bʔab* (~ -w) tower: Chech. *bʔow*; Ing. *wʔow*.

Obl. base **bʔawi-na-* (Chech. *bʔawna-*, Ing. *wʔowno*). 4th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **Hʷbi* post, pole; stem: Av. *hubi*; Chad. *hubi*.

Av. paradigm B (*hubó-l*, *hubá-l*; Chad. *hubu-l*, *hubá-l*). Cf. also Av. Ants. (Mikailov 1959) *hubi* 'a high rock, cliff'.

| Tsez. **həbV* (~ -e, -i-) stick: Tsez. *hibo*; Gin. *hebo*.

PTsKh **həbo*.

| W.-Cauc. **bawə* (~ p:-) cattle-shed: Abkh. *a-bōra-bōwra*; Abaz. *bora*; Kab. *bow*.

PAT **bawə-ra* (with a common suffix -ra). Abkh. > Megr. *aboura*, *abuura* 'cattle-shed'; Kab. > Balk. *bau* id. See Shagirov 1, 101 (despite Klimov's opinion, quoted ibid., the Abkh. word - since it is clearly related to Kab. *bow* - has nothing to do with Slav. *оѡр(а)*).

[] An interesting common NC root (with a recurring semantic correlation 'pillar, tower': 'cattle-shed', due to a described custom to keep cattle in towers).

**hwēri* (~ -e) morning, dawn: Nakh. **ʔurV*; Av.-And. **rihʷV*; Darg. **heri*.

| Nakh. **ʔurV* morning: Chech. *ʔurē*; Ing. *ʔujra*; Bacb. *ʔur-dna*.

4th class in all languages. The Nakh languages reflect two forms: **ʔurV-jV* (Chech. *ʔurē*, Ing. *ʔujra*, Bacb. (Desheriyevev) *ʔijre*) and a suffixed form **ʔur-dV* (Bacb. *ʔur-dna* 'morning', *ʔur-dē* 'in the morning', *ʔur-d-lū* 'morning (adj.)'; Chech. *ʔurre* 'in the morning' = Bacb. *ʔurde*).

| Av.-And. **rihʷV* 1 dawn 2 in the morning: Av. *rohē-l* 1; Chad. *rohū-ja* 2; Akhv. *ruhi* 1.

Av. paradigm B ~ C (gen. *roháli-l*). The Av. word is formally a derivate of *roh-ine* 'to come (of dawn)' (which historically is itself a derivate from the nominal stem **rihʷV*).

| Darg. **heri* day: Ak. *dugi-heri*; Chir. *ʔara*.

The Ak. word is a compound with *dugi* 'night' (lit. '24 hours'). Cf. also Chir. *ʔare* 'by day', Kub. *ire* 'midday', Ur. *hirē* 'day', *hiri-li* 'by day'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Cf. also HU: Hurr. *ḫurra*, *ḫurwa* 'morning, east', whence the name of the Hurrian country (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 63). Except for the metathesis in PA (possibly under influence of PA **riHV* 'time, season'), correspondences are regular.

The word is probably a deverbal noun, and there are traces of the original verbal root in Lak. and Darg.: cf. Lak. *-ija-n* (*=i-nu*), Darg. Ur. *r-urh-* (dur.) 'to shine'.

**hwālkwē* carriage, vehicle; wheel: Av.-And. **ʔijnkV*; Tsez. **ʔakV-* (~ *h-,ā-*); Lak. *harkʷ*; Darg. **ʔarkʷ*; Lezg. **ʔa(l)kʷV-r*; W.-Cauc. **kʷə*.

| Av.-And. **ʔijnkV* 1 carriage 2 nail, wooden peg 3 round whetstone: Av. *hokó* 1; Chad. *horkó* 1; And. *inkʷa* 1,3; Akhv. *hāku* 2; Cham. *ankʷ* 2.

Av. paradigm C (*hakl-l*, *haká-l*; Chad. *horkí-l*, *harká-l*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *anku* 'nail, wooden peg'. The latter meaning is probably secondary, going back to 'linchpin' or 'axle' (cf. the meanings in other languages).

Av. > Akhv., Tsez., Gin. *hoko*, Cham. *hok* (Gig. *hoka*), Tind. *hoka* (> Inkh. *hoko*).

| Tsez. **ʔakV-* (~ *h-,ā-*) whetstone, whetting wheel: Tsez. *ag-dori*; Gin. *aknu*; Inkh. *aki-jel*.

PTsKh **ʔakV-* (in Gin. with a *-nu*-suffix; Inkh. and Tsez. reflect a compound with a not quite clear second component).

| Lak. *harkʷ* carriage wheel axle.

Quoted from Khaidakov 1966.

| Darg. **ʔarkʷ* 1 axle 2 carriage; cradle: Ak. *ark* 1 *urkura* 2; Chir. *urkura* 2.

PD **ʔurku-ra* is a petrified plural form of **ʔarkʷ*. Cf. also Ur. *urkura*, Kub. *uka* 'cradle'.

| Lezg. **ʔa(l)kʷV-r* linchpin (of a vehicle): Lezg. *akur*.

Attested only in Lezg., but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **kʷə* (~ **kʷ-*) carriage, vehicle: Ad. *kʷə*; Kab. *gʷə*.

PAK **kʷə*.

[] Correspondences are regular. See Balkarov 1964, Shagirov 1977, Abdokov 1983, 130. Cf. also Hurr. *ḫulug-* 'chariot'.

**hwirsV(nV)* crib, manger: Av.-And. **ʔors:Vn* (~ *-a-*); Tsez. **his:V(nu)* B; Lezg. **wirs:in* (~ *ʔʷ-,s-*).

| Av.-And. **ʔors:Vn* (~ *-a-*) crib, manger: Av. *rus:ún*; Akhv. *ās:a*; Cham. *as:a-ā*.

Av. paradigm C (*rus:ná-l*, *rús:na-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tlan., Tseg. *as:en*, Ratl. *ars:en*, Cham. Gig. *as:i-ā:a* (Cham. reflects a locative form).

| Tsez. **his:V(nu)* B manger, feeding-trough: Tsez. *hisonu*; Bezht. *hiso*; Gunz. *īs*.

PGB **[h]isV* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *hīso*). There are some problems with the Gunz. form: in the MSU recordings there are variations *īs* / *ās* (of which *īs* seems to be the correct one). Not quite clear is the reflex **h-* > *ʔ-* in Gunzib: perhaps it should be explained by a merger of two roots, one of which has a separate parallel in Darg.: Ak. *hars* 'cradle' (for Ak. *hars* and Gunz. *īs* a protoform like **HālsV* can be postulated - it remains dubious, however, because of the scarcity of reflexes).

| Lezg. **wirs:in* (~ *ʔʷ-,s-*) gutter, trough: Rut. *wisin*.

Cf. other dialectal forms: Khnov. *wisil*, Shin. *wirsin*. Attested only in Rut., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Seems reliable both phonetically and semantically.

**hwñerqū* soup, broth: Av.-And. **ʔa(n)qi* (~ *-o-*); Tsez. **ʔōqu* A; Lak. *naq*; Darg. **nerb*; Lezg. **riq*; Khin. *zeḅ*.

| Av.-And. **ʔa(n)qi* (~ *-o-*) soup, broth: Av. *hāʷu*; Chad. *ʔāʷu*; Akhv. *qā*; Cham. *a*; Tind. *a*; God. *aji*.

Av. paradigm C (gen. *hāʷ-dāl*, cf. also Chad. gen. *ʔu-dúl*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *aj* id. The Akhv. form is a metathesis: *qā* < *qāʷV* < *ʔāqV*.

| Tsez. **ʔōqu* A 1 broth 2 nettle broth 3 tasty nourishing meal: Tsez. *joqu* 2; Gin. *joqu* 3; Khvarsh. *joqu* 1; Inkh. *joqu* 1; Bezht. *jaqo* 1; Gunz. *joqu* 1.

PTsKh **joqu*; PGB **ʔōqu* (for nasalisation cf. Bezht. Tlad. /MSU/ *jāqo*, Gunz. (G.) *ʔōqu*).

| Lak. *naq* soup, broth.

Cf. Khosr. *naq* id.

| Darg. **nerb* soup, broth: Ak. *nerb*; Chir. *nerb*.

Cf. also Ur. *nirb*, Tsud. *nerb*, Kub. *neḅ* id.

| Lezg. **riq* 1 soup, broth 2 puree, thick soup: Tab. *riqi* (Dub.) 1; Ag. *riq* 1; Rut. *riq* 1; Tsakh. *jiq* 1; Arch. *diq* 1; Ud. *iljaḅl* 2.

Cf. also Tsakh. Gelm. *jiq*, Arch. erg. *diqi*. Obl. base **riqi-* (Ag. *riqi-*, Rut. *riqi-*, Tsakh. *jiqi-*, Gelm. *jiqi-*). 3d class in Rut., Tsakh., 4th class in Arch.

See Leksika 1971, 202; Talibov 1980, 265.

| Khin. *zeḅ* soup, broth.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**hwVmVli* (~ *-ē*) face: Av.-And. **hVmV(r)*; Darg. **muḥuli*.

| Av.-And. **hVmV(r)* face: Av. *humér*; Chad. *humér*; Akhv. *hama-ʔal* (Tseg.).

Av. paradigm C (*ḥurmá-l*, *húrma-l*; Chad. id.) Cf. also Akhv. Tlan. *haq:al*, Ratl. *hama-qal*. The Akhv. form reflects a compound where the second part is PA **qili* 'mouth' q.v.

| Darg. **muḥuli* mouth: Ak. *muḥli*; Chir. *mülle*.

Cf. also Kad., Mek., Ur., Kharb. *muḥli*, Gapsh. *muḥli*, Kub. *müle*, Tsud. *muḥulli* 'mouth'.

[] An Av.-And.-Darg. isogloss.

***halsV** (~-s-, -i-) (autumn) wool: Nakh. *hāso; Tsez. *hīs (~ ă, ē, s:); Lezg. *ji(l)s:.

| Nakh. *hāso 1 golden threads 2 woollen threads: Chech. *hāsa*; Ing. *hāsa*; Bacb. *has*.

Obl. stem *hāsi- (Chech. *hesa*-, Ing. *hāso*). 6th class in all languages.

| Tsez. *hīs (~ ă, ē, s:) autumn wool: Tsez. *his*; Khvarsh. *hās*; Inkh. *hōs*.

PTsKh *hās.

| Lezg. *ji(l)s: 1 autumn wool 2 goat's wool: Lezg. *jis* 1; Tsakh. *jis* 2; Kryz. *jis* 1; Bud. *jiz* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *jis*. Obl. base *ji(l)s:a-, cf. Lezg. Khl. *jisa*-, Tsakh. *jis:e*-. 4th class in all languages. Medial -l- is not reflected (it disappears in clusters like this in all the languages that preserved the reflex of this root), but is suggested by external evidence.

See Khaidakov 1973, 49.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (note the same meaning - "autumn wool" in PTs and PL).

***hālvhV** slow: Av.-And. *in-hahV-; Tsez. *harīh-; Lak. *hurha*-; Darg. *b-ahla-.

| Av.-And. *in-hahV- slow: Akhv. *ihāhime*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *ihō*-, Tlan. *ihāho*-, Ratl. *ih^wa*-. The word reflects a prothetic *in-, often present in PA before *h-.

In Avar there is an adverb *hāla-l*: / *hāli-c:a* / *hāli-q:e* 'slowly, with effort' - which may reflect the same EC root; but synchronically it is now reinterpreted as a form from *hal* 'state of things; effort, power' (< Arab. *hāl*). The Avar form has penetrated into many nearby languages (cf. Cham. *hali-baxa*, Tind. *haljoxa* / *hajloxa* > Inkh. *halijaxin* 'slowly', Lak. *hallix-s:a*, Khosr. *haliliḡ* id.).

| Tsez. *harīh- slow: Gin. *harihu-n*.

Attested only in Gin., but having probable external parallels. [It is not quite clear whether we should also compare PGB *hate (< *har-te ?) 'slowly', reflected in Gunz. *hade*, Bezbt. Khosh. *hāte*, Tlad. *hāte*.]

| Lak. *hurha*- slow.

Cf. Khosr. *hulrhal* 'slowly'.

| Darg. *b-ahla- slow: Ak. *bahla-si*; Chir. *bahla-ze*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Lak. -r- perhaps reflects *-l- in a secondary cluster with -h-; otherwise correspondences are regular.

***hānhV** fat: Nakh. *hān-i(n); Av.-And. *hani (~ -o-); Lak. *ha*.

| Nakh. *hān-i(n) fat, greasy: Chech. *hēna*; Ing. *hāna*;

The pure stem is preserved in Chech. *han-dan* 'to fatten, fertilize'.

| Av.-And. *hani (~ -o-) fat (n.): Akhv. *hane*; Kar. *hani* (Tok.).

| Lak. *ha* fat (n.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

***harxi** (~ -e) trip, march: Lak. *alrxi*; Darg. *arxla (~ -χ:l-); Lezg.

*ja(r)χl(a).

| Lak. *alrxi* trip, march, journey.

| Darg. *arxla (~ -χ:l-) road, journey: Ak. *arhal*.

| Lezg. *ja(r)χl(a) foot-travelling: Lezg. *jaχ*.

Cf. also *jaχ-di* 'by foot'. The root is attested only in Lezg., but has probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Cf. also Hurr., Urart. *χāra* 'road, march; way' (probably dissimilated < *χarxi). In [Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 62] the HU root is compared with Tsakh. *wuhur* 'street', but since the Tsakhur word is absolutely isolated (the comparison - ibid. - with Chech. *ūram* 'street' should be certainly abandoned, because Chech. *ūram* is a recent borrowing from Turkic), we now prefer the comparison of HU *χāri with EC *harxi.

***hGunu** (~ -i) cover; bridge: Nakh. *n(h)aḡV-r; Av.-And. *q:unHV; Lezg. *q:laɟ / *q:lan:: Khin. q^wa.

| Nakh. *n(h)aḡV-r 1 lid, cover (of a box, chest) 2 eye-lid: Chech. *neḡar* 1; Ing. *noḡar* 1,2.

3d class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *q:unHV eye-lid: Akhv. q:ū / q:uni (Ratl.).

Attested only in Akhv., but having possible external parallels.

| Lezg. *q:laɟ / *q:lan: bridge: Lezg. *mūḡ*; Tab. *ḡlad*; Ag. *muḡ*; Rut. *ḡla*; Tsakh. *jiḡl*; Arch. *qlin*.

3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. The variation between *q:laɟ (> Rut. *ḡla*, Tsakh. with metathesis *jiḡl*) and *q:lan: (Arch. *qlin* /with not quite clear vowel reflex/, erg. *qlinni*, Tab. *ḡlad*, Kand. *ḡlaḡ* - but Düb. *q:laɟ*) is probably explained as earlier variation *-hn- (>PL -j-) / *-nh- (> PL -n:-).

In the oblique stem we must reconstruct *q:loji- / *q:lon:- (besides Arch., cf. also Rut. *ḡli*-, Tsakh. *jiḡli*-); in Tsakh. the obl. stem vocalism is reflected also in the direct base (*jiḡl*).

Several Lezghian languages reflect a compound form *mVq:lan: (probably a distortion of *marq: 'pole' + *q:lan: 'bridge, ladder': cf. Lezg. *mūḡ*, erg. *mūq:ḡ*, Khl. *miḡ*, *miq:ḡ*-, Ag. *muḡ*, Bursh., Burk. *muḡ*, Tp. *muḡ*, Fit. *muḡl* 'bridge' (reflecting a reinterpreted stem *muq:l), Rut. *maḡlad* 'ladder' (opposed to *ḡla* 'bridge') and Tsakh. (Mishl.) *miḡlad* 'scaffold' (opposed to *jiḡl* 'bridge').

See Khaidakov 1973, 80.

| Khin. q^wa lid, cover.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The meanings 'bridge' and 'roof, cover' overlap several times in EC languages, thus the Khinalug word meaning 'lid, cover' is a 'bridge' between PL 'bridge' and PA 'eye-lid' (< *cover). Nevertheless, the etymology is still not very reliable first of all because within Andian the word is attested only in Akhvakh.

The reconstructed form **hGunu* is rather close phonetically to PNC **HāGwE(n)*- 'to cover, close' (q.v.). We may either assume an old (PEC) derivation, or a secondary influence of the verbal root.

**hkwe*†V palate; mouth: Nakh. **lak*; Av.-And. **k*†ilV; Darg. **kaw*; Lezg. **lak*†-.

| Nakh. **lak* 1 front part of neck 2 throat: Chech. *lag* 1; Ing. *lak* 2.

Obl. base **laku*- (cf. Chech. *loga*-). Cf. also Cheb. *lak* (with exceptional preserving of glottalisation), Lev. *lag*. 3d class both in Chech. and Ing.

| Av.-And. **k*†ilV 1 mouth 2 neck, throat 3 hole: Av. *kal* 1; Chad. *kal* 1; And. *kol* 1,3; Akhv. *koli* 2.

Av. paradigm A (*kal*-*zul*, *kāla*-*l*; but Chad. C: *kal*†-*l* ~ *kalā*-*l*, *kāla*-*l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *kēla*, Tlan. *kela* "neck".

| Darg. **kaw* palate: Ak. *kaw*.

Cf. also Kharb., Tsud. *kaw* etc.

| Lezg. **lak*†- palate: Ag. *lek*-*men*; Rut. *lāk*†*a*. 3d class in Rut.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The structure *HCVCV is reflected regularly in all languages except PL (**k*†al- would be expected) - which reflects a metathesized variant **hlekw*†V.

**hmāhw*† stalk, crooked stick: Nakh. **ma*†*a*-*r*, **m*†*a*-*ra*; Av.-And. **huma*; Tsez. **hem*; Lak. *mal*; Darg. **umu*-*l* (~ *h*-).

| Nakh. **ma*†*a*-*r*, **m*†*a*-*ra* 1 fork 2 fishing-rod 3 hook: Chech. *ma*†*ar*, *m*†*ara* 1,2; Ing. *m*†*ara* 2,3.

6th class in both languages. The form *m*†*ara* is obviously a contraction < **ma*†*ara*.

| Av.-And. **huma* 1 stalk, stem 2 post, prop 3 thick stick, log: Av. *māhu* 1; And. *huma* 1,2; Akhv. *huma* 2,3; Cham. *huma* 1,2; Tind. *huma* 1,2; Kar. *huma* 1,2; God. *huma* 1,2.

Av. paradigm C (*māhā*-*lzul*, *māha*-*bi*) may be secondary, due to contamination with *māhu* 'leg, foot' (q.v.). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Ratl. *homa*, Kar. Tok. *huma* 'log'.

| Tsez. **hem* A pier, bearing pillar: Tsez. *im*, (Kid.) **im*; Gin. *im*; Khvarsh. *im* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *em*; Bezht. *hem*; Gunz. *hem*.

PTsKh **em*, PGB **hem*.

| Lak. *mal* hook, bolt.

| Darg. **umu*-*l* (~ *h*-) bar, bolt: Ak. **umul*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of the few nominal roots with the structure HRVHV.

**hnārqwE* (~ **h*-) a k. of cereal (oats, barley): Av.-And. **in*q†*a*; Tsez. **ōx* (~ **h*-); Lak. *niq*†*a*; Darg. **niqla*; Lezg. **nār*†*l*†(a); W.-Cauc. **q*†*l*†V.

| Av.-And. **in*q†*a* 1 oats 2 barley: Av. *nīḡa* 1; Akhv. *ūqa* 2.

Av. paradigm A (gen. *nīḡa*-*dal*; cf. also in Uslar's notation: *nēḡa*, *nēḡa*-*dal*,

nēḡa-*bi*). Within Andian languages the genuine root is preserved only in Akhv. *ūqa* (cf. also Ratl. *ūqa*; the MSU recording *ūq*†*a* 'barley' is probably faulty). All other Andian forms (Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *nīḡa*, And., Cham., Tind., Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. *nīḡa*) are no doubt recent loans from Avar. In Akhv. Magomedbekova lists also North. Akhv., Ratl. *nīqa* 'oats' - this may be either a more ancient loan, or a contamination of *nīḡa* and *ūqa* (note that the MSU recordings list North. Akhv. *nīḡa* 'oats' - obviously a loanword). The Av. word was borrowed also in Tsezian languages: Tsez. *nēḡa*, Khvarsh., Inkh. *nīḡa* 'oats'.

A word *oq*: 'barley' is recorded for Southern Avar dialects (MSU: Chad. *oq*, Mikailov: Ants. *oq*:). Since it can not correspond to Akhv. *ūqa*, we must suppose that this is a more or less recent loan from some Andian language.

| Tsez. **ōx* (~ **h*-) barley: Bezht. *ōḡ* (Tlad.); Gunz. *oh*.

PGB **ōḡ*. In Bezht. (prop.) Madieva lists *ōḡ* 'barley' (probably a faulty recording).

| Lak. *niqla* oats.

Cf. Khosr. *niql*†*a* id.

| Darg. **niqla* oats: Ak. *niql*.

Cf. also Ur., Kub. *niql* id.

| Lezg. **nār*†*l*†(a) 1 spelt 2 ground wheat, wheat gruel: Lezg. *nēḡ*†*l*; Tab. *nur*†*l* 1; Ag. *nir*†*l* 2; Rut. *naḡ*†*l* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *nāl*†*l*. 3d class in Rut.

| W.-Cauc. **q*†*l*†V 1 millet 2 barley: Abkh. *ā*-*ḡ*†*l* 1; Abaz. *q*†*l*†*l* 2; Ad. *ha* 2; Kab. *ha* 2; Ub. *ḡ*†*a* 2.

PAK **q*†*l*†*l* (a compound with **ḡ*†V 'grain'; cf. also Bz. *ā*-*ḡ*†*l*†*l*); PAK **ha*. The correspondence PAT **q*† : PAK **h* : Ub. *ḡ*† points to PWC **q*†*l*†.

[] A rather complicated case because of numerous later interloans. Besides all the loans from one language into another pointed out above, it is also not excluded that Av. *nīḡa*, Lak. *niql*†(a) and Darg. *niqla* also were borrowed (in fact, it seems rather probable that both Av. and Lak. forms are early loanwords from Proto-Darg.; since the word seemingly had a short front Auslaut vowel, Lak. and Av. -a is irregular. At least, such a possibility must be reckoned with).

Nevertheless, if we exclude all possible loanwords from one language into another, the root is still there: the Akhv., PTs, PD, PL and PWC forms could not have been borrowed. Thus, the reconstruction of the root for PNC seems very probable. The proposed comparison seems to us better than relating the WC root to EC **mūq*†V 'barley' (q.v.), see Balkarov 1975, 79, Abdokov 1983, 108; these two authors prefer to compare EC reflexes of **hnār*†*q*†*l*†*l* with Ad. *zant*†*l*†(a) 'oats'. The latter is a rather obscure stem, with unclear morphological and phonetic structure (attested also in Svan. *zant*†*l*†*l* and Osset. *zānt*†*l*†*l*), and should be better kept apart.

**hrānzū* threshing-floor: Nakh. **hett* (~ **h*-, -††); Av.-And. **hin*†*u*; Tsez. **ōc* B; Lak. *tara*†*lu*; Darg. **daraz*; Lezg. **ra*†*a*; Khin. *ro*†*c*.

| Nakh. **hett* (~ **h*-, -††) threshing-floor: Chech. *hāt*†*l*; Ing. *hett*.

4th class in Chech., 3d class in Ing. Obl. base **hatte*-*r*†V (~ **h*-, -††), cf. Chech. *hāt*†*tara*-, Ing. *hāt*†*taro*.

| Av.-And. **hinç:u* threshing-floor: Av. *hóc:u*; Chad. *hóc-ku*; And. *hinç:u*; Akhv. *ĩç:o*; Cham. *hĩs*; Tind. *hinc:u*; Kar. *hinç:e*; God. *hinc:u*.

Av. paradigm A (loc. *hóc:a-ł*; pl. *hóc:a-bl*; Chad. *hóc:ki-l*, *hóc:ki-l*). The Chad. form includes a diminutive suffix -ku (-ku). In most Andian languages (except Kar.) the word is homonymous with **hinç:u* 'door' - which is, of course, accidental (cf. the opposition in Av. *hóc:u* vs. *nuc:á*).

| Tsez. **ʔc* B threshing-floor: Tsez. *oc*; Gin. *ič* / *uč*; Khvarsh. *ĩc* (*Leksika*, *Radzhibov*); Inkh. *ēc*; Bezht. *āc*; Gunz. *ēc* (*Gunz.*).

PTsKh **ʔc*; PGB **ʔac* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *āc*, Khosh. *ac*).

| Lak. *t:araça-lu* threshing-floor.

Cf. Khosr. *t:araçalu* id., Bartkh. (Khaidakov 1966) *t:arç*.

| Darg. **daraz* threshing-floor: Chir. *daraz*.

| Lezg. **raç:a* threshing-floor: Lezg. *rat*; Tab. *rac*; Ag. *rat*; Rut. *rat*; Tsakh. *at:a*; Arch. *çi*; Ud. *ec*.

Cf. Lezg. erg. *raç-ra*, Khl. *rat*, plur. *rat-ar*; Tab. Düb. *rac:a*; Rut. obl. *ridi* (Ikhr. *rat*, *riti*). The obl. base can be reconstructed as **roç:a*- (cf. Tab. *rac:a*-, Ag. *rat:i*- with vowel levelling; Rut. *ridi*- instead of **ridi*- with adoption of the more frequent -i-vocalism in the oblique stem). Arch. *çi* is actually a former locative, a contraction < **dVç:i* 'on the threshing-floor'. The word belongs to the 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. See Talibov 1960a, 299; *Leksika* 1971, 171; Giginayshvili 1977, 107.

| Khin. *roç* threshing-floor.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. A typical example of the root-structure *HRVNCV.

**hVmçV* fear, fright; unpleasant emotion: Nakh. **[f]*utter-; Av.-And. **hanç-* (~ *h-*, -o-); Tsez. **hĩç-* (~ *h-*); Lak. *huç*; Lezg. **ł-i-mç*; W.-Cauc. **pəçV*.

| Nakh. **[f]*utter- vexation, annoyance: Chech. *huttarē*; Ing. *futtare*.

External evidence suggests rather **h-* for PN; in Chech. **h-* and **f-* have merged into *h-*, but in Ingush we would rather expect **wuttare* from **huttir-*. The distinction of **h-* and **f-* before labialised vowels, however, is not very regularly kept, and PN **h-* in this root is not entirely excluded.

| Av.-And. **hanç-* (~ *h-*, -o-) lie: Kar. *hanço-b*.

Attested only in Kar., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. **hĩç-* (~ *h-*) to fear, be afraid: Bezht. *hĩç-* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *hĩç-*.

PGB **hĩç-* (cf. also Khosh. *hiç-* / *hiç-*). There exists also a nominal stem: PGB **hĩçu* > Bezht. Tlad. *hĩço*, Khosh. *hiço* 'fright', Gunz. *hĩçu* 'scarecrow'.

| Lak. *huç* fright.

Cf. Khosr. *hulç* id.

| Lezg. **ł-i-mç* 1 fright 2 to fear, be scared: Lezg. *kiç* 1; Tab. *guç* 1; Ag. *guç* 1; Rut. *giçe*- 2; Tsakh. *giç* 1 (*Mishl.*); Kryz. *kiç* 1; Bud. *kiç* 1; Arch. *ł-inç-a*- 2.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *giçl* 'fright'. Despite its functioning as a verb in Rut. and Arch. (with a defective paradigm: only dur. *ł-inç-a-r*), the stem is obviously nominal (even in Archi there are compounds like *ł-inç-as*: *eçmus* 'to be afraid' - with a dative

case of **ł-inç* 'fright'). Medial *-m- must be reconstructed on the evidence of Archi -n- (original *-n- can not be reconstructed because it would have been preserved in other languages, while *-m- regularly disappears in this position). Initial **ł-* gives regular reflexes everywhere except Lezg., Tab. and Ag., where dissimilations occurred before the following glottalized affricate. The oblique base is not quite clear (but probably **ł-imç-a-* on the basis of the archaic Archi *ł-inç-a-* in *ł-inç-a-s-*). The word belongs to the 4th class in Tsakhur.

Historically **ł-imç* is a compound of **ł-ij* 'fright' (q.v.) with **Himç* (cf. the external evidence), not preserved separately.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241. *Leksika* 1971, 239; Giginayshvili 1977, III; Talibov 1980, 286.

| W.-Cauc. **pəçV* lie: Abkh. *ā-mç*; Abaz. *mçā*; Ad. *pçā*; Kab. *pçā*; Ub. *māçā*.

PAT **māçā* (cf. also Bzyb. *ā-mç*); PAK **pçā*. See Shagirov II, 51 (with literature).

[] The WC form contains a frequent labial prefix (with glottalisation probably due to metathesis: **pəçV* < **pəçV*). Phonetically and semantically the EC-WC comparison seems quite probable (cf. the meaning 'lie' in Kar., paralleling the semantic development in PWC).

**hwālsā* a coniferous tree; wood: Nakh. **hastV-m*; Av.-And. **HVs:V*; Tsez. **hōs*: (~ -s); Lak. *his*; Lezg. **ʔwe(l)s*: (~ *ʔIʔ-*); W.-Cauc. **pəsV*.

| Nakh. **hastV-m* nail, peg: Chech. *hostam*; Ing. *hastam*.

Cf. also Chech. Lev. *hōastam*, Cheb. *hāstom*, Ing. (Imnaishvili) *hastam*. 6th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **HVs:V* 1 wooden bar, axle, crow-bar 2 staff: Av. *hos*: 1; Chad. *hus* 2.

Av. Chad. paradigm B (*hoso-l*, *hasa-l*).

| Tsez. **hōs*: (~ -s) pole: Inkh. *hōs*.

Attested only in Inkh., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *his* a prick (by some sharp object).

The original meaning was obviously 'sharp object, thorn, prick'; cf. also the derivative Khosr. *his:ilu* 'fork' (pointing to **s-*, neutralised in *his* in the final position), and the Archi loanword *his* 'fork'.

| Lezg. **ʔwe(l)s*: (~ *ʔIʔ-*) 1 wood, timber 2 firewood: Rut. *us* 2; Tsakh. *os* 1; Ud. *uśl* 2.

Obl. base **ʔwes:a-* or **ʔwes:e-*, cf. Rut. *usu-*, Tsakh. *osa-*, Gelm. *ols*, *ols:a-*. 4th class in Rut. and Tsakh. The root is preserved only in languages where there occurred a simplification of *-IC-clusters, thus the presence of *-l- in PL is postulated only on external evidence.

| W.-Cauc. **pəsV* fir-tree: Abkh. *ā-psa*; Ad. *psajā*; Kab. *psej*; Ub. *psā-ðʔənā*.

PAT **pasa* (cf. also Bzyb. *ā-psa* / *a-psā*, perhaps [with rather strange semantics] Abaz. *psa-qʔa* 'willow'); PAK **psa-jā* (with a usual 'tree'-suffix -jā). In Ub. cf. also *psā-s* 'fir-wood'. See Shagirov 2, 15 with literature.

[] The WC form has a frequent labial prefix *p-. Both phonetically and semantically the comparison seems quite plausible. [There are some problems with the initial laryngeal: in Lak. we should expect ?l-, and in Av. - paradigm A, not B. We must note, however, that Av. Chad. /the literary accentuation is not attested/ frequently has a secondary B paradigm instead of A.]

Medial *-l-, although not preserved in any language, must be reconstructed to account for the PTs nasalisation and the PN development *-ls- > -st-.

See also comments to *?ircV 'wood, stick'.

*hwimhV (~-ʕ-) string, lace: Lak. iIn; Lezg. *?im:

| Lak. iIn lace, thong.

Cf. Khosr. iIn id.

| Lezg. *?im: 1 string 2 loop 3 string (on a yoke): Lezg. jeb 1; Ag. ʕub 1; Rut. ?Iub 2; Tsakh. ?Ium 2; Kryz. ʕabi 3; Bud. ʕabi 3.

Lezg. erg. jep:-ini. 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. The obl. base is hard to establish (vocalic base preserved only in Tsakh., with variation ?Iuma-/ʔIumi-). The Shakhdag forms go back to a suffixed form *?im:V-j. One can not exclude the possibility of relating here also Ud. ulmäj 'button' (if metathesized < *?im:V-lV-j).

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss. Correspondences are regular, and there is no chance of borrowing, thus the common EC reconstruction is probable.

*hwiri lake, pond: Av.-And. *?in-hVrV; Lak. balr; Darg. *herkʷ; Lezg. *?ir.

| Av.-And. *?in-hVrV lake, pond: Av. hor; Chad. hor; And. ihur; Akhv. ĩhora; Cham. iħir; Tind. ihura; Kar. ihʷar; God. ihur.

Av. paradigm A (hóri-l, hóra-l). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. ihora, Tlan. inhora, Ratl. inhʷara, Cham. Gig. ihra. The origin of the prefixed syllable *?in- in PA is not quite clear (here as well as in a few other roots with a laryngeal Anlaut).

| Lak. balr lake, pond.

Cf. Khosr. balr id. Lak. > Arch. balri id.

| Darg. *herkʷ river: Ak. herk; Chir. ʕarkʷ.

Cf. also Ur. hark, Kub. akʷ, Tsud. herk / harkʷ, Muir. ĩrk id.

| Lezg. *?ir lake, pond: Lezg. wir; Ag. ʕur; Rut. ulr (Khniukh.).

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. ũr, Yark. hūr, Ag. Burk., Tp. ʔur. Obl. base *?iri- (Lezg. wiri-, Ag. ʕura-, Rut. ulre-). 3d class in Rutul. Cf. perhaps also Ud. orajin 'spring, source'.

See Khaidakov 1973, 75.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. The PD form reflects a diminutive building: *herkʷ < *heru-k.

*h(w)ičwV (~h-, -ʕ-, -ā-) line: Av.-And. *HVč:V; Lak. alš.

| Av.-And. *HVč:V line, stripe: Av. ĩuč:.

Isolated in Av. - with only a Lak. parallel.

| Lak. alš line, narrow stripe.

Gen. alš:u-l.

[] An Av.-Lak. isogloss - but seems to be not a loanword.

***habarV** worm: Av.-And. *habara; Lezg. *hap:ara(j).

| Av.-And. *habara worm: Av. *hapára*; And. *habara* (*Khaidakov*).
Av. paradigm C (*hapára-dul* / *harpi-l*, *húrpu-l*). Reasons for devoicing in Av. are not quite clear.

| Lezg. *hap:ara(j) worm: Tsakh. *albra-wuče*.

An isolated Tsakh. compound (with unclear second part), but with rather probable external parallels.

[] An Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss.

***hāGĀ** (~ h-) sin; enemy: Nakh. *qā; Av.-And. *HVq:V; W.-Cauc. *aGa (~ -γ-).

| Nakh. *qā sin; pity: Chech. *qā*; Ing. *qā*; Bacb. *qā*.
3d class in all languages. Obl. base *qī-na- (Chech. *qina-*, Ing. *qino*).

| Av.-And. *HVq:V sin, guilt, crime: Av. *haq:*.

Av. paradigm A ~ C (pl. *hāq:a-l*).

| W.-Cauc. *aGa (~ -γ-) enemy: Abkh. *a-ḡā*; Abaz. *aḡa*.
PAT *aγa.

[] Correspondences are regular, and the comparison seems plausible both phonetically and semantically ('sin, crime': 'a sinful person' > 'enemy').

***hālV+V** branch; pod: Av.-And. *HVrλ:VIV; Tsez. *ʔāλVI.

| Av.-And. *HVrλ:VIV branch, bough: Av. *ʔarλ:él*.

Av. paradigm B-C (*ʔarλ:áli-l*, *ʔarλ:ála-bi*).

| Tsez. *ʔāλVI pod: Tsez. *aλiru*; Gin. *aλa*; Inkh. *āler*; Bezht. *āhalo*; Gunz. *āhal*.
PTsKh *ʔāλVR; PGB *ʔāλal(u).

[] An Av.-Tsez. isogloss.

***hāmki** / ***kāmfi** seed, grain: Nakh. *kaw; Tsez. *ʔak (~ *h-);

Darg. *ʔanki; Lezg. *hla(m)k-.

| Nakh. *kaw wheat, wheat grain: Chech. *ka*; Ing. *ka*; Bacb. *kaw*.
Obl. base *kewi- (Chech. *ke-*, Ing. *kiwo*); 3d class in all languages.

| Tsez. *ʔak (~ *h-) 1 seed; fruit-stone 2 dough: Tsez. *ak l*; Gin. *ak l*; Inkh. *ak*.

PTsKh *ʔak. Semantic development: "seed, grain > flour > dough".

| Darg. *ʔanki wheat: Ak. *anki*; Chir. *açe*.

Cf. also Ur. *anki*, Kub. *açe*, Tsud. *ançi*.

| Lezg. *hla(m)k- 1 a sort of small nuts 2 wheat grain, wheat: Lezg. *aka l*; Ag. *ek 2*; Rut. *ak-aχ l*.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *ʔak*, Fit., Burk. *ek* 'wheat'. The Lezg. form goes back

to **hla(m)kVj* with a productive *-j-suffix; suffixation in Rut. is less clear. For the semantic development cf. external evidence (variation of meanings between "seed, grain, fruit-stone" and "wheat, wheat grain"). Unfortunately, without the Tab. and Arch. evidence it is hard to prove whether there was or was no medial nasal resonant (required by external evidence).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

***hāmλā** sweat: Av.-And. *hamλo; Lak. *čanak*; Darg. *maγa; Lezg.

*hlamλ(a); W.-Cauc. *pəλa.

| Av.-And. *hamλo sweat: Av. *ʔef*; Chad. *ʔef*; And. *hanno*; Akhv. *āla*; Cham. *hana*; Tind. *hanla*; Kar. *hanla*; Botl. *hāʔa*; Bagv. *hanla* (*Tlond.*); God. *hanla*.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. *ʔefu-l*, Chad. *ʔofu-l*). Cf. also And. Kvankh. *hanλo*, And. (Tsertsvadze) *hamlu*, Gag. *hamlu*, Zil. *hanʔo*, Akhv. Tseg. *ʔanla*, Tlan. *ʔanla*, Ratl. *anla*, Cham. Gig. *hanna*, Kar. Tok. *hanʔa*.

| Lak. *čanak* perspiration.

| Darg. *maγa sweat: Ak. *maʔa*; Chir. *maγa*.

Cf. also Ur. *maʔa*, Kub. *miγā*, Tsud. *maga*.

| Lezg. *hlamλ(a) sweat: Lezg. *heq*; Tab. *amk*; Ag. *emk*; Kryz. *ʔaq*; Bud. *aq*; Arch. *amk*; Ud. *ap*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *hāq*, Ag. Bursh. *ʔankʷ*, Burk. *ʔamk*. Obl. stem *hlamλā- or *hlamλi- (cf. Tab. *amku-*, Ag. *emki-*, Burk. *ʔamke-*). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Leksika 1971, 122; Gigineyshvili 1977, 102; Talibov 1980, 310.

| W.-Cauc. *pəλa (~ -ə-) sweat: Abkh. *a-pχ-3ə*; Abaz. *pχ-3ə*; Ad. *pčā-nt*; Kab. *pšā-nʔa-ps*.

PAT *pəxə-3ə (cf. also Bzyb. *a-pχ3ə*): a compound with *3ə 'water' in the second part.

PAK *pčā-n-ʔa- 'sweat, to sweat' (used also as a verb in Ad. *pčanʔa-n*, Kab. *pšanʔa-n* 'to sweat'): a compound with *ʔa 'liquid' in the second part (see PWC *tV). In Kab. we have a further compound with -ps(ə) 'water' (in Ad. there also exists a corresponding form *pčanʔa-ps*).

The correspondence PAT *x- (before affricate): PAK * is unambiguously pointing to PWC *λ. Since there is no Ub. reflex, it is also possible to reconstruct nasalisation in PWC.

The etymology of the PAK form proposed by Shagirov (1977, 2, 53: "to weed" + "to dig") is absolutely unacceptable.

[] The PD forms demonstrates an aberration: the reflex of a "tense" *λ (PD *γ); otherwise all correspondences are regular. The Lak. form is reduplicated (*čanak* < **kanak*); the PWC form has a frequent prefixed *p- - possibly, a remnant of a class prefix.

See Abdokov 1983, 74.

***h[a]mzū** saliva, mucus; herpes: Nakh. *hett (~ -č-, -t); Av.-And.

*haç:i (~ -o-); Tsez. *jōcu A; Lak. *uñcu*; W.-Cauc. *c:ʔa (~ cʔ-).

| Nakh. *hett (~ -č-, -t) herpes, eczema: Chech. *hätt*; Ing. *hett*.

Obl. stem *hatt-ar- (Chech. *hattara-*, Ing. *hattaro*). Vowel length unknown. 4th class in Chech. and Ing.

| Av.-And. *haç:V (~ -o-) 1 saliva 2 eye secretion: Av. *hác:u* 1; Chad. *heç* 2; Akhv. *aç:i* 1; Cham. *haş* 1; Bagv. *haç:ʷ* 1.

Av. Chad. paradigm B or C (gen. *hoçô-l*). An old Andian loanword is Ink. *hāççi* 'pus, matter' (indicating a possibility of nasalisation in PA); the meaning 'pus' is probably a contamination of the loaned word and the genuine PTsKh **lāçi* (**lamaçi*) 'pus' q.v.

| Tsez. **jōcu* A saliva: Tsez. *nocu*; Gin. *jocu*; Khvarsh. *jūcu*; Ink. *jōcu*; Bezht. *jācō* (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *jōcu*.

PTsKh **jōcu*; PGB **jōcu* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *nācō*, Gunz. Nakh. *jōcu*). In Tsez. and Bezht. (Tlad.) there occurred a metathesis of nasalisation to the initial resonant.

| Lak. *uInçu* snot, mucus from the nose.

| W.-Cauc. **c:ʷa* (~ *cʷ-*) 1 to spit 2 spittle: Abkh. *a-žcʷá* 2; Ub. *cʷá-sχ-* 1.

In Abkh. cf. also Bzyb. *a-β-cʷá* 'spittle'. The root **cʷa* (**c:ʷa*) is clearly discernible in Abkh. and Ub., although other components are not clear. In other languages the root had suffered expressive changes: cf. Abaz. *ka-žʷʷa-ra* 'to spit' (žʷ under the influence of *ʷa-ra* 'to vomit') and *čə-ča-žə* 'spittle' (*čəča-* instead of **čə-cʷa-* under the influence of *čəča* 'soreness of the mouth'); Ad. *wə-žʷə-nlxa-n*, Kab. *wə-bžə-txa-n* 'to spit' (with quite irregular correspondences).

[] Correspondences are regular (except some variations in the vowel reflexes - probably due to the influence of initial laryngeal). In PN a semantic shift "secretion (from the body)" > "herpes, eczema" had taken place.

The EC-WC comparison was suggested by Abdokov (Abdokov 1983, 84); despite numerous expressive changes in WC languages, the ultimate correspondence between EC **h/a/mʷu* and WC **c:ʷa* is quite regular.

**hānχV* (~ **ʷ-*) mountain goat; ram: Nakh. **hāχ*; Av.-And. **ʷanλ:V*; Tsez. **ʷāλ:ē*.

| Nakh. **hāχ* mountain goat: Chech. *heχ*; Ing. *haβ*; Bacb. *haχ*.

The reason for voicing -χ > -β in Ing. is unclear. In Chech. the vowel -eis due to analogy with the oblique base *hēχara-* (< **hāχi-ri-*). 3d class in Chech., 6th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. **ʷanλ:V* ram (ungelt): And. *anλ:i*; Akhv. *āλ:i*; Cham. *āλ:-kʷi*; Tind. *anli*; Bagv. *āl*: (*Tlond.*).

There is some confusion in records as to the strength of *λ: Bokarev has -λ- in Cham. (U.-Gakv.), and Magomedbekova - in Akhvakh, whereas the MSU records have -λ:- in both cases. On the other hand, the Tind. form in the MSU recording is *āl*i - but Inkhekvari in a form, obviously borrowed from Tindi, has *āl*li. In general, it seems that evidence rather favours strong *λ:.

| Tsez. **ʷāλ:ē* mountain goat: Tsez. *aλa*; Gin. *aλa*; Khvarsh. *aλa*; Ink. *āλe*; Bezht. *āl*i (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *āλe*.

PTsKh **ʷāλe*, PGB **ʷāλe* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *āl*o).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular - except that we would rather expect **ā* or **i*, not **ā* in PTs (since PN has a long vowel here). Thus it is not excluded that the PTs form was borrowed from early PA.

**hānχwā* (~ -ə-, -ō-) a k. of bird (wood-grouse): Av.-And. **HVNχʷV*; Tsez. **ʷāβ(V)*.

| Av.-And. **HVNχʷV* wood-grouse: Av. **anχʷá*.

Av. paradigm B (**anχʷi-l*, **unχ-bi*).

| Tsez. **ʷāβ(V)* bird: Tsez. *āβi*; Gunz. *āχ*.

[] An Av.-Tsez. isogloss; phonetically and semantically seems reliable (but PTs has here the phoneme **β*, very rare in genuine Tsez. roots; thus an old borrowing is not excluded).

**hārǵĒ* wide: Av.-And. **qā-b-*; Tsez. **qeq-*; Lak. *u-t:a-*; Darg. **aʷu-*; Lezg. **hlarǵi-*; W.-Cauc. **bəβ(ʷ)V*.

| Av.-And. **qā-b-* wide, broad: Av. **e-b-*; Chad. **e-b-*; And. *Ga-b-*; Akhv. *qā-da*; Cham. *a-ru-*; Kar. *a-bo-*; Botl. *βa-bi*; Bagv. **a-bu-*.

Most languages (except Akhv. and Cham. - but cf. Cham. Gig. *a-bi*) reflect a suffixed *-bV- (possibly a former class marker).

| Tsez. **qeq-* wide, broad: Bezht. *qeqiǵo* (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *qeqqu* (*Nakh.*).

PGB **qeq-iǵu* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *qeqqō*). Bokarev has Gunz. *qəqu*, which must be a misrecording.

| Lak. *u-t:a-* wide.

| Darg. **aʷu-* wide: Ak. *b-aʷu-si*.

| Lezg. **hlarǵi-* broad, wide: Lezg. *hārǵu*; Tab. *jarǵu*; Ag. *arǵe-f*; Rut. *aqlur-di*; Tsakh. *aql-i-n*.

In Tsakh. also 'far' (*aqla-na*). The Arch. form *qʷa(-t:u-t)* 'wide', because of its phonetic peculiarity, is probably an early loanword from Lak. See Talibov 1980, 307.

| W.-Cauc. **bəβ(ʷ)V* wide: Abkh. *á-t-bá*; Abaz. *t-bʷa*; Ad. *bβʷa*; Kab. *bβʷa*; Ub. *bβə*.

PAT **tə-bəʷa* (the meaning of **tə-* is not clear); PAK **bβʷa*. Labialisation in PAK can be secondary (as seen from external evidence).

See Shagirov 1,80.

[] A reconstruction **hārǵwĒ* is also possible (note that Lak. *u-t:u-* < **qʷV-t:u-*, as shown by an old Arch. loanword *qʷa-t:u-* 'wide'). The initial weak syllable with laryngeal was dropped in PA and Lak., replaced by a reduplication syllable in PTs, and by class markers in Darg. and early WC (whence PWC **b-*). In general the root seems quite reliably reconstructable for PNC. See Abdokov 1983, 144.

**hāχE* big: Tsez. **ʷaχ:-* (~ -β-); Lak. *ha-*; Darg. **ʷaχl-*; Lczg. **ʷaχli-*; Khin. *iχer*; W.-Cauc. **χV*.

| Tsez. **ʷaχ:-* (~ -β-) well (adv.): Bezht. *axo*.

Isolated in Bezht. (quoted from Leksika), but having rather probable external parallels.

| Lak. *ha-* enough.

Cf. also *har*, *hari* 'enough' (adverb, interjection). Since the original

meaning is 'large, big', it seems possible to connect with this root also =uhara-s:a 'grown-up, old'.

| Darg. *axl- good: Ak. *ahsi*; Chir. *axl-ze*.

Cf. also Ur. *alh-*, Kub. *axl-*.

| Lezg. *axl- 1 big 2 enough 3 many: Tab. *axlu* 1; Ag. *Ḫa-f* 1; Tsakh. *χle-r-na* 1; Bud. *l-äh-ki* 3; Arch. *axl* 2.

| Khin. *iḫer* many.

| W.-Cauc. *χV more: Abkh. *ájha*; Abaz. *a(j)ha*; Ad. *nāh*; Kab. *naχ*; Ub. *ča-χ*.

PAT *(a)ə-ha (with a reciprocal prefix); PAK *nā-χə (with a deictic prefix na-). In Ub. *ča-* is a comparative prefix. See Shagirov 1,281 with literature (justly singling out the common WC root morpheme *χV "more"; however, Shagirov's linking this root with PAT *haraχə 'high' is probably wrong).

[] Correspondences are regular. The semantic variation ("more"/"enough"/"big" and "good") is also quite plausible.

*ñazārV enclosure, wattle-fence: Nakh. *zāra; Lezg. *ač:ar.

| Nakh. *zāra 1 wattle-fence 2 wattle: Chech. *zāra* 1; Ing. *zār* 1; Bacb. *zar* 2. 4th class in Chech., 3d class in Ing., 5th class in Bacb.

| Lezg. *ač:ar (~hl-) enclosure, pen: Tab. *at:ur*; Rut. *ad:ar* (*Mukhr.*).

The Tab. and Rut. reflexes clearly point to PL *č-, and the word is very probably related with PN *zāra; thus we must think that Darg. Chir. *ʕalt:are* (whence Arch. *alt:ara*) 'enclosure' is borrowed from Tab. (or Agul) already after the change *č- > -t:-.

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss. In PN the 1st syllable was reduced, and the laryngeal transferred into Inlaut, which conditioned a non-trivial development of *z in the cluster. Nevertheless, the etymology seems rather probable.

A similar form exists in Tsez. (*mecra* 'enclosure for milking sheep'), but the nature of the initial m- here is quite obscure (the rest corresponds well to the PL form).

*ñemlā dream: Av.-And. *honlV (~h-,a-,m-); Lak. *anka-tun*; Darg. *hank; Lezg. *hleml(a) (~ā-); Khin. *mikā*; W.-Cauc. *pəlā.

| Av.-And. *honlV (~h-,a-,m-) 1 fog 2 cloud: Cham. *hāla* 1; Tind. *hinawu* 2; Kar. *hanlu* 1,2; God. *hanlu* 1,2.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *hanna*. The Tind. form is not quite clear (cf. also the notation in Leksika: Tind. *hinalu*).

| Lak. *anka-tun* to doze, slumber.

A compound verb (with the nominal part *anka-* and the auxiliary verb *-tun*).

| Darg. *hank sleep (n.): Ak. *hank*.

Cf. also Kait. *anka-la* id.

| Lezg. *hleml(a) (~ā-) 1 dream, sleep 2 in dream, while sleeping: Ag. *emk* 1; Arch. *miki-r* 2.

Cf. also Ag. Tp. *emk* 'dream'. This root should be kept strictly apart from PL *nāwā 'dream' q.v.

| Khin. *mikā* dream.

| W.-Cauc. *pəlā dream, sleep (n.): Abkh. *a-pχəz*; Abaz. *pχəz*; Ad. *pəhāp*; Kab. *pəhāpa*, *pəh*; Ub. *pəa-blā*.

PAT *pəχə-3ə (cf. also Bzyb. *a-pχə3*); PAK *pəχə-hā, *pəχə-hāpa. All three subgroups have compounds with not quite clear second components, but the identity of PAT *pəχə-, PAK *pəχə- and Ub. *pəa-* (< PWC *pəlā-) is beyond doubt.

[] An interesting common NC root (sometimes contaminating with *nhewlū 'sleep, dream' q.v., but surely different, because reflexes of these two stems are opposed in many languages). PWC has a frequent labial prefix. The original meaning (preserved in many languages) is 'dream, slumber'; Andian languages demonstrate a non-trivial semantic development 'dream' > *'vision' > 'cloud'. Phonetically the Andian forms fit in very well, and the word has no other etymology, thus it seems worth to accept such a semantic change.

*ñen(V)šwī earth, clay: Av.-And. *onš:ī; Lak. *alrš:i*; Darg. *heš:(~h-); W.-Cauc. *nəšwə.

| Av.-And. *onš:ī 1 earth 2 mud, clay: Av. *hars*: 2; And. *onš:i* 1; Akhv. *ūs:i* 1; Cham. *ūs*: 1; Tind. *unš:i* 1; Kar. *unš:i* 1; Botl. *unš:i* 1; Bagv. *unš*: 1; God. *unš:i* 1.

Av. paradigm B-C (gen. *hars:u-l*). Cf. also Av. (Usl.) *has*: 'mud, clay', Bagv. Tlond. *hūs:a*, Kar. Tok. *ʕunš:i*, Cham. Gig. *unš:i* 'earth'.

| Lak. *alrš:i* earth.

4th class. Obl. stem *alrš:a-ra-*.

| Darg. *heš:(~h-) dust (of rotten wood): Ak. *heš*.

| W.-Cauc. *nəšwə earth, clay: Abkh. *a-nəšw*; Abaz. *nəšw*.

PAT *nəšwə (cf. also Bzyb. *a-nəšw*). PAT *šw can only go back to PWC *šw.

[] The comparison seems quite reliable; we have to suppose an original vowel between *-n- and *-š- (lost in PEC) to account for the preservation of n- in PWC. See Abdokov 1983, 99.

*ñeqwV heavy: Av.-And. *hoqV-; Tsez. *wq(u) A; Lak. *ku-*; Darg. *čkʷ-; Lezg. *hliqʷi-; W.-Cauc. *Tqʷa.

| Av.-And. *hoqV- heavy: Av. *bāka-b*; Chad. *baka-b*; And. *hoko-ru*; Akhv. *hoko-ra-da*; Cham. *aku-ka-b*; Tind. *hakuba-b*; Kar. *hakiba-b*; Botl. *hakuba*; Bagv. *hakiba-b*; God. *hakuma*.

The root is normally extended by suffixes (-rV, -kV, -bV). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *hakuba-b*, Bagv. Tiis. *harča-b*, Kar. Tok. *harkiba-b* (-r- in the last two forms is obviously secondary).

| Tsez. *wq(u) A heavy: Tsez. *ʕoqlju*; Gin. *moqu*; Bezht. *əqijō*; Gunz. *moqqu*.

PTsKh *oql(u), PGB *wqV-ju (-o- in Gunz. is either a result of misspelling instead of ɔ, or a result of assimilation to the following u). Cf. also a PTs derivative *r-wq "burden" > Tsez. *roql*, Gin. *roq*, Gunz. *roq*, Bezht. Tlad. *rāq*.

| Lak. *ku-* heavy.

| Darg. *ekʷ- heavy: Ak. *d-ek-si*; Chir. *ekʷ-ze*.

Cf. also Ur. *-ik-*, Tsud. *-ek-*, Kharb. *-ek-* etc.

| Lezg. **hliqI^w-* heavy: Tab. *aqlu-w* (*Dub.*); Ag. *jarq^we-f*; Rut. *juqI-di*; Tsakh. *jiqI-i-n*; Kryz. **ak*; Bud. *herki*; Arch. *iqI^w*; Ud. *b-ilhi/b-ilbi*.

Quite enigmatic is the velar *k* in Shakhdag; otherwise the correspondences are quite regular (the Ud. form goes back to **wiqI- < *hliqI^w-*). *-r-* in Ag. and Bud. is an infix (probably, old durative).

See Giginishvili 1977, 138.

| W.-Cauc. **Tq^wa* heavy: Ub. *gā-(n)-iq^wa*.

The first part of the Ub. compound is *gā-* 'heart, middle'. The second part has no parallels in WC (which is why the reconstruction is rather tentative), but has rather reliable EC parallels. The initial *T-* is probably a (class) prefix.

[] The root has changing class prefixes (or their reflexes) in Av., PTs and PD; it is hard to determine in this case whether this is an archaism or an innovation. Phonetic correspondences are regular (except for the vowel *-i-* in PL, where one would rather expect *-ā-*; this is probably due to the PL Ablaut **ā/i*).

**hērVcwī* silver: Av.-And. **orci*; Tsez. **orci* (~ *h-*); Lak. *arcu*; Darg. **arc*; Lezg. **ars(a)*; W.-Cauc. **rV[s^w]Vnā*.

| Av.-And. **orci* silver: Av. **arác*; Chād. **arās*; And. *orsi*; Akhv. *arēi / aēi*; Cham. *as*; Tind. *asi*; Kar. **arse*; Botl. *arsi*; Bagv. *as / ars* (*Tlond.*); God. **arsi*.

Avar has an exceptional accent paradigm (gen. **ārcu-l*, Chād. **ārsi-l / *ārsu-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. **ācl*, Tlan. **arēi*, Ratl. *arēi*, Cham. Gig. *asi*. Av. > Bagv. Tlis. *arc*.

| Tsez. **orci* (~ *h-*) silver: Khvarsh. *os*; Inkh. *os*.

PTsKh **os*.

| Lak. *arcu* silver.

Cf. Khosr. *arcu* id.

| Darg. **arc* silver: Ak. *arc*; Chir. *arc*.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. *arc*, Kub. *ās* id.

| Lezg. **ars(a)* silver: Tab. *ars*; Ag. *ars*; Arch. *arsi*.

All forms point to weak **-s-* in PL (cf. also Tab. *Düb. ars*), thus Ag. Bursh. *ars*: (MSU recording) must be a misspelling (cf. *ars* in Shaumyan's recordings). 4th class in Archi.

See Bokarev 1961, 60; Leksika 1971, 191; Giginishvili 1977, 68.

| W.-Cauc. **rV[s^w]Vnā* silver: Abkh. *a-ražnā*; Abaz. *rāznā*; Ad. *tažanā*; Kab. *dāžan*; Ub. *das^wanā*.

PAT **ražnā* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-ražnā*); PAK **t:āžanā*. The correspondence PAT **ž* : PAK **ž* : Ub. *s^w* is quite irregular. It is possible that the original form **rV[s^w]Vnā* (regularly preserved in Ub. as *das^wanā*) was modified in PAK and PAT, perhaps, under the influence of Iranian forms (**arzata-/razata- < PIE *rgnto-*); the WC forms can reflect an original variation **rV[s^w]Vnā (>PAT) / *rV[s^w]Vnā (>PAK)*.

[] An interesting cultural term - despite some phonetic problems, undoubtedly common NC. Cf. also Hurr. *ošxo(-ne) / ušxu(-ne)* 'silver' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 46-47), where *-šx-* regularly goes back to the cluster **-rc-*. The early PHU form **Hwercx-* (reflecting an intermediate stage in the process

**-rc- > *-rcx- > *-cx-*) was borrowed in Proto-Kartvelian as **wercxI-* (the comparison of PK, PWC and PEC forms was first suggested in Charaya 1912, 11). A similar form exists also in Semitic (Proto-Semitic **hrš*); it is therefore impossible to suggest a simple loan from Indo-European **rgnto-* in Caucasian languages - to say nothing of enormous phonetic problems arising with this supposition. Although some Caucasian forms may have experienced Indo-European (Indo-Iranian) influence (see above in the WC section), it seems rather more probable that PIE had borrowed this archaic Near Eastern root, which on Indo-European ground had contaminated with the pure Indo-European root **Har(ə)ǵ-* 'light, white'. The root reveals a "floating" labialisation: some forms are best explained by a protoform **hērVcwī* (PL, with spirantization of **-c-*, PWC), some - by **hwerVcī* (Av.-And., PD, HU). It is interesting to note the Ossetian name of 'silver': *āvzist / āvzestā* (having penetrated into Fenno-Ugric: Udm. *azveš*, Komi *ezyš*, Hung. *ezüst*, see Abayev 1958, 213). The Indo-European etymology of this word (see *ibid.*), belonging to Petersson, is very dubious, and it can also have a NC source (reflecting the original labialisation).

Finally it is interesting to note the similarity of this root and PNC **rēwcvī* 'gold, red copper' (q.v.): perhaps it is possible to think of an archaic word-derivation with a laryngeal prefix.

**hāčē* hollow, empty: Nakh. **-āss-*; Av.-And. **-içu-* / **čV-bV-*; Tsez. **-oč-iju*; Lak. *-ač-a-*; Darg. **-ač-*; Lezg. **hlač*; W.-Cauc. **wVčV*.

| Nakh. **-āss-* empty, hollow: Chech. *-āssa*; Ing. *-āssa*; Bacb. *-āse*.

Cf. also Chech. *-āssē*, Ved. *-ēssē* etc. The pure stem **-āss-* is contained in Chech. *-ass-ō*, Bacb. *-as-dā* 'to empty'.

| Av.-And. **-içu-* / **čV-* empty: Av. *čō-bō-go-ja-*; And. *-eču-gu-*; Akhv. *heču-da-*; Cham. *-eču-*; Tind. *-eču-ja-*; Kar. *-eču-da-*; Botl. *-eču-da-*; Bagv. *-eču-ra-*; God. *-eču-da-*.

A typical alternation of Av.-And. Stem I and Stem II. Stem I (**-içu-*) is used mostly as an adjective; note that in Akhv it has a laryngeal Anlaut and no class prefixes (**Hiçu-*; cf. also Ratl. *eču-da*), which may be the most archaic situation. But cf. also the verbal usage (Akhv. *heču-*, And. *-eču-x-*, Cham. *-eču-h-*, Tind. *-eču-h-*, Kar., Botl., Bagv. *-eču-* 'to empty'). Stem II is always accompanied by suffixes (Av. *čō-bō-go-ja-* 'empty', *čē-xē-* 'to empty', Kar. *čē-ba-* id.).

| Tsez. **-oč-iju* empty: Khvarsh. *l-učā* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *-očiyo* (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *-očču*.

PGB **-oč-iju*.

| Lak. *-ač-a-* empty.

Cf. also Khosr. *-ač-a-* 'empty'.

| Darg. **-ač-* empty: Ak. *-ač-*; Chir. *-ač-*.

Cf. also Kait., Kharb. *-ač-*.

| Lezg. **hlač* 1 empty 2 pit, hollow 3 dint, dent 4 to empty: Lezg. *iči* 1;

Tab. *iç* 2; Ag. *aç* 2; Rut. *erç* 3 (*Khniukh*); Tsakh. *haç-aʹas* 4; Kryz. *ʹaçi* 1; Bud. *heçi* 1; Arch. *āça-tu-* 1; Ud. *amci* 1.

Cf. also Rut. (*Khniukh*) *jiç-di* 'barren, dry (sheep, cow)'; Tab. *içi*, Düb. *erç*^v (with secondary labialisation) 'empty'; Ag. Burk. *ʹaç* 'ravine'. The noun is rather well preserved (in Tab., Ag.; Tsakh. *haç-* also reflects a nominal stem), but in some cases it maybe a back formation from the adjective **hlaçā-* / **hloçā-* (with Ablaut). There existed also in PL a derived stem **hlaç-rV-* > **hlarçV-* reflected in Tab. (Düb.) and probably (as a back formation) in Rut. *erç*.

The Ud. reflex is not very clear (hissing *c*: instead of *ç*; -m- in Inlaut).

See Leksika 1971, 224, 257; Talibov 1980, 301.

| W.-Cauc. **wVçV* empty, hollow: Ad. *naçā*; Kab. *naç*; Ub. *wāçā*.

PAK **naçā*. See Абдоков 1973, 61, Шагинов 1977, 282. Somewhat uncertain is the status of the first syllable. It can be either reconstructed as **wV* (with **w*-possibly reflecting the old class prefixation), or Shagirov may be right in treating PAK **na-* and Ub. *wā-* here as two different derivational morphemes.

[] The EC-WC comparison see Балкаров 1964, 100, Шагинов 1977, 282, Абдоков 1983, 143. The original stem was probably nominal ('a hollow, hole', cf. the situation in PL), but in most languages the stem became adjectival (more rarely, verbal) and obtained class prefixes. The class prefixes in this case replaced the initial laryngeal which is not reflected anywhere except PL.

**həmVçö* (~ ʹ-, -3-) stone: Nakh. **heff* (~-ç-); Av.-And. **HuçV*; Tsez. **acu* (~ -ā-); W.-Cauc. **māzʹa*.

| Nakh. **heff* (~-ç-) avalanche: Chech. *hätt*; Bacb. *heft*.

The Bacb. word is quoted from Мациев 1932 where it is spelled *hef*, pl. *haff-is*. 4th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **HuçV* stone: Av. *ʹuç*: (*South.*).

Cited from Микаилов 1959: Keg. *ʹuç*; Unt. *ʹuç*. There are no Andian parallels, but some probable correlates in Nakh and WC.

| Tsez. **acu* (~ -ā-) road-metal: Khvarsh. *acu* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *acu*. PTsKh **acu*.

| W.-Cauc. **māzʹa* stone: Ad. *māzʹa*; Kab. *māva*.

PAK **māzʹā*. See Шагинов 1, 271 with criticism of "folk etymologies" of this root.

[] The root is not widely spread, but correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems secure.

The WC (Adygh) form had been compared by several authors with several different EC roots: PA **mizV* (see under **wilzV*) 'big stone', Arch. *maça* 'flint', Lak. *nawça* id. (see under **mHōK(V)çV*), Ud. *zeI* 'stone' (with an uncertain EC etymology); see Trubetzkoy 1930, Rogava 1956, Abdokov 1983, 96. For phonetic reasons the present comparison seems to us more appropriate than the rest.

**hifV* to guard, to graze: Nakh. **χα*; Av.-And. **ix-*; Tsez. **ixō*; Lak. *huχ-çu*; Darg. **ix:-*; Lezg. **ilV(n)-*; W.-Cauc. **fV*.

| Nakh. **χα* guard, protection: Chech. *χα*; Ing. *χα*.

For the short vowel cf. Chech. dat. *χα-na* etc. 3d class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **ix-* 1 graze 2 feed, raise, educate 3 herdsman, shepherd: Av. *xix-* 2, *wex* 3; Chhad. *wex* 3; And. *χoro-sa* 3; Akhv. *isʹa* 3; Cham. *=ehʹihʹ-lʹihʹa3*; Tind. *ihʹa 3ihʹa-l-2*; Kar. *ixʹa 3ixʹa-ç-2*; Bagv. *ihʹa 3*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *ʹisow*, Ratl. *iso-daw* 'herdsman', Kar. Tok., Archo. etc. *ixʹa*, Cham. Gig. *iha*, Bagv. Tlis. *ixʹa*, Kvan. *ixʹa* id. The Andian form is a compound *χoro-* 'sheep' + **ʹis(ʹ)a* 'herdsman'. Av. paradigm B (pl. *ʹux-bā*). Initial *w-* in Av. is most probably a class prefix (but the nature of 'appearing in the plural form is yet to be determined). The verb stem is reduplicated in Av. and Cham. Some Andian languages have borrowed the Av. verb (in this way we must explain Akhv. *=ixix-*, And. Mun. *kix-*, Bagv. *xix-*, see Gudava 1964, 152). Av. *wex* > Bezht. (Tlad., Khosh.) *wekā*, Gunz. *wexa*.

| Tsez. **ixō* shepherd: Tsez. *aho*; Gin. *exō*; Khvarsh. *ihō*; Inkh. *ihō*.

PTsKh **ix o*.

| Lak. *huχ-çu* shepherd.

Cf. Khosr. *huχl-çu* id. (-çu is a component with the meaning of Nomen agentis).

| Darg. **ix:-* to guard: Chir. *=ix:-*.

The Chir. dialect also has *-a(l)χ:-* 'to feed', which may be related (through vowel Ablaut). An archaic variant (with variation **χ:/*χ:*) may be Chir. *ʹaʹsʹe* 'herdsman' (< PD **hax:i*).

| Lezg. **ilV(n)-* 1 graze 2 herdsman 3 grass 4 preserve, raise (smn.): Rut. *=ixa-* 1; Tsakh. *uxix-* 1; Kryz. *xin* 3; Bud. *xin* 3; Arch. *uλ-du* 2; Ud. *ef-sun* 4.

Labialization was early lost in all languages except Arch. (cf. also Arch. plur. *λʹ-at*) and Ud. In Tsakh. the stem is reduplicated, but cf. also Tsakh. *oxan-as* 'to eat' which obviously belongs here too (the -n-conjugation may be explained either as secondary suffixation or as a result of contamination with the PL root **ikVn-* 'to eat' q.v.).

The name for "grass" in Kryz. and Bud. (cf. also Rut. *xin* id.) can be explained as a derivate of the same verbal root (PL **ʹilʹon*).

| W.-Cauc. **fV* to eat: Abkh. *ā-fa-ra*; Abaz. *fa-ra*; Ad. *sxā-n*; Kab. *sxā-n*; Ub. *fā-*.

PAT **fa*, PAK **ç-xa-* (intr.), **ç-xā* (tr. > Ad., Kab. *sxā-n*), Ub. 1 sg. *ā-s-fā-n* (cf. also *fā* 'forage, food'). A rare case of PWC **f*. In PAK obviously a compound, but its first component is not yet clear etymologically.

[] The semantic shift 'graze' > 'feed, eat' is frequent and easily understandable. The initial laryngeal can be reconstructed on basis of Av., Lak. and PTs data; it tends to be replaced by class markers (when the root is functioning as a verb), and in PN the weak syllable with the laryngeal was lost altogether.

In some cases it is hard to distinguish between reflexes of **hifV* 'to guard, graze' and **HūqV* 'to preserve, take care of (q.v.)' (this confusion is made, e.g., in Abdokov 1983, 88); the latter root, however, is certainly distinct in PL and PWC, and must be reconstructed as such.

*ñigVrV near: Nakh. *garge; Av.-And. *HVgVr-; Tsez. *ʔəgV (~i-); Lak. l-ag-ma; W.-Cauc. *gʷa (~*gʷ-, *kʷ-).

| Nakh. *garge near: Chech. *gerga*; Ing. *garga*; Bacb. *garg(eh)*.

| Av.-And. *HVgVr- near: Av. *agāra-b.

Kar. Tok. *agaru-b 'near' is probably borrowed from Av.

| Tsez. *ʔəgV (~i-) near: Tsez. *igo*; Gin. *igo*; Khvarsh. *agol*; Inkh. *oge*.

PTsKh *ʔəgV (the reason for -i- instead of -ə- in Gin. is not clear).

| Lak. l-ag-ma around, in the vicinity.

In Lak., l- is a common verbal prefix, and the same root should be probably found in *laga-n* (p. pr. *la=gu-n*) 'to go, walk' (used usually as the preterite stem for ha-n) < *to go around'.

| W.-Cauc. *gʷa (~*gʷ-, *kʷ-) near: Abkh. *ājgʷa*; Abaz. *argʷa-nə*.

PAT *ajə-gʷa / *arə-gʷa (with pronominal or reflexive prefixation; in Abaz. cf. also *ajgʷa* 'friend'). The Abkh. form *ājgʷa* goes back to *a-ajə-gʷa with an additional locative prefix.

[] The PN form is reduplicated. PTs *ʔəgV- reflects *ʔVrV < *ñigVrV- with a typical adjectival reduction and metathesis of -r-. The second vowel is unclear (labialisation in PWC may reflect a labialised vowel or a former class affix).

*himV ass, donkey: Av.-And. *hamV; Tsez. *ʔom(V)-qV; Darg. *Hemx̣a; Lezg. *ʔimala / *ʔilama.

| Av.-And. *hamV ass: Av. *hamá*; Chad. *hamá*; And. *hamoroxi*; Akhv. *imixi*; Cham. *amaḥ*; Tind. *amaḥa*; Kar. *ama; Bagv. *ami; God. *hamaxi*.

Av. paradigm B (*hami-l*, *hamú-l*; but Chad. C: *himi-l*, *húmi-l*). Cf. also Kar. Anch. *amaḥ*, Cham. Gig. *hamaxi*. Most of the Andian forms reflect a compound *hamV-roxi (in some cases, with reduction, *hamVxi) with an unclear second component (cf., perhaps, Darg. *emhe-ruq* 'mule?').

| Tsez. *ʔom(V)-qV ass: Tsez. *omoḥ; Gin. *omoḥi*; Khvarsh. *omoḥe*; Inkh. *omoḥle*; Bezht. *āḥū* (*Khosh*).

PTsKh *ʔomoḥe. The Bezht. form can be related here if it goes back to PGB *ʔōqu (< *ʔom-qu).

The component *-qV in the PTs form is not clear etymologically. There also could have existed a PTs variant *ʔimVrV (= PL *ʔimal), reflected (with a productive suffix *-tu) in PGB *ʔirmV-tu (Bezht. *irmaḥo*, Gunz. *irmaḥu*) 'ass'.

| Darg. *Hemx̣a ass: Ak. *emhe*; Chir. *amx̣a*.

The initial laryngeal gives not quite regular reflexes, and is hard to reconstruct precisely; but it must have conditioned the pharyngealization (*χ > h) of the uvular fricative in most dialects, cf. also Ur. *hamha*, Kad. *emha, Kharb. *hemhe* etc.

| Lezg. *ʔimala / *ʔilama ass: Lezg. *lam*; Rut. *jimāl*; Tsakh. *aImale*; Kryz. *lem*; Bud. *lem*; Ud. *elem*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *lem*, Tsakh. *Gelm*. *aImalä*. 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. Since the metathesis *ʔimala > *ʔilama is specific for Lezghian languages

and has occurred in Shakhdag, it is most probable that Khin. *hilam* 'ass' is an old Shakhdag loan (before the secondary reduction of the initial weak syllable).

[] The pure root is reflected only in Av. and some Andian languages. All other languages reflect either a derivate (with a productive suffix *-IV), or some old compounds with unclear second components (PTs *-qV, PA *-(ro)xi, PD *-χa). Correspondences of the first part are quite regular (note the specific development *ha- in PA and *ə- in PTs - reflecting a secondary labialisation *hʷimV- < *himV-), and it seems worth reconstructing for PEC.

We must note the resemblance of PEC *himV with Semitic (cf., e.g., Arab. *himār* 'ass, donkey'). The Arabic form was probably directly borrowed only in one language (cf. Kar. Tok. *hamar* which stands apart from all other Andian forms), but it may be an old Wanderwort common to both East Caucasian and Semitic languages.

*hirV red: Av.-And. *hiri; Tsez. *ʔir (~ʔ-, h-); Lezg. *ʔiri-

| Av.-And. *hiri 1 red 2 blood: Av. *baʔāra-b* 1; Chad. *baʔāra-b* 1; And. *hiri* 1; Akhv. *hiri-da* 1; Cham. *ē* 2, *eʔu-b* 1; Tind. *heri* 2; Kar. *heri* 2, *heri-* 1; Botl. *hiri* 2; God. *hiri* 2.

The Av. form reflects class prefixation; Andian forms are all prefixless. In And. cf. also *hir* 'copper' (< *red copper).

| Tsez. *ʔar (~ʔ-, h-) 1 raspberry 2 blackberry: Bezht. *oj-do* 1; Gunz. *ir* (*kāj*) 2.

PGB *ʔar (or *ʔor, cf. Gunz. (G.) *or* *kāj* 'raspberry'); cf. also Bezht. *Khosh. ordo*, Tlad. *ordijo*. The root originally meant 'red' (cf. the external evidence) and is shaped as an adjective (with adjective -do/-dijo suffixation) in Bezht.

| Lezg. *ʔiri- (~ *ʔI-) 1 red 2 blood: Lezg. *jaru* 1; Tab. *uru* 1; Ag. *iref* 1; Rut. *irdi* 1; Kryz. *iri* 1, *irāž* 2; Bud. *ird* 2.

In Lezg. a secondary dissimilatory vowel shift (*ʔiri- > *ʔeri-, cf. Khl. *eri*); in Tab., on the other hand, assimilation due to labialisation (cf. Tab. Düb. *iri* 'red'). In Kryz. and Bud. the word for 'blood' is derived from this adjectival base.

See Khaidakov 1973, 104.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is almost uniformly prefixless, thus b- in Av. *baʔāra-b* is probably an innovation.

*ñisŪn to knead (dough), to press: Nakh. *haš- / *hčš-; Darg. *aš(:)Vn-/*aš(:)-; Lezg. *ʔis:ān-; W.-Cauc. *p-š:ʷa (~ -š:ʷ-).

| Nakh. *haš- / *hčš- to press: Chech. *haš-*.

Dur. *hčs-* id.

| Darg. *aš(:)Vn-/*aš(:)- to knead (dough): Ak. =aš-es.

Cf. Ur. =ašVn- / =aš- id.

| Lezg. *ʔis:ān- 1 to knead (dough) 2 to rub 3 to trample: Lezg. *tušun-* / *tišin-*; Tab. *tiš-* 1,2; Ag. *tiš-* 1,2; Kryz. *tu=šun-* 3; Bud. *ʔu=šun-* 1,2;

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *ṣṣana-* / *ṣṣana-* 'to knead (dough), to rub'. The verb belongs to the strong verbal class. All languages except Archi reflect a form with the expressive PL preverb **ṣ*-. See Giginayshvili 1977, 127.

| W.-Cauc. **p-s:**a (~ *-ṣ:**-) to knead: Ad. *pṣa-n*; Kab. *pṣa-n*.

PAK **pṣ:*a- / **pṣ:*ə- (cf. also Bzhed. *pṣ:*a- 'to knead', Kab. *xa-pṣa-n* 'to put into (a mass)'). See Kuipers 1975, 42.

[] The comparison seems quite satisfactory both phonetically and semantically (for phonetic reasons Shagirov's proposal to compare PAK **pṣ:*a- with Av. **ac-* 'to knead' etc., see Shagirov 2, 35-36, should be declined). See Abdokov 1983, 170.

ḥi[n]čwī* (~ *-č*) horse: Av.-And. **ṣiṣa; Tsez. **č*e (?) ; Lak. *č**u; Darg. **urč*i; Lezg. **inṣ** (~ *h*-); Khin. *pṣi*; W.-Cauc. **č**ə.

| Av.-And. **ṣiṣ**a 1 horse 2 mare: Av. *ču* 1; Chad. *ču* 1; And. *iča* 2; Akhv. *ič**a 2; Cham. *iṣa* 2; Tind. *ič**a 2; Kar. *ič**a 2; Botl. *iča* 2; Bagv. *ič** (*Tlond.*) 2; God. *iča* 2.

Av. *ču* is a reduction < **ṣiṣ**; par. B/C (pl. *ču-jāl*, Usl. *ču-jal*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *iča*, Kar. Tok. **ič**a. Tind. > Inkh. *ič**a 'mare'.

| Tsez. **č*e (?) stallion; male: Tsez. *gulu-či*.

The root is attested only in Tsez., in a compound with *gulu* 'horse, stallion'. It may be a remnant of the EC root for 'horse'; however, it may also be a borrowed morpheme with the meaning 'man' (< Av. *či*).

| Lak. *č**u horse.

Cf. also Khosr. *č**u id. Gen. *č**a-l, pl. *duč-ri* (< **ruč*- < **urč*-, cf. the Darg. form).

| Darg. **urč*i horse: Ak. *urč*i; Chir. *urče*.

Cf. also Ur. *urč*i, Kub. *uč*e etc.

| Lezg. **inṣ** (~ *h*-) 1 horse 2 steed: Lezg. *siw* 2; Arch. *noṣ* 1.

Cf. Arch. erg. *niṣ-i* (pointing to weak **-ṣ**). The root is preserved only in Lezg. and Arch., being superseded in other languages by recent loanwords. The development **ṣi(n)ṣ** > Lezg. *siw* is regular (cf. **ṣis** > *siw* 'mouth' etc.). In Arch the initial *n*- is most probably metathesized from Inlaut.

| Khin. *pṣi* horse.

| W.-Cauc. **č**ə horse: Abkh. *a-č*ə; Abaz. *č*ə; Ad. *sə*; Kab. *sə*; Ub. *č*ə.

PAT **č*ə; PAK **č*ə; Ub. def. *a-č*ə. The correspondence PAT, PAK **č* : Ub. *č* points to PWC labialised **č**.

[] Cf. also Hurr. *eṣṣa* 'horse', see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 34. The first (weak) syllable with the initial laryngeal was dropped in Av., Lak. and Khin. (and, of course, in PWC where it is the normal reflex), but is preserved in PD and PL. Medial -r- in PD does not represent the original *-n- (which was probably dropped); it is rather a trace of an oblique stem **urč*i < **uṣ*-ri-.

One of the most secure common NC roots. See Чапая 1912, 48-49; Trubetzkoy 1930, 277; Балкаров 1964, 97; Шадиров 1977, 2, 141, Abdokov 1983, 124. Charaya notes also Kartvelian parallels: Georg. *aču*, *ači* 'interjection (addressing a horse)',

aču 'child.) horse' - most probably NC loanwords (cf. analogous loans of **jəmcə* 'ox'). Abdokov (loc. cit.) suggests also an etymological connection of the root with **āčwV* 'to bring, carry' (q.v.), but there are phonetic problems with this solution.

ḥimVjčwā* sour: Nakh. **muṣṣi-n*; Tsez. **č*əča-lu; Lak. *qurč*i; Darg. **qanča*; Lezg. **imčV-r-/irč*V-m-; Khin. *mič*; W.-Cauc. **č**V.

| Nakh. **muṣṣi-n* sour: Chech. *mūsta*; Ing. *mista*; Bacb. *muṣṣi*.

Cf. also Cheb. *muṣṣi*, Lev. *mūstā* etc. The pure base can be seen in Chech. *must-dan* 'make sour', Bacb. *must-dalar* 'get sour'.

| Tsez. **č*əča-lu sour: Bezht. *č*əčələ (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *č*əčəlu (*Gunz.*).

PGB **č*əča-lu (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *č*əčələ).

| Lak. *qurč*i- sour, bitter.

Cf. Khosr. *qurč*i-s:a id. Lak. > Arch. *qurč*i- 'sour' (used only with *naṣ* 'milk').

| Darg. **qanč*(a) vinegar: Ak. *qanča*.

Cf. also Ur., Muir., Kub. *qanč*, Kait. *qac* id. This Dargwa word (historically a derivate from ***anča* 'sour' with the adjectival prefix **q*(a)-) was widely borrowed in neighbour languages: Av. *qanča*, (probably through Avar) > Arch. *qanča*, Chech. *qonza*. The original meaning 'sour, to be sour' is preserved in the Archi loanword *qanč*- 'sour, to be sour'.

| Lezg. **imč**V-r-/irč*V-m- 1 sour 2 salty: Lezg. *aču* 2; Tab. *uč**ru 1; Ag. *ṣuče-f* 1; Rut. *čirčim-d* 1; Tsakh. *čirčima-n* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Nūt. *akū* 'salty', Ag. Fit. *ṣurč*i-t, Burk. *ṣuče-f* 'sour', Rutul and Tsakhur reflect a reduplication (in Tsakhur cf. also the variant with pharyngealisation: *čulrčulmal-n*).

| Khin. *mič* sour.

| W.-Cauc. **č**V 1 to get sour 2 sour: Abkh. *a-č**-rā 1; Abaz. *č**-ra 1; Ad. *ṣ**a-ṣṣa-n 1; Kab. *ṣ**a-ṣṣa-n 1; Ub. *ṣ**a-q(ə) 2.

PAT **č**ə / **č**əṣṣa (cf. also Abkh. *a-r-č**ə, *a-č**əṣṣa 'sour', Abaz. *č**-qā 'sour'); PAK **č**a-ṣṣa- (= Ub. *ṣ**a-qə, Abaz. *č**qā). Ubykh has voiced *ṣ**- instead of **č** as a result of dissimilation.

See Shakryl 1968, 85, Abdokov 1973, 32, 72, Shagirov 2, 102.

[NB: The common WC form **č**Vq*V (-q*V) may be analyzed as containing an adjectival suffix, but also may partly reflect another NC root, well reconstructed for PEC as **č*ekwV (q.v.); see Abdokov 1983, 151.]

[] A rather complicated case, but most of the reflexes can be more or less satisfactorily deduced from the protoform **ḥimVjčwā* (-j- to account for PN **-sṣ*-). The Lak and PD form demonstrate the adjectival prefix **q*V- (also present in a number of other adjectival stems); Lak. *qurč*i- < **q*-Vmc-rV- (cf. the PL form; **-rV* is a frequent suffixed morpheme in adjectives).

Note the frequent recurrence of reduplication (also typical for many adjectival stems): PTs **č*əča-, PL **č*ilrč*V-m- (reflected in Rut. and Tsakh.), PAT **č**əṣṣa-.

**ḥimVā* thin: Nakh. **nelχ*-in; Tsez. **lamV*-; Lezg. **hli(m)ā*-ā-

| Nakh. **nelχ*-in thin, sparse: Chech. *niṣṣa*; Ing. *niṣṣa*; Bacb. *netχ*i.

Cf. also Chech. *Lev. njetχi*, Khild. *nīχi*, Akk. *njerχa*. The pure root may be observed in Chech. *niχ-dan* 'make thin, sparse', Bacb. *netχ-dar* id.

| Tsez. **lamV-* thin, narrow: Bezht. *lammō*; Gunz. *lamu*.

PGB **lam-*.

| Lezg. **hli(m)l̥:ä-* thin, narrow: Lezg. *sukū*; Tab. *k:u-ru*; Ag. *ik:e-f*, *k:et:u-f*; Rut. *ged-di*; Tsakh. *hilk:e-n*; Kryz. *ki-tä-d*; Bud. *kitti*.

The pure root may be observed in Ag. and Tsakh.; the Lezg. form (cf. also Khil. *sk:i*) has an expressive prefix *š-*, while the Tab., Rut. and Shakh-dagh forms contain productive adjective suffixes *-r-* and *-t:-*. Because of the early vowel reduction in most languages, the medial nasal **-m-* (which can be reconstructed on external evidence) has vanished in all languages.

Cf. Khaidakov 1973, III.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Vocalism is hard to reconstruct (probably because of Ablaut), although the shift **m-* > **n-* in PN suggests an original front vowel. In PTs one has to suppose a metathesis **lam-* < **mVl̥-*.

**finärGwī* house; hearth: Av.-And. **hanq:V*; Tsez. **aq* (~ **h-*); Darg. **hanq:i*; Khin. *ōqan*.

| Av.-And. **hanq:V* 1 house 2 dug-out, hut: Av. *ruq: l*; Chad. *roq l*; And. *haq:u l*; Cham. *hāq:u l*; Tind. *haq:u a 2*; Botl. *hanq:u*; God. *hanq:u*.

Av. paradigm B (loc. *ruq:ō-b*, pl. *ruq:-zāl*; Chad. *roqō-l*, *ruq-zāl*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *hanq:u* 'house', *hanq:a-za* '(house) floor'. Tind. > Inkh. *hāq'a* 'hut, dug-out'. Note that for Proto-Av.-And. we should reconstruct **hranq:V* with a **hr-* cluster (cf. the same type of development in **himç:u* (***hrimç:u*) q.v.).

| Tsez. **aq* (~ **h-*) house: Khvarsh. *āq*; Inkh. *āq*.

PTsKh **āq*.

| Darg. **hanq:i* hearth: Ak. *anq:i*; Chir. *haq:a*.

Cf. also Ur. *anq:i*, Kub. *aq:e* id; the latest MSU Chir. recording is *aq:a*.

| Khin. *ōqan* shelter (in mountains).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (the correlation Av. rVC(V) : PA *HVNCV points to the PEC structure *HNVRCV̄).

**hneḷwe* sweetbrier, eglantine: Nakh. **hanḱ-al* (~ -ḱ-); Av.-And. **himḷa*; Tsez. **ōḷu B*; Lak. *qa-naḱ*; Lezg. **niḷ:Vj* (~ -e-).

| Nakh. **hanḱ-al* (~ -ḱ-) sweetbrier: Bacb. *hanḱal*.

It is possible that Chech. *el-hamč* 'hawthorn' goes back to the same root (with irregular deglottalisation: we would expect **hanḱ-*).

| Av.-And. **himḷa* / **hinḷa* sweetbrier: Av. *ḡinḡi*; Chad. *noḡō*; And. *hilma-l*; Akhv. *miḷa*.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *ḡinḡi-dul*; Chad. *niḡi-l*, *naḡa-l*). Cf. also Av. Shangud. *noḡō*, Andal. *ḡinli* (in some Av. dialects there occurred a rather frequent metathesis of nasality in the first weak syllable with aryneal), Akhv. Tseg. *miḡa*, And. dial. (Khaid.) *hinalo-l*, *hinḡa-l* 'sweetbrier'. Av. *ḡinḡi* > Darg. Ak. *ḡinḡ* id.

| Tsez. **ōḷu B* sweetbrier: Tsez. *ḡiḷu-qa*; Gin. *iḷu* / *ḡiḷu*; Khvarsh. *ḡḷu* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *ēḷu*; Bezht. *ōḷo*; Gunz. *ēḷu*.

PTsKh **ēḷu* (~ -ḡ-); PGB **ēḷu* (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *oḷo*). The PGB vocalism is not quite regular (one would rather expect **ōḷu*).

| Lak. *qa-naḱ* sweetbrier.

Cf. also Khosr. *qanak* id. The form contains a prefix **qa-*, also discoverable in some other berry names.

| Lezg. **niḷ:Vj* (~ -e-) sweetbrier: Rut. *niggā*.

Attested only in Rut., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. The PL form (> Rut. *niggā*) is a seeming exception: the Rut. form, reflecting the expected PL **neḷVj*, was obviously modified under influence of Rut. *niGGā* 'strawberry' (q.v.).

**hṇṇṇṇṇṇ* (~ **hṇṇṇṇṇṇ*) mouse, rat: Av.-And. **hink:V* (~ -a); Tsez. **aqV*; Lak. *ulku-lu*; Lezg. **nVqIḡe-l*; Khin. *nukur*; W.-Cauc. **qḡṇV*.

| Av.-And. **hink:V* (~ -a) mouse: Av. *ḡunk:*; Chad. *ḡunk*; And. *hink:u*; Akhv. *ḡk:o-ḡi*; Cham. *hek:ḡa-d*; Tind. *hek:ḡa*; Kar. *herk:ḡa*; Botl. *hink:ḡa*; Bagv. *hek:ḡa-ḡa* (Kvan.); God. *hik:ḡa*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *ink:ḡa*, Ratl. *ink:ḡedi*, Cham. Gig. *hek:a-ḡa* (with strange suffixation), God. Zib. *hink:ḡa*, Kar. Tok. *herk:ḡad*. Many modern forms go back to PA **hink:V* (with a dental suffix).

| Tsez. **aqV* mouse: Tsez. *aw* / *ḡaw*; Gin. *aqḡe*; Khvarsh. *aqḡa*; Inkh. *āqḡa*; Bezht. *āqo*; Gunz. *āqu*.

PTsKh **āqḡa* (cf. also Tsez. Kid. *aḡw*, Sag. (Imnaishvili) *āqu*); PGB **āqu* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *āqo*, Khosh. *āqu*).

| Lak. *ulku-lu* field mouse.

The word is a partial contamination with *kulu* 'mouse' q.v. Regularly we should expect **nulku* or **nulku-lu* here; the initial *n-* was dropped (for not quite clear reasons, but exactly in the same way as in *alk* < **naḷk* 'gadfly' q.v.).

| Lezg. **nVqIḡe-l* mouse: Arch. *noḡlon*; Ud. *mell*.

The Ud. form regularly goes back to **meḡlel* < **nVqIḡel*. The Arch. and Ud. forms stand quite apart from other Lezghian languages, which reflect a simple root **qIḡel* (q.v.). We may think, that this specific Arch.-Ud. isogloss is a reflection of an old compound **nVqIḡV-qIḡel*, not preserved in other languages (otherwise we would have to deal with a fact of a quite irregular loss of the first syllable in all Lezghian languages except Arch. and Ud.).

| Khin. *nukur* mouse.

| W.-Cauc. **qḡṇV* mouse, rat: Abkh. *a-hḡṇa-p*; Abaz. *hḡṇap(ə)*; Ub. *qḡṇə*.

PAT **hḡṇa-pə* (with an unclear component *-pə*; with another one cf. Abaz. Ashkh. *hḡṇ-gḡə* 'mouse').

[] A connection between PEC **hṇṇṇṇṇṇ* and PWC **qḡṇV* (first suggested by Bouda 1948, 193-194) is very probable, although phonetically not quite regular: we should expect strong **qḡḡ* in PWC, and reasons for its weakening are not yet clear.

***h̥n̥ərkw̥V** urine, urinary bladder: Nakh. ***h̥aɪq̥a**; Av.-And. ***h̥ink:u(-r)**; Tsez. ***ʔaqʷə** (~ ***h-**); Lezg. ***nVkw̥V**; Khin. **k̥ə** (?).
| Nakh. ***h̥aɪq̥a** urine: Chech. **h̥aɪq̥a**; Bacb. **h̥ajt̥q̥i**.

Vowel length determined because of Bacb. diphthongization (a short ***a** would not yield -aj- in this position). Obl. base ***h̥aɪq̥u-** (Chech. **h̥oɪq̥a-**, Bacb. **h̥aɪq̥u-**). 3d class in both languages.

| Av.-And. ***h̥ink:u(-r)** 1 urine 2 (urinary) bladder: Av. **horok** 2 (*Ants.*); And. **h̥ink:ur** 1; Cham. **hek** 1; God. **hirk:u** 1.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. **hinku** 'urine'. On the reflex in Akhv. see under ***riq:V**.
| Tsez. ***ʔaqʷə** (~ ***h-**) urine: Tsez. **ʔaqɪu**; Gin. **aqʷe**; Khvarsh. **aqu** (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. **aqɪu**.

PTsKh ***ʔaɪqʷə**.

| Lezg. ***nVkw̥V** 1 gall 2 gall bladder: Lezg. **kʷe-zer** 1 (*Khl.*); Rut. **neki-zar** 1 (*Ams.*); Tsakh. **ki-zej** 2 (*Mishl.*).

All the listed forms reflect a PL compound ***nVkw̥V-c:ʷera** (with ***c:ʷera** 'urine', 'bladder'); therefore it is rather hard to reconstruct vocalism in the stem ***nVkw̥V-**.

| Khin. **k̥ə** urine.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is best preserved in the Western area; however, its remnant in PL (***nVkw̥V-**) makes the common EC reconstruction very probable. The Khin. form **k̥ə** is possibly a reduction of original ***HVNk̥ə**; a trace of nasalisation may be possibly observed in the obl. base **ki-mi-**. Some problems are raised by the cluster ***-lq̥-** in PN; perhaps ***h̥aɪq̥a** is an originally suffixed form (< ***h̥aɪK-dV** with a former plural suffix).

***h̥ničw̥V** night, evening: Tsez. ***niš:c**; Lak. **šana-**; Lezg. ***ʔiš:ʷ**; Khin. **āč:u-**; W.-Cauc. *(**pə-**)**ʔə**.

| Tsez. **niš:e** 1 night 2 at night, in the evening: Tsez. **neširu** 1,2; Gin. **neši** 1; Khvarsh. **nišo-ho** (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. **nišo-ho** 2; Bezht. **niše** 1; Gunz. **niše** 1.

PTsKh ***niše** (~**i-**), PGB ***niše**. Cf. also Gin. **nesa** (with s/š alternation) 'evening'.

| Lak. **šana-** sleep.

The word is derived (or vice versa) from **sanu** (3d class) 'sleep (n.).'

| Lezg. ***ʔiš:ʷ** night: Lezg. **jif**; Tab. **jisʷ**; Ag. **ʔuš**; Rut. **wis** / **huš**; Kryz. **jif**; Bud. **juženʒiʒ**; Arch. **iš**; Ud. **sā**.

Cf. also Lezg. Nūt. **juxʷ**, Tab. Düb. **jizʷi**, Ulz. **jisʷ**, Ag. Bursh. **isʷ**, Arch. adv. **s:ʷi** 'at night' (= Ud. **sā** 'night'), Ud. **use** adv. 'at night'. Bud. adv. **juwu-z** id. (the form **juže-nʒiʒ** is a result of early delabialisation and assimilation from ***ʔiš:ʷe**). Obligate base ***ʔiš:ʷa-**, cf. Lezg. **jife-/fe-**, Tab. **jisʷa-**, Rut. **wiši-**. 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. See Leksika 1971, 181; Giginayshvili 1977, 94.

| Khin. **āč:u-** sleep.

| W.-Cauc. *(**pə-**)**ʔə** 1 dusk 2 evening: Abaz. **ala-bəʒ** 1; Ad. **p̄ə-ha** 2;

Kab. **p̄ə-ha-ša** 2; Ub. **zʷa-psə-ʒ**.

The basic meaning of the root *(**pə-**)**ʔə** is "dusk, evening (or morning) dawn". In Abkh. it was lost, and in Abaz. stayed only within a compound with (**a**)**la-** 'light' (same as in **la-šara** 'light', historically = "eye").

In PAK the root ***p̄čV** (< ***P-ʒʷə** with devoicing) is used in compounds ***p̄čə-ha** 'evening' (listed above) and ***p̄čə-də** 'morning, tomorrow' (Kab. **p̄sa-dej** 'tomorrow', **p̄sa-də-ʒəz** 'morning', Ad. **p̄čə-dəʒ** 'morning'). Finally, in Ub. the root -**ʒ** is also used only in compounds: **zʷapsə-ʒ** 'evening' (with **zʷapsə** id.) and **sʷə-ʒ** 'morning dawn' (with **sʷə** id.).

[] Except the metathesis in Lak. (rather usual in the HRVCV structure; regularly ***naša-**, ***našu** would be expected), correspondences are regular. In PWC there is a sporadic labial prefix (as in many other cases, possibly reflecting class prefixation).

***h̥nič(w)ɪ** a small bird: Nakh. ***h̥ācu**; Av.-And. ***Hinč:V**; Darg. ***hunuç**; Lezg. ***ničʷ(a)**; W.-Cauc. ***čə**.

| Nakh. ***h̥ācu** 1 sparrow 2 bird: Chech. **hōza** 1; Ing. **hazilg** 1; Bacb. **hacuk** 2.

Ing. and Bacb. forms reflect PN diminutives ***h̥ācu-k**, ***h̥āca-lik**. Cf. also Chech. (Usl.) **hōzu**, Cheb. **hāzu** etc. 3d class in all languages.

| Av.-And. ***Hinč:V** bird: Av. **hinč:**; Chad. **hinç**.

Av. paradigm B (**hanč:i-l**, **hanč:ā-l/hanč:-l**).

| Darg. ***hunuç** eagle (poet.): Ak. **hunuç**.

| Lezg. ***ničʷ(a)** bird, small bird, sparrow: Lezg. **nuk**; Rut. **niç** (*Khniukh.*); Arch. **noç**.

Cf. also Lezg. **Khl. nuc**, Arch. obl. **naca**, pl. **noçor**. Obl. base vowel unclear (Rut. *Khniukh. naca-* is not sufficient for reconstruction). 4th class in Rut., Arch.

See Khaidakov 1973, 15.

| W.-Cauc. ***čə** 1 small bird 2 sparrow: Abkh. **a-čə-s**; Abaz. **či-s**.

PAT ***čə-sə** (cf. also Abkh. Bzyb. **a-čəš**) with a singular-diminutive component ***sə**; without it cf. the plural form ***čə-ra** > Abkh. **a-čə-ra**, Bzyb. **a-čə-ra**, Abaz. **čara**.

[] PWC reflects the root with loss of labialisation; otherwise all the correspondences are regular. The root was obviously denoting a small bird in PNC; the shift to "eagle" in PD is a result of development "small bird" > "bird (in general)" (as in some Lezg. languages) > "bird par excellence" = "eagle". In any case the Darg. form is impossible to separate from this root.

***h̥n̥ōčV** full, to fill: Nakh. ***-uç-i(na)**; Av.-And. ***-iç-**; Tsez. ***-(ə)ç-**; Lak. **-u-çu-**; Darg. ***-iç-**; Lezg. ***h̥laçt-**; Khin. **çi**; W.-Cauc. ***zA**.

| Nakh. ***-uç-i(na)** full: Chech. **-už-na**; Ing. **-iza**; Bacb. **-uç-inō**.

A participle form from PN ***-uç-** "to be filled, satiated" (Chech. **-už-**, Bacb. **-uç-**). It is rather probable, that PN ***-ac-i(n)** 'heavy' (Chech., Ing. **-əz**, Bacb. **-acī**, Cheb. **-azī**, Khild. **-ezī** etc; the pure root is preserved in Chech. **-əz-dan** "make expensive", Bacb. **-ac-dar** "make heavy") is an Ablaut variant of the same stem.

| Av.-And. **-iç-* 1 full 2 to fill: Av. *çura-b* 1; Chad. *çura-b* 1; And. *=uçi-b* 1; Akhv. *=eçe-da* 1; Cham. *=içi-dda* 1; Tind. *=eçu-b* 1; Kar. *=eç-* 2; Botl. *hi-ç-* 2; Bagv. *=eç-* 2; God. *=eçi-bu* 1.

The word for "full" is actually a participle of the verb **-iç-* 'to get full, satiated', cf. Av. *çe-* (with Ablaut: *orç-* 'be satiated'), Chad. *çe-*, Akhv. *=eç-* (Tseg., Tlan. *=iç-*), And. *=iç-*, Cham. *=iç-*, Tind. *=eç-*, God. *=eç-*.

| Tsez. **-[ə]ç-* full: Tsez. *=iççäsi*; Gin. *=içis*; Khvarsh. *=ejçu*; Inkh. *=eççu*; Bezht. *oçiro* (Tlad.); Gunz. *=açaru*.

All forms are verbal adjectives from the verb PTs **-[ə]ç-* 'be full, get filled up', cf. PTsKh **=eç-* > Tsez. *=iç-*, Gin. *=iç-*, Khv. (caus.) *=eç-χ-*, PGB **=əç-* > Bezht. *=oç-*, Gunz. *=əç-*. The vowel correspondence between PTsKh **-e* and PGB **-ə* is irregular.

| Lak. *=u=çu-* full.

A derivate from the verb *=u=çi-* (g. pr. *=u=çu-nu*) 'fill, be filled' (Khosr. *=u=çi-n* id.).

| Darg. **-iç-* full: Ak. *=içi-si*; Chir. *=içi=ze*.

The word is derived from **-iç-* 'to fill' (cf. Ur., Chir. *=iç-/irç-*).

| Lezg. **hlaçi-* full: Lezg. *açaj*; Tab. *açu*; Ag. *açuf*; Rut. *açid*; Tsakh. *gaçin*; Kryz. *çaçäd*; Bud. *səçə*; Arch. *aça-t:ut*; Ud. *buj*.

The basic root is verbal, "to fill", cf. Lezg. *açu-* (praet. *açu-na*), Tab. *a=ç-*, Ag. *aç-* (Bursh. *açi-*), Rut. term. *a=çi-r*, Tsakh. *g-a=ça-*, Arch. *ā=ça-*, Bud. *s-a=ç-*. Initial **hl-* is reconstructed mainly on basis of the Kryz *ç-* (and possibly the Arch. vowel length) which, however, may be a prefix. In some languages the attributive form means also 'thick' (Tab. *açu*, Lezg. Khl. *jaçi*).

Cf. Leksika 1971, 255; Giginayshvili 1977, 100.

| Khin. *çi* full, fill.

| W.-Cauc. **zA* full: Abkh. *ā-zna*; Abaz. *azna(ta)*; Ad. *jəz*; Kab. *jəz*; Ub. *ḡa-zā*.

PAT **(a)zə-na*; PAK **jə-zə*. All the forms (including Ub. *ḡa-zā*) contain pronominal prefixes.

|| A secure common NC root, serving in both verbal and adjectival functions. It is usually accompanied by class prefixes; however, comparing PL **hlaçi-* and the Av. Ablaut stem *orç-* (with infixed *-r-*) we may reconstruct the initial laryngeal **h-*, superseded by class prefixes in most languages.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 275.

**hōmGwī* (~*-č*) throat; mouth: Av.-And. **hi(n)q:V*; Tsez. **haqu* (~*-ā*); Lak. *uInqu-*; Lezg. **hlamq:* (~*-h,-?-*); W.-Cauc. **q̄wə*.

| Av.-And. **hi(n)q:V* 1 throat 2 crop, crawl, goitre: Av. *muq:ur* 2; Akhv. *oq:o* 1 (Tlan.).

Av. *muqū-* < **Humq:ū-*. [On the other hand, the Avar word somewhat resembles Ing. *boqqar* 'crop, crawl' - but the phonetic side of the Avar-Ingush comparison is problematic, and we prefer the Andian etymology].

| Tsez. **haqu* (~*-ā*) mouth (inside): Tsez. *haqu*; Gin. *haqu*.

PTsKh **haqu* (~*-ā*).

| Lak. *uInqu-* nasopharynx.

A compound with *s:urs:u* 'neck'.

| Lezg. **hlamq:* (~*-h,-?-*) throat (of a person): Arch. *hanq*.

For **q:* cf. Arch. loc. *hanq:a*. Isolated in Arch. [cf. perhaps - with irregular correspondences - Tsakh. *hirqIum* 'Adam's apple'?), but having reliable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **q̄wə* mouth: Ad. *q̄wə*; Kab. *q̄wə*.

PAK **q̄wə* (presupposing PWC **q̄w-*, **q̄:l-* or **q̄:l'-*).

|| Correspondences are regular. This etymology for PAK **q̄wə* 'mouth' is phonetically preferable to Trubetzkoy's comparison with Av. *abize* 'say' (see Trubetzkoy 1930) or Balkarov's comparison with Av. *kal* 'mouth' (Balkarov 1964, 101). Abdokov (1983, 76) correctly compares the WC form with Gin. *haqu* (misspelled as *haqu*), but adds also Av. *kal* and other unrelated EC forms.

**hōrtV* a k. of grass: Av.-And. **HVtV*; Darg. **hlatu-ri*; Lezg. **hlort*.

| Av.-And. **HVtV* feather-grass: Av. *het*.

Av. paradigm B-C (gen. *hotō-l*).

| Darg. **hlatu-ri* ramson: Ak. *çalt-uri*.

| Lezg. **hlort* 1 fern, moss 2 grass: Tab. *urtim* 1 (*Düb.*); Arch. *hoti* 2.

Both forms are suffixed (Tab. < **hlorti-m*, Arch. < **hlortV-j*). 4th class in Arch.

|| Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**hōqwīnV* nail, peg: Av.-And. **hanq̄wə*; Darg. **ḡlam-bul*; Lezg. **q̄wīn(a)*; Khin. *qim*; W.-Cauc. **q̄wənV* / **nəq̄wV*.

| Av.-And. **hanq̄wə* 1 nail 2 linchpin 3 stick, wooden nail; hammer handle: Av. *çank̄wā* 1, 2; And. *hanq̄wə* / *hamq̄wə* 1; Akhv. *āk̄wā* 3; Cham. *hāka* 1; Tind. *hanq̄wā* 1; Kar. *hanq̄wā* 1; Botl. *hanq̄wā* 1; Bagv. *hanq̄wā* 1; God. *hanq̄wā* 1.

Av. paradigm B ~ C (gen. *çank̄wā-dul*). The Andian root was borrowed by some Tsezian languages: Inkh. *āk̄wā* 'nail, wedge', Tsez. *oko*, Gin. *ak̄wē* 'nail'.

| Darg. **ḡlam-bul* nail: Ak. *çalbul*; Chir. *ḡlamul*.

Cf. also Ur. *çabul*, Kub. *ḡlumul*.

| Lezg. **q̄wīn(a)* 1 peg 2 nail: Tab. *qum* 1; Ag. *q̄wīn* 2 (*Ars.*).

Cf. also Tab. *Düb. qum* 'nail'. The Ag. form is cited from Shaumyan (who lists also Bursh. *qin* 'nail').

| Khin. *qim* hook; wooden peg.

One should expect *q̄-* in Khin. in this root; it may well be that the form *qim* is a misspelling.

| W.-Cauc. **q̄wənV* / **nəq̄wV* 1 stake 2 nail: Abkh. *a-çwən* 1; Abaz. *çwən* 1; Ad. *q̄wən* 2; Kab. *q̄wəna* 2; Ub. *nəq̄wə* 2.

PAT **çwə* (for the first part see **çwə* 'pointed stick'); PAK **q̄wəna*; Ub. def. *a-nəq̄wə*. The correspondence PAT **çw* : PAK **q̄w* : Ub. *q̄* is regular and points to PWC **q̄w*.

|| A rather typical example of the **HCVRV* root structure. The Darg.

form has a rather complicated history: it is probably a dissimilated plural form (*b̥lam-bV < *q̥em-bV with secondary pharyngealization before a front vowel), supplied additionally by a suffixed *-l.

*fireλwē (~-ī) bone: Nakh. *d(e)ʔexk (~-k); Av.-And. *roλ:i; Tsez. *λ'irV B; Lak. t:ark; Darg. *derγ; Lezg. *jirλ; Khin. ink; W.-Cauc. *Ł'a.

| Nakh. *d(e)ʔexk (~-k) bone: Chech. dāʔaxk; Ing. tēxk.

4th class in Chech., Ing. Cf. also Kharach. deʔaxk, Pharch. tēxk.

| Av.-And. *roλ:i bone: Av. raλ:a; Chad. raλa; And. roλ:i; Akhv. raλ:i; Cham. jaλ:il; Tind. raλ:i; Kar. raλ:e; Botl. raλ:ir; Bagv. raλ; God. raλ.in.

| Tsez. *λ'irV B bone: Tsez. λuza; Gin. λuzej; Khvarsh. λazal; Inkh. λozol; Bezht. λōrā; Gunz. λora.

PTsKh *λ'əza, obl. *λ'əza-RV-, PGB *λora. In PTs the oblique base must have been *λ'irV-z:a-, whence, with metathesis, *λ'iz:Vra- (> PTsKh *λ'əza-RV-, the PTsKh direct base *λ'əza is a secondary analogous building).

| Lak. t:ark bone.

4th class. Obl. base t:urça-.

| Darg. *derγ bone: Chir. derg / derγ.

Isolated in Chir., but very archaic.

| Lezg. *jirλ: bone: Tab. jirk:i (Dūb.); Ag. irk; Ud. uq:lejn.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. jirk:; Obl. vowel base unknown.

| Khin. ink bone.

| W.-Cauc. *Ł'a 1 rib 2 side 3 (preverb) by side of: Abkh. ā-va-ra 2; Abaz. 3a-rtā 2; Ad. cā-ya 1; Kab. 3ā-za 1; Ub. 3a-3.

PAT *ʔʷa in compounds *ʔʷa-rV(-ta) 'side' (Abkh. ā-va-ra, Abaz. 3a-rtā), *ʔʷa-cas 'rib' (Abkh. a-va-čās, Abaz. 3a-čās); the morpheme *ʔʷa is also used as a preverb 'side, by side of' (= Ub. 3a-). PAK *-Ła in a compound *c:a-Ła 'rib(s)' (*c:a- 'tooth, sharp edge'). The correspondence PAK *Ł (Ad. γ, Kab. ʒ):PAT *ʔʷ (Abkh. v, Abaz. ʒ):Ub. ʒ points only to PWC *Łʷ. The original meaning 'rib' is preserved in PAT and PAK compounds.

[] A good common NC root with regular phonetic correspondences. See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241. Abdokov (1982, 82) compares the EC root (with a lot of confusion among EC reflexes) with WC *bāzʷa 'horn' - which is quite impossible for phonetic reasons.

*firenswā (~ -ā-, -ā) stick, staff: Av.-And. *HVnsV; Tsez. *ʔāza-r (~ -z:-); Lezg. *rās.

| Av.-And. *HVnsV stick, staff: Av. ʔansā.

Av. paradigm B (ʔansī-l, ʔans-bī). Phonetically close Andian and Tsezian forms (Tind. ansa, Tsez. ansa, Kar., Cham., Akhv. ʔansa) are obviously borrowed from Avar.

| Tsez. *ʔāza-r (~ -z:-) log: Gunz. āzar.

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *rās:(a) stick, staff: Ag. res; Kryz. rās; Bud. rās.

Obl. stem unknown. 4th class in Kryz. and Bud.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular,

except for the vocalism in Tsezian (*ō or *ō̄ would be expected): since the word is attested only in Gunz., the PTs reconstruction is not secure.

*firēʒwō long hair, tail: Av.-And. *roč:V; Tsez. *rōč; Lak. daču; Darg. *derz; Lezg. *hirč:ʷ (~ *2-).

| Av.-And. *roč:V 1 tail 2 goat's wool 3 snare, noose 4 string: Av. rač: 1; Chad. rač 2; And. roč:i 3; Akhv. rač:i 4; Tind. rač:i 4.

Av. paradigm C (rač:ā-lzul, rač:a-l). In Andian cf. also a compound: miḃe-rč:u 'tail' (for the 1st component see *miḃV). Cf. also And. (Tsertsvadze) miḃʷorč:u 'tail'. Old Tind. > Inkh. račči 'string'.

| Tsez. *rōč 1 goat's wool 2 string of goat's wool 3 string: Tsez. rōč 3; Gin. rōč 3; Bezht. rāč (Khosh.) 1; Gunz. rōč 1,2.

PTsKh *roč; PGB *rōč.

| Lak. daču sting.

| Darg. *derz hair: Chir. derz.

| Lezg. *hirč:ʷ (~ *2-) 1 tail 2 (sheep's) fat tail: Tab. riž' 1; Ag. ruž 1; Rut. ʒi-bir 1; Tsakh. ʒi-kri 2 (?); Kryz. ʒi 1; Bud. ʒi-bir 1; Arch. olč 1; Ud. ozil-l 1.

In Tab. and Ag. there occurred a metathesis (*Hirč:ʷ > *rič:ʷ) with the loss of initial laryngeal; that is why a reconstruction of both *h- and *2- (on basis of the Arch. pharyngealisation) is permitted. The PL obl. vowel stem must have been *Hirč:ʷ-i; it became the direct stem (possibly with a suffixed *-j) in Eastern Lezghian, where afterwards the initial weak syllable disappeared. This would explain the Kryz., Bud. and Rut. forms (the latter two have finally added the plural suffix to the root). Unclear is the element -kri in Tsakh. See Giginayshvili 1977, 85.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The original meaning was probably "long hair, hair in tail" with the meaning "hair" preserved only in Darg. Correspondences are regular except for the vowel in PL (we would rather expect *hirč:ʷ or *hārc:ʷ); however, we must note that in this root most Lezghian languages lost the initial syllable, thus the PL vocalic reconstruction is not very certain.

*firicʷ joint, cartilage: Av.-And. *r[a]ci-l; Lezg. *hliç-.

| Av.-And. *r[a]ci-l 1 joint 2 cartilage, gristle: Av. cil 2; And. riçin 1; Akhv. raçi 1; Cham. razil (Gig.) 1; Tind. raçal 1; Bagv. racal 1 (Tlond.); God. raci 1 (Zib.).

Av. cil (borrowed in And. cil) is probably a reduction < *rVcil. Very strange are the And. and Akhv. forms: we should expect -ç- in And., -ç- in Akhv., not vice versa. The Tind. form is borrowed in Inkh. raççal 'joint'.

| Lezg. *hliç- 1 ankle 2 joint 3 shin, shank: Ag. içul 1,2; Rut. jiçin 2; Kryz. ʔaça (ʒiga) 3.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. çul/jiçul 'joint; vertebra', Fit., Burk. içul 'vertebra'.

The Kryz. form literally means "a full (ʿaqa) place", which is of course a folk etymology. The root occurs only with suffixes (-ul in Ag., -a < *aj in Kryz., -in in Rut.). An expressive modification (phonetically not quite clear) of the same root may be Tab. *biçnaç* 'joint; ankle'.

[] An Av.-And-Lezg. isogloss. The forms are comparable and point to a structure *HRVCV̄ (if we suppose a secondary loss of -r- in PL *hliç- < *hliç-).

*firVkwV woman, female: Av.-And. *hork:ʷa-; Tsez. *ʔaqV; Lak. -rik.

[] Av.-And. *hork:ʷa- 1 woman 2 wife 3 sheep (2-3 y. old): Av. ʿork:en 3; Chad. ʿorken 3; And. horç:i 2; Akhv. ak:a 1, ak:i 2; Cham. haş 1,2; Tind. hak:uj 1; Kar. hark:e 2; Botl. hark:i 1,2; Bagv. hak:uj 1,2; God. hark:i 2.

Cf. also Cham. Gig., Gad. haç:i 'woman, wife' (= U.-Gakv. haş < *ho(r)k:i < *ho(r)k:ʷaj), U.-Gakv. hak:u-b 'female', Akhv. Tseg. ak:i, Tlan. ak:aj, Ratl. ark:i 'woman, wife', Bagv. Tlond. hark:oj id., Tind. hak:u-b 'female', Kar. Kar. hark:o-b, Tok. hark:u-b id., haruk:a 'wife'.

Most Andian forms go back to PA *hork:ʷa-j (with the 2d class -j suffix).

An old (going back at least to Proto-Av.-And.-Tsez) derivate of the same root is Av. ʿork:en (par. B: ʿork:ā-dul, ʿork:ā-bi), PA *hork:i-n 'sheep, ewe (2-3 y. old)'. Besides Av. cf. And. horç:in, Akhv. āk:e (Tseg. ak:en, Tlan. ark:en, Ratl. ark:eni), Cham. haşim (Gig. haç:in), Tind. (Gudava) hark:in, Kar. (Gudava) hark:in, Bagv. (Kvan.) hark:in, God. hark:in. Av. ʿork:en > Bezht. (Khosh., Tlad.) ʿorken, Gunz. ʿorken.

[] Tsez. *ʔaqV woman: Tsez. aqiju; Gin. aqili; Khvarsh. aqu; Inkh. aqu; Bezht. aqo; Gunz. aqe.

Cf. also Gin. (by Lomtadze) alqu 'female', Inkh. āqu (< aq-iju with unclear nasalisation), Gunz. aqu id. PTsKh *ʔaqV, PGB *ʔaqV. An important derivate from the same root is PTsKh *ʔaqV-nV 'sheep (2-3 y. old)' > Tsez. aqoni, Gin. aqana (= PA *hork:i-n id.).

[] Lak. -rik women, female sex.

The root is preserved only within a compound with c:u- 'female'.

[] The root is best of all represented in the Av.-And.-Tsez. area, with a relic reflex also in Lak (we would have expected Lak. *t:VrV̄k, but the prothetic t: probably did not appear in the word-medial position - since the root is present in Lak. only in a compound word). The etymology is certainly sound, although the vowels are hard to reconstruct.

*fişwāmV̄ a k. of bird (heath-cock, owl): Nakh. *maşu; Av.-And. *HVnsV; Tsez. *ʔeçz A (~ -z:-).

[] Nakh. *maşu partridge: Chech. moşa; Ing. moş.

3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing. Cf. also Cheb. māşu, Akk. moşa, Shar. moşu etc.

[] Av.-And. *HVnsV 1 heath-cock, black grouse 2 wild turkey: Av. ʿansā 1; Chad. ʿansā 2.

Av. paradigm B (ʿansā-dul, ʿuns-bi; Chad. ʿansā-l, ʿansā-bi). The root should be distinguished from PA *nus:inHV 'wild turkey' for phonetic reasons.

[] Tsez. *ʔeçz A (~ -z:-) wild turkey: Gin. izo; Khvarsh. ĭzo (Radzhibov); Inkh. ēzo.

PTsKh *ʔeçz.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular - except for the accent paradigm in Avar (paradigm C would be expected). This must be explained by supposing contamination of this root with PEC *ʔVmswēlʔe 'wild turkey' q.v. We must stress that these roots must be kept strictly distinct because of different reflexes of *sw (tense in *ʔVmswēlʔe, lax in *ʰswāmV), although they tend to merge due to phonetic and semantic proximity.

*fiujV (~ -ō-) faeces: Lak. ul-t; Lezg. *ʔoj (~ -u-).

[] Lak. ul-t faeces.

Gen. ult:a-l; cf. Khosr. ult, ult:a-l id.

[] Lezg. *ʔoj (~ -u-) faeces: Ag. ʿuj.

Cf. Ag. Bursh. ʔuj id. Isolated in Ag., with a possible Lak. parallel.

[] An expressive Lak.-Ag. isogloss; the comparison is possible if we assume that Lak. -t (= -t:) is a former plural suffix.

*fiūʒwĀ sharp, to sharpen: Av.-And. *bižun; Tsez. *ʔāč; Lezg. *ʔeç:ʷa-; W.-Cauc. *č:ʷa-nə.

[] Av.-And. *bižun needle, knitting needle: And. bežun; Akhv. mežu; Cham. bežū; Tind. bežun; Kar. bežun; Botl. bežun; Bagv. bežū; God. bežun.

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. bežun, Tseg., Tlan. bužun, Cham. Gig. bežun.

[] Tsez. *ʔāč- 1 to sharpen, whet 2 whetstone: Khvarsh. =ač-eχ- 1 (Radzhibov); Bezht. āč- (Tlad.) 1; Gunz. āčun 2.

PGB *ʔāč- 'to sharpen' (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. āč-), *ʔāčun 'whetstone' (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. āčun, Khosh. āčun).

[] Lezg. *ʔeç:ʷa- 1 to sharpen, whet 2 to polish 3 whetstone: Lezg. k:ūnū 3; Tab. ulʒʷam 3; Ag. ʿulʒan 3; Rut. uʒu-d 3; Tsakh. h-e=ze- 2; Arch. =elč:a- 1.

The verbal stem is preserved only in Tsakh. and Archi (cf. also Arch. dur. =elrč:u-r pointing to labialisation in PL). Most other languages reflect only the derivate *ʔelč:ʷana 'whetstone' (in Lezg. with a secondary -j-suffixation: k:ūnū < *ʔe(l)č:ʷanVj); besides the forms cited cf. also Tab. Kand. ilʒʷan, Düb. hilʒʷan, Ag. Bursh. ʿulʒem, Burk. ʔulʒan, Fit. hurʒin, Tsakh. wižena (Gelm. wužana). Other derivatives are: Rut. uʒud < *ʔeç:ʷV-t:V; Arch. čun 'knitting needle' < *(ʔi)č:ʷV-nV.

The medial *-l- in *ʔelč:ʷana must be probably explained from *-r-, having penetrated here from the verbal durative stem (cf. Arch. =elrč:u-r) and modified to *-l- under the influence of the following nasal (a usual development, especially in verbal paradigms).

[] W.-Cauc. *č:ʷa-nə 1 to sharpen, whet 2 sharp: Ad. čan 2; Kab. zan 2; Ub. čan- 1.

PAK *č:āna. Despite Abdokov (1973, 50) the Adygh word can not be related to Ub. (n)dan 'sharp' for phonetic reasons; but Ub. čan- 'to sharpen' is a perfect match (and it can not be considered a loan from Ad. because of its non-palatalised č- and verbal function).

[] The etymology is both phonetically and semantically secure. Not quite clear is the origin of PTs nasalisation (just as in another case, PEC *ʔiʒwVr 'lick' > PTs *wāč-). Andian languages reflect only a deverbal noun (with a frequent circumfix *b- -n).

*ñVʔV̄ (~NH-) sheep-flock: Av.-And. *Hi(HV); Lak. ja-.

| Av.-And. *Hi(HV) sheep-flock: Av. ʔi.

Paradigm C (ʔijá-l, ʔija-l). The reconstruction is tentative without Andian evidence.

| Lak. ja- sheep-flock.

-t:u is a plural suffix.

[] An exclusive Avar-Lak isogloss; very unsecure in what concerns PEC reconstruction.

*ñVčwīlV green, blue: Nakh. *čalu(n); Av.-And. *HVrč:in-; Tsez. *-VšV-; Lak. š:ullli-; Lezg. *čʷillā-.

| Nakh. *čalu(n) 1 grey 2 roan: Chech. čola 1; Ing. čola 2.

Cf. also Cheb. čolō, Ved. čālā etc. The word resembles Turk. *čal 'grey', but cannot be a loanword (because of its morphological structure); however, the Turk. word could have influenced the meaning of Nakh *čalu(n) - since the original meaning of the root in Dagestan languages is 'blue, green'.

| Av.-And. *HVrč:in- green: Av. ʔurč:ina-b; Chad. ʔurč:ina-b.

Isolated in Av., but with possible external correspondences.

| Tsez. *-VšV- 1 green 2 bright green: Tsez. eš jiše (Radzhibov) 1; Gin. isjos 1; Khvarsh. iš-lajli 1 (Radzhibov); Gunz. r-už-nijas 2.

PTsKh *ʔ[i]š-; the PTs vocalism is unclear.

| Lak. š:ullli- green.

Cf. Khosr. š:ull-di-s:a id.

| Lezg. *čʷillā- 1 green 2 blue 3 dim, muddy 4 wet 5 fish: Ag. čulle-f 2; Rut. sildi 1; Tsakh. čilwan 1,4; Bud. čula-ž 3; Ud. čalli 5.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. čʷule-r, Fit. kuli-t 'blue'. Names for 'fish' are often derived from 'wet/green' in Caucasian languages.

See Giginishvili 1977, 69, 96.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The initial syllable with a laryngeal was lost in most languages (except Av. and PTs), but has left behind pharyngealisation in Lak. and PL. Av. ʔurč:in- is a transformation of *ʔurč:ir- (probably the result of adding a secondary suffix -Vn-: *ʔurč:ri-n- > ʔurč:in-). The fate of *-l- in PTs is not quite clear.

*ñVIčV̄ (~č-) child, young one: Tsez. *ʔiče-r; Lak. ulrč.

| Tsez. *ʔiče-r foal: Gin. ečil; Bezht. iče; Gunz. ičer.

PGB *ʔičer (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. ičer). In Tsez. the word for 'foal, young of donkey' is kečoli - obviously a contamination of PTsKh *ʔi(č)er

with another root (see *kəčV).

| Lak. ulrč child.

[] A Tsez-Lak. isogloss, thus there is not enough information to reconstruct the PEC vocalism.

*ñVxwV̄ (~-x-) half: Nakh. *ʔāx; Av.-And. *HVxwV-.

| Nakh. *ʔāx half: Chech. ax; Ing. ax; Bacb. ax.

Obl. base *ʔaxe-nV- (Chech. exana-, Ing. axane). In Chech. cf. also a diminutive exig 'small half'.

| Av.-And. *HVxwV- joint, combined: Av. ʔaxala=.

Av. > Arch. ʔal:al- 'joint, common'. The Avar adjective is derived from a noun *ʔaxal 'half' (ʔaxala= 'combining two halves' > 'joint, combined'); cf. dial. (Andal.) hexel 'half', and loanwords in Andian languages: Botl. axal / ʔaxal, And. (Tserts.) axal 'half'.

[] A Nakh-Avar isogloss. Trubetzkoy (1930, 278) compares PAK *ʔaha 'part', but this is phonetically quite irregular, and Shagirov's (2, 162) inner-Adygh analysis seems preferable.

*ñwāñtV̄ (~-l-) arrow: Nakh. *hoʔ (~-f-); Tsez. *hel (~-r-); Lezg. *hal(:) (~-ā-).

| Nakh. *hoʔ (~-f-) bullet, projectile: Chech. hoʔ.

Attested only in Chech. (obl. base hoʔa-), but having probable external parallels. The meaning 'bullet' is, of course, secondary < 'arrow'.

| Tsez. *hel (~-r-) bullet, arrow: Tsez. hūl; Gin. hulu.

PTsKh *hel(u). Formally homonymous to *hel(u) 'pea', which is of course accidental.

| Lezg. *hal(:) (~-ā-) arrow: Ag. hal; Rut. hāl (Ikh.).

Cf. also Ag. Bursh., Burk. hal, Fit. hūl id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although the root is not widely represented (only in four languages), the parallelism of all forms is straightforward and the reconstruction seems reliable.

*ñwālZV̄ axe: Nakh. *bʔastV̄ (~-ā-, -t-); Av.-And. *ʔanzi, *ʔanzi-TV; Tsez. *ʔūž(:).

| Nakh. *bʔastV̄ (~-ā-, -t-) butt (of axe): Chech. bʔosta; Ing. bʔastam.

4th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing.

| Av.-And. *ʔanzi, *ʔanzi-TV axe: Av. ʔašt; Chad. ʔizdi; And. anzidi; Akhv. āzite; Kar. anzito; Bagv. anziit (Tlond.).

Av. paradigm B (ʔošō-l, ʔaštā-l, Chad. ʔozdō-l, ʔazda-l). The word contains a dental suffix (because of a specific cluster development it is hard to reconstruct it precisely); the only suffixless form is recorded by Khaidakov in an And. dialect (anži). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. ʔanzir, Kar. Tok. ʔanži.

| Tsez. *ʔūž(:) axe: Khvarsh. ūž.

Attested only in Khvarsh., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Khvarshi form is not quite regular (we would rather expect -š), thus it may be an old loanword; but at least the Nakh-Andian parallel seems reliable.

hwaṭi* (~ -e) a cereal; flour, dough made of it: Nakh. **boṭ*; Av.-And. **haṭi*; Tsez. **haṭu*; Lak. *wiṭ*; Darg. **beṭu* (beṭ'i*).
| Nakh. **boṭ* dough: Chech. *bod*; Ing. *bod*; Bacb. *boṭ*.

Obl. base **baṭi*-, cf. Chech. *beda*-, Ing. *bedo*, Bacb. pl. *baṭa-s*. 5th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing. and Bacb. A derivate in Ing. is *bod-ig* 'grass' (cf. the variation "cereal / flour" in other EC languages).

| Av.-And. **haṭi* 1 wheat flour 2 maize or barley flour 3 dough: Av. **aṭ* 2; Chad. **aṭ* 1; And. *haṭi* 3; Akhv. *aṭa-l:i* 1; Cham. *haṭ* 1,3; Tind. *haṭa* 1,3; Bagv. *haṭ* 1; God. *haṭi* 1.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. **aṭā-l*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *haṭi* id.

| Tsez. **haṭu* 1 wheat 2 flour 3 a k. of grass: Tsez. *aṭ* 1,2; Gin. *aṭ* 1,2; Khvarsh. *aṭ* 2; Inkh. *aṭ* 1,2; Bezht. *haṭo* 3; Gunz. *haṭu* 2.

PTsKh **aṭ*, PGB **haṭu* (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *hāṭijo* 'flour'). The variation of meanings is characteristic: "a k. of grass" (*wild cereal) / "wheat" / "flour".

| Lak. *wiṭ* a k. of cereal (вид злака, напоминающего типчак).

| Darg. **beṭu* (**beṭ'i*) dough: Ak. *betu*.

Cf. also Ur. *biṭu* 'flour, dough', Kait., Sirg. *betu* 'flour'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An interesting term, signifying both some wild cereal (cf. Ing. *bod-ig*, Lak. *wiṭ*, Bezht. *haṭo*) and domesticated wheat (and its derivatives: flour, dough).

**hwaṭi* (~ -ē) mark, sign: Nakh. **host* (~ f-, -t); Av.-And. **anṣi*; Tsez. **ṭāṣV*; Lak. *aṣ*; Darg. **herci*; Lezg. **hjelč*; W.-Cauc. **b(ə)za*.

| Nakh. **host* (~ f-, -t) mark (on cattle's ear): Chech. *host*; Ing. *fost*.

3d class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **anṣi* mark, sign, target; mark (on sheep's ear): Av. **uṣ*; Chad. **uṣ*; And. *anṣi*; Akhv. *āṣi*; Cham. *āṣ*; Tind. *anṣi*; God. *anṣi*.

Av. Chad. paradigm C (**uṣi-l*, **ūṣ-dal*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. **anṣi*, Cham. Gig. *anṣi*.

| Tsez. **ṭāṣV* sign, target; mark (on sheep's ear): Khvarsh. *aṣe* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *āṣe*; Bezht. *āṣ*; Gunz. *āṣ*.

PTsKh **āṣe*; PGB **ṭāṣ* (in Gunz. Bokarev writes **āṣ*, but the MSU recording is *ēṣ*; the former is probably more correct, but still the vocalic correspondence is aberrant).

| Lak. *aṣ* sign, mark, target; mark (on sheep's ear).

Gen. *aṣ:u-l*. Cf. Khosr. *aṣ*, *aṣ:u-l* id.

| Darg. **herci* notch, cut, mark; mark (on sheep's ear): Ak. *herzi*; Chir. **arc:e*.

| Lezg. **hjelč*: mark, sign, target; mark (on sheep's ear): Lezg. *er2* (*Khl.*); Tab. *miṣi* (*Dub.*); Ag. *ir2*; Rut. *iṣ* / *liṣ*; Tsakh. *iṣ*; Arch. *eṭč*.

4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. Cf. also Lezg. Khl. erg. *erč:eni*, Ag. Burk. *ir3*, Tp. *er3* id. The Anlaut correspondences are exceptional: quite strange is Tab. m-; the Archi pharyngealisation points to *h-, but other languages point rather to *ʔ(l). Perhaps we should reconstruct *hʷ- (not attested elsewhere; this would provide at least some reason for Tab. m-). But otherwise the correspondences are quite regular: medial -r- in Lezg. and Ag., combined with the variation ʔ-/l- in

Rut. (*iṣ* < **iṣ*) point unambiguously to PL *-l-.

The oblique stem can not be reconstructed (the only form with a vocalic obl. base is Tsakh. *iṣi*-, which is not enough for reconstruction).

| W.-Cauc. **b(ə)za* mark (on cattle's ears): Ad. *thā-bz*; Kab. *thā-bza*.

PAK **thā-bza* (with **thā*- 'ear'); cf. also Kab. *lā-bza* 'mark (on bird's feet)'. Shagirov 1, 244 considers -*bza* here to be derived from *bza-n* 'to cut' (q.v.); the external parallels, however, provide another explanation.

[] An interesting common NC cattle-breeding term (with exact phonetic and semantic correspondences). The WC form has a very frequent prefixed labial (reflecting a class-marker).

**hwaṃV* awl: Av.-And. **himi*; Tsez. **emu* A.

| Av.-And. **himi* awl: And. *himu*; Akhv. *himi*; Cham. *him*; Tind. *himu* / *himi*; God. *himi*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tlan., Tseg., Ratl. *himil*, Cham. Gig. *himi*.

| Tsez. **emu* A awl: Tsez. *imu*; Gin. *imu*; Khvarsh. *imu*; Inkh. *emu*; Bezht. *emo*; Gunz. *emu*.

PTsKh **emu* (cf. also Tsez. /Bokarev/ *emu*, Gin. /Lomtadze/ *imu/emu*); PGB **emu*.

[] An And-Tsez. isogloss.

**fiwe(m)ṭi* a k. of worm: Av.-And. **HuṭV*; Tsez. **hāṭolV* B; Lak. *jalṭi*; Darg. **hit:u*- (~ -d-); Lezg. **hʷā(m)ṭV-rVj* (~ -i-); W.-Cauc. **dāwa*.

| Av.-And. **HuṭV* worm; plant-louse; silkworm: Av. *huṭ*.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. *huṭō-l*).

| Tsez. **hāṭolV* B 1 worm, helminth 2 snail: Inkh. *āṭeru* 2; Bezht. *haṭola* 1.

| Lak. *jalṭi* worm, larva.

| Darg. **hit:u*- (~ -d-) leech: Ak. *hidu-zan*.

| Lezg. **hʷā(m)ṭV-rVj* (~ -i-) leech: Tab. *wiṭri*.

Tab. *wiṭri* < **hʷiṭiri*, as seen from the more archaic Düb. form *huṭur* / *hūter* 'leech'. The root is attested only in Tab., but has reliable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **dāwa* leech: Ad. *dāwa*; Kab. *psə-dāwa*; Ub. *dāwā*.

PAK **dāwā*. Shagirov's etymology (**dā* 'vein' / see **t:a*, not attested in AK; we would rather expect PAK **t:a* / + **wa* 'to beat'; see Shagirov 1, 157) seems hardly plausible. Therefore, the Ub. word may be regarded as genetically related to PAK **dāwā* (there are no phonetic objections to postulating a common WC source form).

[] Despite certain problems (metathesis in PWC; deglottalisation in PD), the etymology seems both phonetically and semantically probable. Medial *-m- is reconstructed only on basis of the PTs nasalisation, and thus is not very certain. See also **hwaṃV* 'red'.

**hwaṃgV* hole, window: Nakh. **anga-laj* (~ -k-); Av.-And. **hingVr*; Tsez. **ākV* (~ h-, g-); Lezg. **amg* (~ h-).

| Nakh. *²anga-laj (~k-) glass: Chech. *angali*.
Isolated in Chech., but having possible external parallels (if "glass" < "window").

| Av.-And. **hing*^wVr 1 window 2 hole, burrow: And. *ingur* 1 (*Tsertsvadze*); Akhv. *īgo* 1; Cham. *inn* 2,1; Tind. *hing*^war 1; Kar. *hing*^war 1; God. *hingur* 1.

Cf. also Akhv. *Tseg.*, Tlan. *ingo*, Ratl. *ūgor*, Cham. *Gig. hingar*, Kar. Tok. *hingun* (erg. *hingura-d*) 'window'.

| Tsez. *²ākV (~ h-,g-) 1 window 2 hole: Tsez. *aki* 1; Gin. *aki* 1; Khvarsh. *āki* 1; Inkh. *āka* 1,2.

PTsKh *²ākV.

| Lezg. *²amg (~ h-) 1 niche in wall 2 roof orifice 3 crystal 4 glass: Lezg. *hamga* 3; Tab. *hamg* 4; Ag. **agug* 4; Kryz. **ag* 1,2; Bud. *hag* 2.

The Ag. word (a reduplicated form) means 'mirror'; cf. Ag. *Bursh.*, Tp. **āg*^w id. The original meaning is obviously preserved in Kryz. and Bud. ('niche in a wall' or 'roof orifice', whence 'window' > 'glass' in other languages).

There is a complicated relationship between this PL root (no doubt genuine, cf. the external parallels) and Osset. *awg* (< Iran. **apaka*) 'glass'. The Iranian form may have influenced some of the Lezghian forms (especially Ag.; cf. also Arch. *kabk* 'glass' - which is quite isolated and can not correspond to other Lezg. forms). It is worth noting that the Iranian form was also borrowed in Adygh: PAK **āpk*:ə 'glass' (Ad. *āpč*, Kab. *ābž*), see Abayev 1958, 84, Shagirov 1,4.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An interesting term (with a rather uniform semantic development: 'hole' > 'window' > 'glass').

**fiwəmswi* (~ -c) caraway: Nakh. **jōšV* (~ **jašu*); Tsez. **ōšV* B (~ -š:-); Lak. *jawš*; Darg. **ha(n)ši* (~ š-); Lezg. **hamš*.

| Nakh. **jōšV* (~ **jašu*) a k. of odorous weed: Chech. *jōša*.

Attested only in Chech. (and should be distinguished from *jūša* 'wormwood, absinth' < Pers. *jawšon*), but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. **ōšV* B (~ -š:-) grass: Tsez. *oš*; Gin. *ušū* (*Lomtadze*); Khvarsh. *iš*; Inkh. *īš*.

PTsKh **ōšs(u)*.

| Lak. *jawš* caraway.

Gen. *jawš:-ul*. Cf. also Khosr. *jaš*^w id.

| Darg. **ha(n)ši* (~ š-) caraway: Chir. **aše*.

| Lezg. **hamš* caraway: Lezg. *if-er-ar*; Tab. *has*^w(-ar); Ag. *has*^w; Rut. *hes* *hniukh*; Tsakh. *čanti:araj ješ*; Arch. *mušu*.

Cf. also Ag. *Bursh. hamš*, Burk. (with metathesis) *s^wah*, Fit. *hex*^w, Tp. *hūs*^w-ar. Tsakh. obl. *ješi*- 'caraway', Tab. Düb. *hals-am* 'weed'. 4th class in Tsakh. and Arch., but 3d class in Rut. The Archi form reflects a metathesis of the resonant into Anlaut and the *-Vj-suffix (*mušu* < **hamšu-f*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**fiwərgə* mountain ridge; boundary: Nakh. **arš(a)* (~ š-); Av.-And. **H^wVrq:V*; Darg. **hurqi*; Lezg. **arq(a)* (~ hl-,l-).

| Nakh. **arš(a)* (~ š-) a low mountain ridge: Chech. *raš*; Ing. *arša*.

4th class in Chech., 3d class in Ing. Obl. base **arše-* (Chech. *reša-*).

Nakh forms (at least Chech. *raš*) may be actually borrowed from Iranian, cf. Osset. *raš* 'mountain ridge' < **rāga-* (Pers. *rāy* etc.), see Abayev 1973, 344. But most probably there was a merger of the genuine root and the Iranian loan.

| Av.-And. **H^wVrq:V* boundary: Av. **orq:i*; Chad. **urqi*.

Av. paradigm B (**orq:i-dul*, **orq:ā-bi*). Av. > Akhv. **ōq:i*, Bezht. Khosh. *ōrqi* id.

| Darg. **hurqi* mountains: Ak. *urqi*.

Cf. also Kub. *huqe* id. (plur. tant.). In Ak. there exists also a reduplicated form: *ruqrui* 'ravine, precipice' ("набъ").

| Lezg. **arq(a)* (~ hl-,l-) hollow, ravine: Tab. *arq* (*Dub.*).

Attested only in Tab., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Cf. also Urart. *alg-ā* 'boundary, mountain ridge' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 30).

**fiwijVmpü* (~ -ō) spring: Av.-And. **ri-ibu*; Tsez. **eme* A; Lak. in-t; Darg. **hijab*; W.-Cauc. **p^wV*.

| Av.-And. **ri-ibu* spring: And. *rejbu*; Akhv. *ri²ibo*; Cham. *jeb*; Tind. *rebu*; Kar. *re²ibo*; Botl. *rebu*; Bagv. *reba*; God. *rebu* / *re²ibu*.

The word is an original compound of **riHV* (q.v.) and **ibu* 'spring'.

| Tsez. **eme* A spring: Tsez. *im*; Khvarsh. *ime*; Inkh. *eme*; Bezht. *eme-da*; Gunz. *eme-d*.

PTsKh **em(e)*, PGB **eme-d(a)* (with an original locative suffix).

| Lak. **in-t* spring.

Lak. *int* < **im-t* (-t or -nt is a standard suffix in names of the seasons).

| Darg. **hijab* spring: Ak. *heb*; Chir. **ijab*.

Cf. also Kad. *hujeb*, Ur. *heb*.

| W.-Cauc. **p^wV* spring: Abkh. *ā-pā-n*; Abaz. **a-p-nā*; Ub. *wa-fā-da*.

PAT **a-pā-nā* (-nā is a locative/temporal nominal suffix). The PAT and Ub. forms go back to a PWC compound **šI^wa-p^wV* (**šI^wa-* 'time, season' q.v.).

[] Correspondences are quite regular (in PWC we observe a usual loss of laryngeals and resonants); PAA **-b-*, PTs, Lak **-m-*, PD **-b-* are reflexes of the combination **-mp-*.

**fiwīlV* (/ **li^wV*) river, reservoir: Av.-And. **rihV*; Tsez. **ruhV* (~ -š:-); Lezg. **hul(a)*.

| Av.-And. **rihV* 1 river 2 mineral spring: Av. **or* 1; Chad. **or* 1; Tind. *reha* 2.

Av. paradigm C (**oru-l*, **ōra-l*; Chad. **uru-l*, **ōra-l*).

| Tsez. **ruhV* (~ -š:-) ditch, gutter: Bezht. *juhi*.

Cf. also Bezht. (Khosh.) *ruhi* 'artificial brook, flowing towards the house', Tlad. *ruhi* 'brook'.

| Lezg. **hul(a)* 1 sea 2 liquid: Lezg. *hul*; Tab. *hul*; Ag. *hul*; Kryz. **il*; Arch. *hollo-t:u-* 2(?).

3d class in Kryz. The obl. bases (Tab. *hūli-*, Ag. *hūli-*) are not enough for a precise PL reconstruction.

Since the meanings 'sea' and 'moisture, liquid' sometimes interchange (cf., for example, the reflexes of PEC **hwmēhwa*), it seems tempting to compare also Arch. *hollo-t-u-* 'liquid' (and perhaps as an old dialectal variant, with another frequent semantic change 'liquid → green' – Arch. *ollow-t-u-* 'green'). There are no other probable hypotheses about the origin of these Archi words.

See Leksika 1971, 190; Khaidakov 1973, 75.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for the metathesis, correspondences are regular.

**hwmēfiwa* (~ -ə) moisture; lake, pool: Nakh. **am*; Av.-And. **im²V*; Tsez. **ni²V*; Lak. *muha-li*; Darg. **meh* / **neh*; Lezg. **meh*.

[Nakh. **am* lake, pond, pool: Chech. *am*; Ing. *am*; Bacb. *am*.

Obl. base **ame-/amo-* (Chech. *ōma-* (Uslar) *emi-*, Ing. *amo*). 6th class in all languages.

[Av.-And. **im²V* 1 moisture 2 whey 3 rennet infusion: Av. *mahā* 1; Akhv. *ṛi* / *ṛi* 2; Cham. *ə²a* (Bokarev) 3.

The Cham. form (cited from Bokarev) is most probably a misspelling of **ə²a*. Av. *mahā* regularly < **imhā*. Cf. perhaps also Tind. *huna-* 'liquid' (< **in²ha-* ?).

The root also functions as a verb: Av. *-i²Vn-* (Chad. *-i²Vn-*) 'to thaw, melt, dissolve', And. *-i²un-*, Akhv. *-i²un-* id.

[Tsez. **ni²V* whey: Bezht. *ni²a*; Gunz. *ni²a* (Leksika).

PGB **ni²a* 'whey' – probably etymologically connected with **-ṛ-* 'to become wet, soak' (Gunz. *-ṛ-*), cf. also PGB **-ṛ²a-ru* 'wet' > Bezht. Tlad. *-ṛ²a-rō*, Khosh. *i²aro*, Gunz. *ṛ²aru*).

[Lak. *muha-li* stream, rapid brook.

[Darg. **meh* / **neh* whey: Ak. *neh*; Chir. *māl*.

Cf. also Kad. *neh*, Kait. *na²*, Kub. *nihe*, Kharb. *nih*, Tsud. *meh* id. The same root functions also as a verb: Ur. *-amhVr-* / *-umh-* 'to wet, become wet, soak'.

[Lezg. **meh* 1 sour clotted milk 2 whey 3 wet: Lezg. *meh* 1; Tab. *meh* 2; Ag. *mah* 2; Rut. *mehi-d* 3 (*Ikhr.*); Kryz. *me²* 2; Bud. *meh* / *me²* 2; Arch. *meI* 2.

Cf. also Tab. Dūb. *mahI*, Ag. Burk. *māh* 'whey', Rut. Shin. *māh-di* 'wet'. Obl. base not quite clear (Tab. *mehu-*, but Ag. *maha-*). 4th class in all languages.

See Leksika 1971, 207.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of the roots with the structure **HRVHV*. The original meaning is probably 'moisture, liquid; to become wet, soak' (this root can be both nominal and verbal), with subsequent development > a) 'stream, pool; wet'; b) 'whey, ferment'.

**hwmīçē* a coniferous tree: Nakh. **baça*; Av.-And. **himçV*; Lak. *waça*; W.-Cauc. **mazV*.

[Nakh. **baça* (~ -ç-) fir-tree: Chech. *baza*; Ing. *baza*.

3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing.

[Av.-And. **himçV* fir-tree: And. *hinç:ir* (Khaidakov).

Attested only in And. (quoted from Khaidakov 1973), but having probable external parallels.

[Lak. *waça* forest.

[W.-Cauc. **mazV* 1 pine-tree 2 prickle, thorn 3 forest: Abkh. *a-mzā* 1; Abaz. *mza-²* 1; Ad. *mazā* 3; Kab. *maz* 3; Ub. *māzā* 2.

PAT **māza* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-mzā*); PAK **mazā*; Ub. def. *a-māzā* / *a-māz*.

[] Although not widely spread in the EC area (coniferous trees are rare in Daghestan), the root seems quite reliable. Note that Lak. > Darg. *waça* 'forest' (otherwise we would expect *h-* or *b-* in Darg.). See Bouda 1948 (Lak-WC). We should stress that PWC **mazV* is a genuine root, and has nothing to do with the Iranian root **nauca-* 'a pine-like cypress' (Pers. *nāzū* 'pine-tree', *nōz* 'cypress', Osset. *naz/nazu* 'fir-tree', *nāzā/nāzi* 'pine-tree', whence Georg. *nazvi* 'fir-tree', Megr. *nuzu* id.).

See Abdokov 1983, 108.

**hwmōndV* brain: Nakh. **hadV* (~ -ā-); Av.-And. **hon(d)i*; Tsez. **ad a*; Lezg. **homt(a)*.

[Nakh. **hadV* (~ -ā-) brain: Chech. *hē*; Ing. *hō*; Bacb. *had(a)*.

6th class in all languages.

[Av.-And. **hon(d)i* 1 brain 2 head: Av. *adā-* 2; And. *honu* 1; Akhv. *hani* 1; Cham. *han* (*Gig.*) 1; Tind. *hani* 1; Kar. *hane* 1; God. *hani* 1.

Avar has preserved the root only in oblique cases. Cf. also Av. Chad. *adā-mahu* / *adā-nahu*; Cham. U.-Gakv. *han* 'fruit-stone' (Tind. *hani* also has this meaning).

[Tsez. **ad a* brain: Tsez. *ata*; Gin. *ata*; Khvarsh. *āta*; Inkh. *āta*; Bezht. *āda*; Gunz. *āda*.

PTsKh **āta*, PGB **āda*.

[Lezg. **homt(a)* 1 brain 2 head (of a woman, an animal): Ag. *hūt* 1 (*Bursh.*); Rut. *jūt* 1 (*Khnov.*); Arch. *oInt* 2.

Arch. pl. *oInt-or*. The preserved *-n-* in Arch. points to PL **m-*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level.

**hwmVgəbV̄* / **hwmVbəgV̄* a k. of cereal: Nakh. **a(gV)b* (~ -ā-); Av.-And. **hagib* (~ -o-); W.-Cauc. **bagə-na* (~ -g-).

[Nakh. **a(gV)b* (~ -ā-) 1 millet 2 groats: Chech. *ow*; Ing. *ow*.

4th class in both languages. Since there is no Bacb. parallel, the reconstruction is rather tentative (**agVb*, corresponding to Av. *ogōb* etc., is the most probable choice).

[Av.-And. **hagib* (~ -o-) rye: Av. *ogōb*; Chad. *ugūb*; Akhv. *hagi*; Tind. *hagib*.

Av. paradigm C (*abgi-l*, *ābga-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *hagib*, Ratl. *hagibi* (Akhv. North. in the MSU recording: *hagi*). A quite strange form, recorded parallelly in Northern Akhvakh by Magomedbekova, is *og* 'rye' (perhaps a borrowing from some Av. dialect?).

| W.-Cauc. *bagə-na (~ -g-) oats: Ad. bagəna (*Shaps.*); Ub. bagəna.

Despite Shagirov (I, 72) there are no direct reasons for considering the Ub. form a Shapsug loan. Correspondences are quite regular.

[] The WC reflexes probably were influenced by another root, represented by Ad. bažən, Kab. bažəna (PAK *bagəna) "a meal from barley (oats, maize) flour and sour cream" - which itself is an obvious iranism (see Abayev 1958, 245 under Osset. bəgəna 'beer'). However, the root *bagəna "oats" is undoubtedly genuine (it is hard to suppose a semantic shift "beer" > "oats").

If we consider *-na in the WC form a later addition, under the influence of the mentioned root *bagəna "beverage, beer", the PWC *bagə (~ -g-) will be a regular reflex of PNC *həwVgabV̄ ~ *həwVbagV̄.

*həwVlage (~ -t-) hearth: Av.-And. *ʔa(n)q:V; Tsez. *ʔāx:V (~ -ḡ-, -b-); Lak. wilax; Lezg. *laχ:a.

| Av.-And. *ʔa(n)q:V hearth, fireplace: And. aq:i; Akhv. āq:elo (*Tseg.*); Cham. aq:u (*Gig.*); Tind. aq:u; Kar. aq:u; God. aq:u.

The Akhv. form is a former locative ("in the fireplace", cf. God. aq:u-la id.).

| Tsez. *ʔāx:V hearth: Tsez. aχa (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. āxo (*Tlad.*).

Cf. also Khosh. aχa-čo id. (a compound with čo 'fire').

| Lak. wilax hearth, fireplace.

| Lezg. *laχ:a 1 hearth 2 oven for baking bread: Rut. laχ i; Tsakh. laχ:a 2.

3d class in both languages. For the PL obl. base *laχ:a-, besides the Tsakh. form, cf. also Rut. laχa-.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The original trisyllabic structure is well preserved in Lak.; other languages treat it like a disyllabic structure *həwVlāgə.

Note that PD *hanq:i 'hearth', however similar, is not related and goes back to PEC *hənārGwi 'house' (q.v.); perhaps we should rather speak of a merger of these two roots in Darg., because of their phonetic and semantic similarity.

*həwVlǝḡ marten, weasel; hedgehog: Av.-And. *ʔonzi; Lezg. *hVrč:Vl (~ -l-); W.-Cauc. *wəḡə (~ -ḡ-).

| Av.-And. *ʔonzi hedgehog: Av. ʔuz-ruq:; Chad. ʔunzuq; And. onzi.

The Av. word is a compound with a not quite clear second component; the simple root is well preserved in And. The Av. word is borrowed in many Andian languages (Akhv. hužuruq:e, Cham. hužruq:, Tind. hužruq:) and Tsezian (Inkh. hužruq, Gin. ʔuzruq).

| Lezg. *hVrč:Vl (~ -l-) marten, hamster: Tab. herzil (*Dub.*); Ag. hurčal.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. harčal, Burk. harčaj, Tp. hurčal. An expressive root, known only in Tab. and Ag., and with not quite regular correspondences (with secondary devoicing in Ag.).

| W.-Cauc. *wəḡV (~ -ḡ-) weasel: Ad. wəḡə; Kab. wəza.

PAK *wəḡV̄.

[] Although the root is not very widely spread, the comparison seems quite plausible both semantically and phonetically.

*həwVm̄V red: Tsez. *ʔuV- (~ -h-); Lak. jalʔull-; Darg. *hVntin-;

Lezg. *p:-a(m)ʔar-.

| Tsez. *ʔuV- (~ -h-) red: Khvarsh. ufej; Inkh. ušana.

PTsKh *ʔuV-.

| Lak. jalʔull- red.

Arch. jaltan-nu-t 'red' is borrowed from Lak. (probably from some dialect which has not the -ul-, but the -an-suffix).

| Darg. *hVntin- red: Ak. huntəna; Chir. ʔaṭinze.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. hintina, Sirg. inṭin-, Kait. iṭin-il etc.

| Lezg. *p:-a(m)ʔar- beautiful, handsome: Ag. batar-f; Rut. bitra-; Tsakh. batra-jin.

The initial *p:- (*b-) is a former class prefix (to judge from external evidence). We reconstruct medial *(m) which should have been there if the EC etymology is right; all the available languages (Ag., Rut. and Tsakh.) regularly drop *-m- before dentals in consonant clusters.

[] The adjectival root itself is reconstructed only for the PEC level; there are, however, two common NC nominal stems meaning "worm" and probably derived from the same root (the meanings "worm" and "red" are closely related, cf. Indo-European): PNC *bemiV and *hwe(m)i q.v. (the first probably contains the class prefix *b-, cf. the adjectival form *p:-a(m)ʔar- in PL).

*həwVnǝV (~ -m-) wide, spacious: Av.-And. *HVǝV-; Tsez. *hūǝ- (~ -h-).

| Av.-And. *HVǝV- wide, spacious: Av. ʔaṭi-da-b; Chad. ʔaṭi-da-b.

Cf. Av. Keg. ʔillid- 'wide' (pointing to *ǝ- in Proto-Avar). Av. > Akhv. ʔaṭida id.

| Tsez. *hūǝ- (~ -h-) wide, spacious: Bezht. hūǝlo (*Tlad.*).

Attested only in Bezht. (cf. also Khosh. huǝ-ifo), with a probable Avar parallel.

[] An Av.-Tsez. isogloss.

*həwV not (negative particle): Av.-And. *-hi; Tsez. *-ʔ(V); Darg. *he; Khin. -t-.

| Av.-And. *-hi not (negative particle): Cham. -i-; Tind. -hi.

| Tsez. *-ʔ(V) not (negative particle): Gin. -j(om); Khvarsh. -j-; Bezht. -ʔ-; Gunz. -oḡ-s.

PTsKh *-j- (past negative and prohibitive in Khvarsh., prohibitive in Gin.); PGB *-ʔ- (present indefinite and past negative).

| Darg. *he not (neg. particle): Ak. he.

| Khin. -i- negative suffix, not.

[] The morpheme can be safely reconstructed for PEC on basis of the PA, PTs, PD and Khin. evidence. It has a probable parallel in HU: Hurr. -wa- 'not' (negation in verbs), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986.

*HagwV small; bad: Tsez. *igV (~i-, -ə-); Lak. ulk:~i-; Lezg. *k:ak:~V-IV-; W.-Cauc. *(a)g~ə.

| Tsez. *igV (~i-, -ə-) small: Gin. =eg~ej.

An isolated Gin. form, but with possible external correspondences.

| Lak. ulk:~i- bad.

Cf. also kulč:a 'left-handed' (< k~a-ulk:a, a compound with k~a- 'hand'), whence kulč:a-χ-s:a 'left'.

| Lezg. *k:ak:~V-IV- 1 left 2 small: Tab. gagul I; Ag. gagur-t I (Fit.); Rut. gagla-d I; Kryz. gūgūl 2.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. gergle-r. The semantic change 'small, bad' > 'left' is attested in several cases.

| W.-Cauc. *(a)g~ə small: Ub. ag~ə.

In Ub. two roots are usually confused: (a)g~ə 'small' and g~ə 'to grind' (q.v.); see Vogt 129 about this distinction. The root 'small' seems to have no correlates in WC languages, but has possible parallels in EC.

[] The PL form is probably an assimilated compound of *k~il 'hand' + *~ak:~V- 'small, bad' (cf. an analogous compound in Lak). [There seems to exist a different EC root, which may be tentatively reconstructed as *kHwaGV with the same semantic scope: cf. PTs *g~VqV- / *q~VqV- > Gin. gagi 'bad', Gunz. qoq-dās 'left', Arch. qlok:u, qlok-du- id., perhaps also Lak. kuja (< *kuqIa) id., which could be early borrowed in Av. k~e~a- 'left'. The relationship of *kHwaGV to *HagwV is not quite clear. It may well be that we deal with one and the same root or its compound with *kwi(l)- 'hand', subject to various irregular changes because of dissimilations and taboos.]

*Hāj3V (~ -č-, -i-) chisel: Nakh. *(ʔa)ʃto; Av.-And. *ʔazal (~ o); W.-Cauc. *P(ə)~ə.

| Nakh. *(ʔa)ʃto chisel: Chech. *sto*; Ing. *osta*; Bacb. *ʃto*.

5th class in Chech. and Bacb., 3d class in Ing. Cf. also Chech. Lev., Cheb. *stwo*, Akk. *āsta* (with not quite clear vowel length - to judge from the reduction in most Chech. dialects and Bacb., the initial vowel in PN must have been short).

| Av.-And. *ʔaza-l (~ o) chisel: Akhv. *azalo* (Tlan.); Cham. *azal*; Tind. *azar*; Kar. *azal*.

Most forms reflect PA *ʔaza-l (cf. also Cham. Gig. *azal*, Kar. Tok. *ʔazal*), but there are also reflexes of other suffixes: *ʔazi-n in Northern Akhv. *izi*, Ratl. *izin*, *ʔaza-r in Tind. *azar*.

| W.-Cauc. *P(ə)c:ə chisel: Ad. *pcə*; Kab. *b3ə*.

PAK *p:c:ə. The root has nothing to do with *c:a 'tooth' (despite Yakovlev 1948, 156-157, 274, 293). PAK *c: can go back to PWC *c:, *č: or *č̣:.

[] The parallelism (phonetic and semantic) is exact, and the etymology seems quite reliable.

*HālwV (~ -č-, -i-) forehead: Nakh. *hāk(a); Av.-And. *hāl:a (~ -h-, -o).

| Nakh. *hāk(a) forehead: Chech. *haz*; Ing. *haza*; Bacb. *hak*.

Obl. base *haki-, cf. Chech. *hāza*. 3d class in Chech. and Bacb., 4th class in Ing.

| Av.-And. *hāl:a (~ -h-, -o) forehead: Cham. *hāl:a*; Tind. *hāl:a*; Bagv. *hāl:a*.

[] A Nakh-Av.-And. isogloss (hence it is hard to reconstruct the initial laryngeal).

*HāmpV coal: Av.-And. *habu; Tsez. *ham(u).

| Av.-And. *habu coal: And. *habu*; Akhv. *habu*; Cham. *hab*; Tind. *habu*; Kar. *habu*; Botl. *haba*; Bagv. *hab*; God. *habu*.

| Tsez. *ham(u) coal: Tsez. *ʔam*; Gin. *amu*; Khvarsh. *am*; Inkh. *alm*; Bezht. *hamo*; Gunz. *hijamu*.

PTsKh *ʔam(u); PGB *hamu (and *ham-iju, with metathesis > Gunz. *hijamu*; cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *hāmō*, Tlad. *hāmō*). The correspondence of laryngeals is not quite regular (one would expect ʔ-, not ʕ-, in Tsez.).

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss; therefore, the quality of initial laryngeal can not be clearly established.

*Hamq̄wĀ / *q̄Hwamq̄wĀ hard: Av.-And. *q̄:~anka- (~ o); Lak. qalnda-; Darg. *q̄almq̄-; Lezg. *Hamq̄V; W.-Cauc. *q̄:a.

| Av.-And. *q̄:~anka- (~ o) 1 hard 2 to harden: Av. *q̄:~ak-* 2; Akhv. *q̄:~ake-da-* 1; Cham. *q̄:~aki-dda* 1; Tind. *kaka-tu-* 1; Kar. *q̄:~anko-* 1.

In Tindi there occurred an assimilation (*kaka-* < *q̄:~aka-). Cf. also Kar. *q̄:~ank-* 'to harden'. A remnant of a non-reduplicated form may be Akhv. *q̄:a-re-da-* 'hard' (used as a synonym of *q̄:~ake-da-*).

| Lak. qalnda- hard, rigid.

| Darg. *q̄almq̄- hard: Chir. *q̄lamq̄l-ze*.

| Lezg. *Hamq̄V hard, rigid: Tab. *waqli*; Arch. *tanq̄-du-*.

Tab. *waqli* < *ʔamq̄li; Archi has an expressive prefix ʔ- (sometimes used in adjectival and verbal roots).

Besides *Hamq̄V, Lezghian languages have a series of phonetically close forms with *~q̄:~(ʔ-) and *~q̄:-: Tab. Düb. *c-uq:i*, Ag. *q̄:uq:u-f* (Burk. *q̄:uq:u-f*) 'hard', Lezg. *weq:i* 'rigid, rough', *quq:~a-z* 'to become rigid, to harden' (Khl. *q̄:~aj* 'hard' = lit. *quq:~aj* 'hardened'), Rut. Mukh. (Ibragimov) *biš-di* 'hard, tough', Luch. *q̄-u=ʔ~a-* 'to harden, dry out' (= Lezg. *quq:~a-*), *ʃliʃli-di* 'hard'. It is rather hard to reconstruct a single protoform for all these forms: we probably deal both with expressive modifications of PL *Hamq̄V and with assimilative developments of the reduplicated form *q̄Vmq̄V (from the PEC variant *q̄Hwamq̄(w)Ā).

| W.-Cauc. *q̄:a / *q̄:~Vq̄:~a hard: Abkh. *ā-ʃ~ʃ~a*; Ub. *q̄:a*.

Cf. also Ub. *q̄~a-* (*a-q̄~a-n*) 'to harden'. The Abkh. form is reduplicated (< PAT *ʔ~ʔ~a).

[] The root is probably also reflected in Nakh (cf. Chech. =eqa

'hard, rigid'), but here it has completely merged (for phonetic reasons) with PNC *iGwAr 'dry, to dry' (q.v.).

As with many adjectival stems, the root is frequently reduplicated. EC and WC languages reflect both the simple and the reduplicated stem. In some subgroups (particularly, in Lezghian) the root was subject to complicated expressive transformations, but still the semantic and phonetic unity of the listed forms is beyond doubt.

•HamχV to shave, shear, cut: Av.-And. *χ:an-; Tsez. *eχ: (~ -b-); Lak. t:-iħa-; Lezg. *raχla; Khin. wā=χ-.

| Av.-And. *χ:an- 1 to shave 2 to mow: And. χ:an- 1,2; Akhv. χ:an- 1; Cham. χ:an- 1,2; Tind. χ:an- 1,2; God. χ:an- 1.

Cf. also Cham. χ:i-d- (with nasalless conjugation) 'to shear (sheep etc.)'.

| Tsez. *eχ: (~ -b-) to shave: Gunz. =eχ-k-.

A compound verb (with a not quite clear second part - perhaps, PTs *-a/k- 'to beat, hit?').

| Lak. t:-iħi- to reap.

G. pr. t:i=hu-nu. Cf. Khosr. t:iħi-n id.

| Lezg. *raχla 1 to shear, clip 2 to shave: Ag. arχ- 1; Rut. ra=χla- 1; Kryz. raχ- 2; Bud. oroχ- 2.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. arχa-, Tp. arha-.

| Khin. wā=χ- to shave.

|| Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (in PL *-r must be interpreted as a former class marker).

•Hā[n]qV (~ -č-, -ǎ-, -G-) mountain slope: Av.-And. *haq:i (~ -h-, -o-); Tsez. *ʔq-.

| Av.-And. *haq:i (~ -h-, -o-) cliff, rocky slope: Tind. haq:i.

Attested only in Tindi, with probable Tsezian correspondences. Tind. > Inkh. haqi 'rock, cliff'.

| Tsez. *ʔq- shady slope of a mountain: Bezht. ǝq-ħas (Tlad.); Gunz. ǝqqu (Gunz.).

PGB *ʔq- with different suffixes. Cf. also Bezht. Khosh. oqijo (with secondary -q < *ʔq-ʔVj; cf. analogously Khosh. biqijo 'sunny slope' and Tlad. biq-ħas id. with a similar development < PTs *biq- 'sun'); Gunz. (Bokarev's dictionary) aqeru (with a misspelled instead of ǝ).

|| An And-Tsez. isogloss (therefore the PEC reconstruction is not very secure).

•Hānǝ right: Nakh. *ʔaŋi-n; Av.-And. *hanč:i; Lak. urča; Lezg. *ħlarč:; W.-Cauc. *ʔV.

| Nakh. *ʔaŋi-n right: Chech. aŋtu; Ing. aŋta; Bacb. aŋtī.

The Chech. form contains a suffix (aŋta < *ʔaŋi-w).

| Av.-And. *hanč:i- right: And. hanč:il; Akhv. *āč:i-λ:; Cham. hāŋi-šaλ:; Bagv. hāŋ:el (Leksika).

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. anč:i-λ:as, Cham. Gig. hanč:i-raλ:.

| Lak. urča right.

Cf. also Khosr. urča-ma.

| Lezg. *ħlarč: right: Lezg. erč; Tab. arču-l; Ag. *ulza-n-f; Rut. ħlarčä-d; Arch. oIrču-; Ud. ač:la.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. et:i, Ag. attrib. oIrzu- (< oIrč-du-). Tab. (-č-) and Agul (-ž-) have irregular reflexes of *č:; cf. however, normal development in Ag. Bursh. ħarč:-le-r, Fit. ħurč:i-l-l.

See Giginayshvili 1977, 103.

| W.-Cauc. *ʔV right: Abkh. a-r-ǝa; Abaz. aǝ-ma; Ad. ǝā-bǝ; Kab. ǝā-z; Ub. z-qa / z-ǝa.

PAT *aǝa; PAK *ǝV. Ad. has a secondary affricate (cf. Bzhed. ǝā-bǝ); the Ad. form ǝā-bǝ is a compound with -bǝ 'side, edge' (cf. Kab. ǝā-ra-bǝ 'right side'). In Kab. ǝā- is a pronominal prefix. See Shagirov 1, 183-184.

|| One of the cases of *ǝ > WC *ʔ in 'tense' words. The EC-WC comparison seems probable, although not indisputable. The EC reconstruction is more secure, although Lak. -r- and PL *-r- corresponding to PA *-n should be explained: most probably -r- penetrated here from a suffixed form *HānǝV-rV- (cf., e.g., Cham. hanč-i-ra-).

See Abdokov 1983, 150.

•HapV paw, extremity: Tsez. *ʔapa; W.-Cauc. *pV.

| Tsez. *ʔapa paw: Gin. apa; Bezht. apa; Gunz. apa.

PGB *ʔapa (the MSU Gunz. record is ǝpǝ which is probably faulty; Bokarev has apa).

| W.-Cauc. *pV extremity: Abkh. -pǝ; Abaz. -pǝ; Ub. -pa.

The root is present only in compounds: *ħla-pV 'foot' (PAT *śapa, Ub. λāpā) q.v., PAT *na-pǝ, Ub. qā-pā 'hand' q.v.

|| A Tsez-WC isogloss; correspondences are regular, and it seems safe to reconstruct the root for PNC.

•HarG(w)V to break, destroy, be broken: Tsez. *laq; Lak. lil=qa-; Darg. *arǝl- ~ *abǝl-; Lezg. *arq:la; Khin. zo=ǝ-; W.-Cauc. *q:ǝ- (~q-).

| Tsez. *laq wound: Tsez. raq:l; Gin. laq; Bezht. laq.

PTsKh *Raql. Cf. also Bezht. Khosh. lāq.

| Lak. lil=qa- to be destroyed.

G. pr. lil=qu-n. Cf. also lilq-lu, lilq-ru 'crumbling, landslide'.

| Darg. *arǝl- ~ *abǝl- to break, be broken: Ak. =ur^c- / u^c- (Ur.); Chir. =abǝl- / uǝl-.

| Lezg. *arq:la to break: Ag. arǝl-; Bud. s-oǝ-; Arch. a=qla-.

Belongs to the strong conjugation class. Cf. also Ag. Tp. ar^ca-s id.

| Khin. zo=ǝ- to break.

Used as imperative for q^wi.

| W.-Cauc. *q:ǝ- (~q-) to break: Ad. pq:ǝ-ta-n; Kab. q:ǝ-ta-n.

PAK *(p)q:ǝ-ta-.

|| PTs has not preserved the original verb, but only the derivate (with a widely spread semantic shift 'break, cut' > 'wound'); note the prefix coincidence in PTs and Lak. The EC-WC comparison see in Abdokov 1983, 162.

Cf. also Urart. *iwχ-* (spelled *iBχ-*) 'to destroy', see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 60.

•*HārĕapV* a k. of food: Tsez. **ħirip* B; Lak. *alrč:ap*.

| Tsez. **ħirip* B pastry made of barley flour: Tsez. *ħepeli* (*Radzhibov*); Gin. *ħerep* (*Lomtadze*); Khvarsh. *ħepuru* (*Lomtadze*); Bezht. *ħijp*; Gunz. *ħirip*.

PTsKh **ħirip(u)* (with metathesis in Tsez and Khvarshi; in Khvarsh. *Lomtadze* gives also a variant *ħupuru*); PGB **ħirip* (with irregular *λ-* in Gunzib).

| Lak. *alrč:ap* food made of barley flour, curds, butter and rice.

Gen. plur. *alrč:api-rtal*.

[] An interesting Tsez-Lak. parallel. In PTs we have to assume an assimilation and metathesis (**ħirip* < **irħip*), not surprising in a complicated stem like this. The word, although not widely spread in modern languages, is probably archaic, because it corresponds very well to Hurr. **ħuruppi* > Hitt. *ħuruppi* 'a k. of cake' (see Nikolayev 1985, 62).

•*Hārqa* to rub: Nakh. **ħaq-* / **ħeq-*; Av.-And. **a(r)qVn-* (~ -χ-); Tsez. **[e]χ-*; Lezg. **arχla*; W.-Cauc. **χIV* (/ **t-χIV*).

| Nakh. **ħaq-* / **ħeq-* to rub, smear; to sweep: Chech. *ħaq-* / *ħeq-*; Ing. *ħaq-* / *ħeq-*; Bacb. *ħaq-* / *ħeq-*.

The root demonstrates the usual PN Ablaut (term. -a-, dur. -ē-). In PN this is most probably a result of merging two PEC roots (**VwqV* and **HārqV*).

| Av.-And. **a(r)qVn-* (~ -χ-) to smear: Av. *-aqn-*; Chad. *-ahn-*.

| Tsez. **[e]χ-* 1 to rub 2 to wipe oneself 3 to paint 4 to smear: Tsez. *t-ēχ-r-* 3; Gin. *-iχ-* 1, *-eχ-* 4; Khvarsh. *-eχ-* 2; Bezht. *ħāχ-* (*Khosh.*) 4; Gunz. *k-aχ-* 4.

PTsKh **-eχ-* (/ **t-iχ-*), PGB **-aχ-* (used only with prefixes; cf. also the Ablaut grade **-eχ-* in Gunz. *-ēχ-el-* 'to smear', Bezht. *-eχ-el* 'to paint'). Different vowels reflect old Ablaut grades.

| Lezg. **arχla* 1 to rub 2 to pick at, peck at 3 harrow 4 to comb: Lezg. *eχlā-d* (*Khl.*) 3; Tab. *a-χl-* 1, 2; Ag. *kit-χ-* 1; Rut. *a-χla-* 1; Kryz. *ā-h-* 1; Bud. *q:i-h-* 1, 4.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *ka-raχ-* (with unclear loss of pharyngealization - or a misspelling?) 'to rub', Ag. *l-arχ-* 'to thresh', *q-arχ-* 'to touch', Bursh. *k-erχa-* id. (in *kit-χ-* the root has the Ablaut grade **i*: *kit-χ-* < **kit-irχl-*, cf. imper. *kit-irχ* etc.), Rut. *βla-χla-* 'to smear', Kryz. *q:i-h-* 'to rub' (= Bud. *q:i-h-*), Bud. *ja-h-* 'to scratch, scrape'. In Agul the root is used with several preverbs and has acquired a wider meaning 'to touch, push > to drop, let fall' (e.g. *al-arχ-* 'to fall, let fall' etc.).

| W.-Cauc. **χIV* (/ **t-χIV*) to scrape, scratch: Ad. *ja-tχā-n*; Kab. *pas-tχā-n*; Ub. *χla-*.

PAK **tχā-* / *tχa-* (used with preverbs, see Shagirov 2, 45-46); Ub. *a-s-χlā-n*.

[] Correspondences are regular, and the PNC reconstruction seems reliable (although in PN and PTs there could have occurred a partial contamination with another PEC root, **VwqV* q.v.).

•*HārḡwV* to dig: Av.-And. **aq:-* (~ -o-); Tsez. **Vχ:-*; Lak. *-iχ:a-*; Darg. **irq:-* / **iq:-*; Lezg. **arql'i*.

| Av.-And. **aq:-* (~ -o-) to dig: Av. *-uq:-*; Chad. *-oq-*; Akhv. *-aq:-* / *-aq:un-*; Cham. *-aq:Vn-*; Tind. *-aq:V-*; Kar. *-aq:an-*.

-n-conjugation in several languages must be secondary (cf. the variation in Akhvakh, and the nasalless conjugation in all Avar dialects).

| Tsez. **Vχ:-* to dig: Tsez. *χ'a-λ-* (*Radzhibov*); Khvarsh. *-uχ-*; Gunz. *oχ-d-*.

PTsKh **-uχ-*; the PTs vocalism is not clear.

| Lak. *-iχ:a-* to dig.

G. pr. *-i=χ:u-n*; cf. Khosr. *-iχ:an* id.

| Darg. **irq:-* / **iq:-* to dig: Ak. *iq:-es*; Chir. *-irq:-* / *-iq:-*.

| Lezg. **Iarql'i* to dig: Tab. *u=ql-*; Ag. *urqi-* (*Bursh.*); Rut. *a=ql'a-*; Arch. *ja=χla-*.

Cf. Arch. dur. *jārχlu-r*. Strong conjugation class in PL. See Talibov 1980, 305.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In Nakh languages the root **-āq(q)* 'to pull out' has also a meaning 'to dig out' and thus may reflect a merger of two roots: PEC **HārḡwV* 'dig' and **HiqV(r)* 'take, pull out' (q.v.).

•*HārḡV(n)* to see, to find: Tsez. **-īq-*; Darg. **-ahl-*; Lezg. **arql:ā-*; Khin. *zab-*.

| Tsez. **-īq-* to find: Bezht. *-īq-* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *-īq-*.

PGB **-īq-*.

| Darg. **-ahl-* see: Ak. *če=i?*; Chir. *-ahl-*.

Cf. also Ur. *-a?/-i?*. In Chir. the verb has the dur. stem *-alhi-*, fut. *-arhl-* and belongs to the -n-conjugation; thus the precise nature of the PD paradigm is not yet clear (in particular, not clear are reasons for the loss of the Inlaut resonant -r- in most forms).

| Lezg. **arql:ā-* 1 to see 2 to watch, look 3 to be found: Tab. *raql:-* 1; Ag. *raql:a-* 1 (*Bursh.*); Rut. *g-a=q:a-* 2; Kryz. *irq-* 1; Bud. *irq-* 1; Ud. *b-aβla-jesun* 3.

The Kryz. and Bud. form reflect the PL Ablaut grade **irql:ā-*; the Auslaut **ā* is reconstructed on basis of Ag. (*Bursh. raql:a-s*) and Rut. (*g-aq:a-s*, pl. *ga-q:e-s*). Not quite clear is the loss of pharyngealization in Rut. See Khaidakov 1973, 121.

| Khin. *zab-* to see.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Both PL and PD reflect also the Ablaut grade **-HirḡV(n)*. Reasons for conjugation variation (-0 and -n) are not yet clear. Cf. also Hurr. *tiy-an-* (causative) 'to show' (< PHU **tix-*), where t- reflects *r (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 29).

•*Hārḡwa* (---e) face; eyebrow: Av.-And. **ħa(r)ḡ'a* (~ -o-); Tsez. **haḡ'a* (~ h-); Lezg. **a(r)ḡ'a*.

| Av.-And. **ħa(r)q̣ʷa* (~ -o-) eyelash, eyelid: Akhv. *ħaq̣ʷa*.
Magomedbekova records this word as *ħaq̣ʷa* 'eyelid'; cf. also Tlan. *tanq̣ʷa-ħi*, pl. *tanq̣ʷalar*. Since only the Akhv. form is present, the PA reconstruction is not very certain.

| Tsez. **ħaq̣ʷa* (~ *ħ-ɔ*) eyebrow: Bezht. *ħāq̣ʷā* (*Khosh*).
Isolated in Bezht., with some probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **ʷa(r)q̣ʷa* face; sour cream: Tsakh. *aq̣ʷa*.

An isolated Tsakh. word (with possible Tsezian and Andian parallels). The synonymy "face": "sour cream" is explained by a usage present, e.g., in Udi, where we have *muč:łanaqin č:lo* "sour cream", lit. "milk's face".

[] Semantically and phonetically the comparison is fine, but since the root is reflected only in three languages the reconstruction is dubious. The initial lateral in the PA (Akhv.) form - if it belongs here - must be a remnant of the root for "eye" (PEC **ʷilʷi* q.v.) - cf. the same element in PA **ħ-ins:Vr* 'eyebrow' (see under **mērsA*). The medial resonant **-r-* must be reconstructed because of preservation of **q̣ʷ* in PA; unfortunately, in all of the three languages present (Akhv., Bezht. and Tsakh.) medial *-r-* disappears in such clusters.

**-HarxVr* (~ -ə-, -λ-) to sweep: Av.-And. **ħar-* (~ -o-); Lak. =*aši-*; Lezg. **ʷarλV(r)* (~ -λ:-).

| Av.-And. **ħar-* (~ -o-) to sweep: Akhv. *ħar-*; Kar. *ħar-*.

| Lak. =*aši-* to sweep.

G. pr. =*a-xu-nu*. Cf. Khosr. =*aši-n* / =*axi-n* id.

| Lezg. **ʷarλV(r)* (~ -λ:-) to sweep: Rut. *qa-xa-/qa-raxa-*.

Attested only in Rutul (for phonetic reasons the root should be kept distinct from PL **ʷaλV* q.v.), but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. In [Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 58] the root is compared with Urart. *ħarħar-š-* 'to demolish' (< *sweep off?).

**HarxU* to sound, shout: Nakh. **ʷax-*; Av.-And. **-ax-*; Tsez. **-ex-* (~ -b:-); Lezg. **raxa-*; W.-Cauc. **χV*.

| Nakh. **ʷax-* 1 to howl, to bellow 2 to bark: Chech. **ʷax-* 1; Ing. **ʷax-* 1, 2; Bacb. **ʷax-* 1.

Cf. also dur. **ʷex-* (Chech. **ex-*, Ing. **ex-*) id.

| Av.-And. **-ax-* to bark: And. =*ax-*.

Attested only in And., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. **-ex-* (~ -b:-) to bark: Gunz. =*eb-*.

Isolated in Gunz., but having good external parallels.

| Lezg. **raxa-* 1 to wail, howl 2 to thunder 3 to speak 4 to bark: Lezg. *raxa-* 3; Tab. *rax-* 2; Ag. *ruχ-* 1; Tsakh. *i=χla-* 4.

Cf. also Lezg. pret. *raxu-na*, Ag. Bursh. *ruχa-* 'to wail'. Pharyngealisation in Tsakh. is expressive. In Agul the root is mixed up with the reflexes of PL **ʷerχʷa* 'to ask, read', but in general the two roots are quite distinct.

| W.-Cauc. **χV* to shout: Abkh. *á-ħħa-ra*; Abaz. *ħħa-ra*; Ub. *wa-χ(ə)-*.

PAT **ħa* (with expressive gemination); Ub. *sə-waχə-n*.

[] The root is onomatopoeic, but correspondences are regular (except for resonant metathesis in PL: **raχa-* < **Harχa-*; the original sequence is probably preserved in Tsakh.), and its PNC antiquity seems rather probable.

**Ĥa(r)ʷi* (~ -e) a k. of tree: Av.-And. **ʷazV-IV* (~ -o-); Tsez. **ʷazV* (~ *ħ-ɔ-ɔ-*); W.-Cauc. **č:ʷə*.

| Av.-And. **ʷazV-IV* 1 bush, shrub 2 pine-tree 3 birch-tree: And. *zala* (< **azala*) 1; Akhv. *aza* 1; Tind. *zʷala* 3; Kar. *ežela* 2.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. **izilu-l ruxa* 'pine-tree', Akhv. Ratl. *azali* 'bush, shrub'.

| Tsez. **ʷazV* (~ *ħ-ɔ-ɔ-*) 1 tree 2 bush: Tsez. *azo* 1; Gin. *aze* 1; Khvarsh. *aza* 1 (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *azan* 2.

PTsKh. **ʷazV* (for -*zV*- cf. Tsez. Sag. *azV*). Inkh. *azan* < **ʷazV-R* with a common suffixed **-R*.

| W.-Cauc. **č:ʷə* tree: Ad. *čə-γə*; Kab. *zə-γ*.

PAK **č:ə-γə* 'tree'. Shagirov (1, 196) is certainly right in treating the component -*γə* as 'seed' (see **ŁA*) and establishing the original meaning of the compound as "acorn". Cf. also PAK **č:ə-γa-jə* "oak-tree" (Ad. *čəγaj*, Kab. *žəγej*). However, the root **č:ə* can not be related to Abkh. *a-ž* 'oak-tree' for phonetic reasons; the latter is rather connected with PAK **pč:V* 'plane-tree' q.v.

[] Originally it was probably a name of some coniferous tree, cf. also Hurr. *azu(-γə)* 'fir-tree' (> Akkad. *ašūxu*, see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 41); the meaning 'birch-tree' in some And. languages is secondary. The medial resonant is not reflected directly, but it must be postulated to explain spirantisation in PTs.

**ĤawaχV* to swell: Av.-And. **ʷa-aχ-*; Tsez. **-ab:-*; Lak. =*uru=χ:a-*; Darg. **-Vbχ:-*; Lezg. **ʷawχ:la*; Khin. =*opχ-*.

| Av.-And. **ʷa-aχ-* to swell: And. =*a-aχ-*; Akhv. *abaχ-*; Cham. *abaχ-*; Tind. *abaχ-*; Kar. **abiħ-* (Tok.).

Changing class infixes are attested only in Andian (cf. aor. *abaχo* / *araχo*), and it is not quite clear whether it is an archaism or an innovation. In any case, the structure of this verbal stem is quite exceptional. There also exists a reflex of stem II **χV*- in Tind. *χʷə-* 'to swell; to rise (of dough)'.

| Tsez. **-ab:-* to swell: Tsez. =*abI-* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. =*aw-* (*Tlad.*).

Cf. also Khosh. =*aw-* id.

| Lak. =*uru=χ:a-* to swell.

G. pr. =*uru=χ:u-nu*. Cf. also Khosr. =*uru=χ:a-n* id.

| Darg. **-Vbχ:-* to swell: Chir. =*ebχ:-* / =*ibχ:-*.

| Lezg. **ʷawχ:la* 1 to swell 2 tumour: Tab. =*abI-* 1; Ag. *ɬ-aχ-* 1; Rut. *ɬ-a=χla-* 1; Tsakh. *alt-a=χla-* 1; Kryz. *s-āħ-* 1; Arch. *babχ:la-* 1; Ud. *beχl* 2.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. =*abI-*, Ag. Bursh. *ɬ-aχa-*. The verb belongs to the weak PL class. The Ag., Rut. and Tsakh. forms contain an expressive preverb **ɬ-*. In

the Archi form *b-* is obviously a former class prefix; dur. *babχ:lu-r* points to a secondary labialisation **wχ:l-* > **bχ:l** in early Archi.

| Khin. *-opχ-* to swell.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The verb has a very rare root structure (*HVRVCV), clearly seen in the reflexes; the second consonant is in most subgroups a reflex of **w-*, but Lak. has *-r-* and Andian has changing class infixes (*-b/-r-*). Since such a root structure is quite unique for a verb, there are two equally acceptable solutions: to reconstruct **w-* (and consider Lak. *-r-* and And. *-b/-r-* an innovation) or to reconstruct changing class infixes in PEC.

**Hāχ-tu(jV)* phlegm, discharge: Av.-And. **axtV*; Tsez. **hatχ:a*; Darg. **axtu-ri*.

| Av.-And. **axtV* (~*o-*) phlegm, sputum: Av. *āχtu*; Tind. *ax:tar*.

Glottalisation is obviously secondary in the specific Tind. cluster *-χ:t-* (the same concerns the strength of *χ*: - since strength/weakness are neutralized in Tind. before consonants), *-r* is a suffix (originally plural or collective).

| Tsez. **naχ:a* eye secretion: Tsez. *at̃a*; Khvarsh. *hatχa* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *at̃a*; Gunz. *hatχa*.

PTsKh **atχa* (with a specific development of the unique cluster **tχ-* in Tsez.).

| Darg. **axtu-ri* phlegm: Ak. *axturi*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Since normally clusters of two Inlaut stops are prohibited, this word is most probably a compound with an expressive first component (**Hāχ-*); the second component must be = PEC **tu(jV)* 'spittle' q.v.

**HāχutV* / **HāχV* long: Nakh. **āχ-(in)*; Av.-And. **ix:Vl-*; Tsez. **ix:olV-*; Lak. *hatχ:a*; Darg. **χ:āla-*; Lezg. **hljalχā-*; Khin. *wixā*; W.-Cauc. **L^wA*.

| Nakh. **āχ-(in)* long: Chech. *-ēχ-a*; Ing. *-āχ-a*; Bacb. *-aχχ-ē*.

Cf. also Shar. *-ēχī*, Cheb. *-āχē*, Khild. *-ēχe* etc. The geminated *-χχ-* in Bacb. is obviously expressive. The pure root **āχ-* is present in Chech. *-aχ-dan* 'to lengthen', Bacb. *-aχ-dar* id.

| Av.-And. **ix:Vl-* long: Av. *χ:alā-ta-b*; Chad. *χalā-da-b*; And. *-ex:ula*; Akhv. *-ax:a-da*; Cham. *-ex:ilo-b*; Tind. *-ex:ala-b*; Kar. *-ex:ela-b*; Botl. *-ex:ila*; Bagv. *-ex:ela*; God. *-ex:ila*.

In some languages (Akhv., Av.) the root is supplied with a dental adjectival suffix (Akhv. *-ax:a-da* < **-ax:al-da*). The second root vowel is impossible to reconstruct (because of its weak unstressed position).

| Tsez. **ix:olV-* long: Tsez. *-exora*; Gin. *-oxoru*; Khvarsh. *-ex^wla*; Inkh. *-ixala*; Bezht. *-ixalo*; Gunz. *-ixalu*.

PTsKh **ixolV*, PGB **ixVlu*.

| Lak. *hatχ:a* tall, high.

| Darg. **χ:āla-* big: Ak. *χala-l*; Chir. *χ^wala-ze*.

Cf. also Ur. *χ^wala-*, Sirg. *χ^wala-*, Kait. *χula-* etc. The labialisation in this case is obviously secondary (probably reflecting the former class prefix).

| Lezg. **[hl]alχā-* 1 long 2 up, on top: Lezg. *jarbi* 1; Tab. *jarxi* 1; Ag. *jarχle-f* 1; Rut. *χulāχ-di* 1; Tsakh. *χili-na* 1; Bud. *laχa* 2; Arch. *laχa* 1; Ud. *laχo* 2.

Within PL there is a difficult interrelation between four roots: **[hl]alχā-* 'long', **hl[a]χV-* 'high', **jaq:V* 'high' and **arχ:(Vl)-* 'far' q.v. In several languages contaminations have arisen. Thus, *-b-* in Lezg. *jarbi* 'long' is obviously due to contamination with *jarbal* 'far'.

Several languages reflect metathesized forms (**[hl]alχā-* ~ **laχā-* ~ **χalā-* and, with Ablaut, **χolā-*), which is usual for verbal/adjectival stems. Note that all these variants are not merely Lezghian, but have external parallels as well.

| Khin. *wixā* long.

| W.-Cauc. **L^wA* long: Abkh. *a-wá*; Abaz. *wá*; Ad. *čā-ha*; Kab. *čā-h*; Ub. *wa*.

PAT **wa*; PAK **ka-hA*. In the first part of the AK compound we may possibly see PAK **ka-* 'grow' (unlike Shagirov 2, 135 we wouldn't like to split PAK **kačā* 'short' and find in it's first part the same component; see the etymology of this word). The second component, **hA*, is strangely enough, related by Shagirov (ibid.) to PAK **hA* 'bring, carry'. We would still like to follow Trubetzkoy in connecting the AK and Ub. forms (the h:w correspondence is here just the same as in the word for 'dog'). However, PAT should have regularly had *h-*, not *w-* here; perhaps we should assume that PWC **L^w* was for some reason split into *l* and *w* in PAT (position before different vowels? - there are too few examples to come to a definite conclusion).

In Ub. *wa* can be also discovered in the word for far (*la-wā* lit. 'long for feet').

[] For the phonetic development in PWC cf. **χhwēje* 'dog' (in this case the lateralisation in PWC may also have been favoured by the lateral resonant in the root).

The stem **HāχV* (reflected in PN, Lak., PL and Khin. /with a former class prefix *w-/*) is a secondary development < **HāχtV* < **HāχutV*. Several morphological notes: the stem is usually accompanied by class prefixes in the Western area (Nakh, Andian, Tsezian) but is prefixless in Eastern Daghestan (Lak., Darg., Lezghian). By now it is hard to judge which situation is original; however, it seems probable that the initial syllable **Hā-* is historically a prefix, and that we should reconstruct the most archaic form as **χutV* (cf. the rather frequent reflex of this stem in different areas: in Av. (*χ:alā-ta-*), in PD (**χ:āla-*), in some Lezg. languages (Rut. *χulāχ-di*, Tsakh. *χili-na*). Cf. also Hurr. *χel(-)di* 'lofty, highborn' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 54-55).

See Abdokov 1983, 147.

**HāχVnV* (~ *-āq-*) log, beam: Av.-And. **axin* (~ *-o-,q-*); Tsez. **exen* (~ *-h-,ən*); Lezg. **axon* (~ *-χ:-,on*).

| Av.-And. **axin* (~ *-o-,q-*) 1 log 2 ceiling beam (lengthwise) 3threshing shaft: Av. *bal-āhin* 3; Cham. *axim* (*Gig.*) 2; Tind. *axin* 2; Kar. *ahimo* 1; Bagv. *ahim* 1; God. *aximu* 1.

The Av. word has a precise meaning: 'shaft fastened to the threshing boards'; the first part of the compound goes back to PEC *w-VŁV 'threshing board' (q.v.) (cf. also Kuyad. *bol-bo* 'threshing board'). Accent paradigm B ~ C (*balāha-dul*, *balāha-bi*). Cf. also Kar. Anch. *āxib* 'log' - which shows that forms in -m(V) actually go back to the PA plural **aḫin-bV*.

|| Tsez. **eḫen* (~*h*-, *-ən*) big stone: Tsez. *aḫin*; Khvarsh. *eḫen* (*Radzhibov*).

PTsKh **eḫen*. In Tsez. (Imnaishvili quotes also dialectal forms: *eḫen*, *aḫlin*, *eḫlen*).

|| Lezg. **aḫon* (~*χ*-, *-on*) beam, girder: Ag. *aḫun* (*Burk.*).

Isolated within Lezghian, but having reliable external correspondences.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

HāzĒm*- to clean, clean: Nakh. **čani*-(n); Av.-And. **ac*:Vn- (~o-); Tsez. **ac*V-; Lak. *març*; Darg. **amzu*-(r)/marzu*-; Lezg. **malrç*:i-; W.-Cauc. **pəzA*.

|| Nakh. **čani*-(n) clean, pure: Chech. *čena*; Ing. *čena*; Bacb. *čajn*.

|| Av.-And. **ac*:Vn- (~o-) 1 to clean 2 clean, pure: Av. =*ac*:n- 1; And. =*erc*:om 2; Akhv. =*ac*:onu- 1; Cham. =*aša-da*- 2; Tind. =*ac*:a-*hi*- 1; Kar. =*ac*:a-*do*- 2; Botl. *çin-kir* 2; Bagv. =*ac*:a-*ra*- 2; God. *çin-ki* 2.

Cf. also Av. =*ac*:a-*da*- 'clean', Akhv. =*ac*:a-*da*-, Tseg., Tlan., Ratl. =*ac*:an-*da*- id., Tind. =*ac*:a-*ja*- id. etc. The adjective in all languages is a derivate of the verbal stem. Av. > Inkh. *baççada-b*, Gin. *baçadaw*. The Botl. and God. forms go back to a suffixed **çin-kV*; cf. also Kar. Anch., Tok. *çinķu* 'clean, pure'.

|| Tsez. **ac*V- clean: Tsez. =*occ*-*ā*-*si*; Khvarsh. *q-aḫca* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. =*acō*; Gunz. =*acā-ru*.

PTsKh **ac*-*ij*- (with unclear -o- in Tsez.). PGB **acā-ru* (cf. also Tlad. =*aco-ro*) 'clean'. This is obviously a derivate of a verbal stem; cf. Gunz. =*acā-ka* 'to clean' (a causative form), Bezht. Khosh. =*ac*- 'to be pure, clean'.

|| Lak. *març*- clean.

|| Darg. **amzu*-(r)/**marzu*- clean, pure: Ak. *umu-si*; Chir. *marz-ze*.

Cf. also Ur. *amzu-r*, Kait. *umzu-ci*, Kharb. *umu-se*, Tsud. *unzu-se*.

|| Lezg. **malrç*:i- 1 clean 2 limpid 3 white: Tab. *març*:i 1; Ag. *malrt*:e-f 1; Rut. *mał-di* 2 (*Khniukh*); Tsakh. *małt*:i-n 1; Arch. *març* 1; Ud. *mac*:i 3.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *marzi* 'clean', Arch. *març*: *as* 'to clean' (for **ç*:-). In Udi we have *mac*:i 'white' (< **malrç*:i-), but *ac*:ar 'clean'; the latter reflects the original verbal structure **Haç*:V(m)-.

See Bokarev 1961, 71; Leksika 1971, 227; Giginayshvili 1977, 107.

|| W.-Cauc. **pəzA* 1 clean 2 good: Abkh. *a-bzia* 2; Abaz. *bzi* 2; Ad. *q:ā-bza* 1; Kab. *q:ā-bza* 1; Ub. *pca* 1.

PAT **bəzə-jA*; PAK **q:a-bzá* (Shagirov 1, 218 regards the *q:a-* as a directive preverb). The root **bza-* can also be seen in the compound verb **ç:a-bza-* 'to get pure, settle (of water)'.

The Ub. form with glottalisation suggests PWC **p*-; the PAT reflex **-z* confirms it (if PWC had **bəçA*, then even after assimilation PAT **-z*- would be expected; on the other hand, **-z*- normally yields PAT **-z*-). However, earlier glottalisation must have resided on the affricate, since the initial labial certainly is a historical prefix and

there were no glottalised labial prefixes in NC or WC.

[] Initial laryngeal is reconstructed on the basis of PL pharyngealisation; however, it is not possible to establish its precise nature, because in most languages it was either lost (as part of the weak first syllable), or absorbed by class prefixes.

In PWC the root has a frequent labial prefix (probably originally a class marker). In EC the original structure of the root was best preserved in Av.-And. and Nakh; in most other languages, where the root was treated mainly as an adjective, it obtained a productive adjectival (*participial) suffix **-rV* and underwent metatheses, usual in cases like this: **HāzĒmV-rV*- > **HāzmĒ-rV*- > **HāmzĒrV*- // **mHārzĒ*-. Cf. also Hurr. *šeḡ(a)lā* 'ritually pure', *šēḡa*, *šīḡa* 'pure (water)', Urart. *šeḡa* id. (?) - reflecting probably a variant **zāmHĒ*- (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 35).

See Abdokov 1983, 149, 168-169.

-HāçwĀ* to pour, wash: Av.-And. **ç*:Vb-; Lak. *šulši*-; Darg. **is*:-; Lezg. **šas*:ā (~-a); W.-Cauc. **za.

|| Av.-And. **is*:- / **ç*:Vb- 1 dip 2 splash, sprinkle 3 splash out 4 soak 5 wet: Av. *ç:uj*- 1, =*iç*:- 4; Akhv. =*ic*:- 4; Cham. =*ic*:- 5; Tind. *ç:ab-d*- 2; Kar. *ç:eb*- 3, =*iç*:- 4.

Cf. also Av. =*iç*:-*ara*- 'wet', Tind. =*iç*:- 'to soak', =*iç*:u- 'wet', Kar. =*iç*:o- 'wet'. Most languages reflect both stem I **is*:- and stem II **ç*:Vb-.

|| Lak. *šulši*- to wash.

G. pr. *šul*=*šu-nu*. Cf. Khosr. *šulši-n* id. An old loanword from Lak. is Arch. *čuçə-bos* 'to wash'; it is particularly interesting, because it preserves an affricate (from PEC **çw*), which has been by now fricativized in all Lak dialects.

|| Darg. **is*:- to weep: Ak. =*is*-*es*; Chir. =*is*:-.

Cf. also Ur. =*is*- id.

|| Lezg. **šas*:ā (~-a) to weep: Lezg. *iše xun*; Tab. *iš*:-; Ag. *šas*:-; Rut. =*eše*-; Tsakh. *g-e*=*š*:e-; Kryz. =*iš*:-.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *ji*=*s*:-, Ag. Bursh. *šas*:a-, and the derivate **šas*:ā-l 'weeping, crying' > Lezg. *išel*, Tab. *išal*, Rut. Khniukh. *ješel*.

See Khaidakov 1973, 135.

|| W.-Cauc. **z**a 1 to wash 2 to dam, cut off (water): Abkh. *ā-ž***z**a-*ra* 1; Abaz. *ž***z**a-*ra* 1; Ad. *ž**a- 2.

PAT **z**a (with emphatic gemination). Phonetically the Ad.-Abkh. comparison is very probable; the semantic change must be postulated as "to pour water (enough) for washing" > "to cut off (water), to dam".

[] The comparison seems probable phonetically and semantically (the semantic correlation 'to pour, wash' - 'to weep' is quite common). The PWC root, however, can belong either here or to **imç*:Vn q.v. [We should note that the Av.-And. forms reflect rather a form like **-HāçĀw* with non-labialised -ç-; it is not clear, which is original - **-HāçwĀ* or **-HāçĀw*.]

-HāGwVn* to tremble, be afraid: Av.-And. **iḡ*Vn- / **ḡiḡ*Vn-; Lezg. **ḡaḡ*:lVn*-.

| Av.-And. **iðVn-* / **ðiðVn-* 1 to be nervous, capricious 2 to shake, sway: Av. *-iðn-* 1; Cham. *ðiðin-* 2; Tind. *ðiðan-* 2.

In Av. cf. also the frequentative *-að-ár-* 'to be aroused, agitated, upset, to stir'. Av. > Cham. *baðar-id-* 'to rock, sway, shake'.

| Lezg. **äq:lVn-* to tremble, shake, be afraid: Tab. *d-i-q:-* (Düb.); Arch. *e-q:lVn-*.

Tab. has a secondary loss of pharyngealization (after a front vowel).

[] An expressive Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss. In PL one would regularly expect **qlV*, and indeed there exists a Rutul word *s-u=qla-* 'to shake, sway', reflecting a variant with **qlV*; but Tab. and Archi have preserved tenseness (for expressive reasons?).

**Hč[ī]rV-* light-coloured: Av.-And. **a(r)ču-* (~o-); Lezg. **čirV-*; Khin. *čürü*; W.-Cauc. **pəč:a*.

| Av.-And. **a(r)ču-* (~o-) 1 variegated 2 yellow; green: Av. *čára-b* 1; Cham. *ašu-b* 2; Tind. *aču-b* 2; Kar. *čəo-b* 2; Botl. *aču* 2; Bagv. *čəu-b* 2; God. *aču* 2.

Cf. also Kar. Anch. *arčo-b* 'green, yellow'.

| Lezg. **čirV-* 1 green 2 blond, red-haired: Tab. *čru* 1; Ag. *čire-f* 2.

The original meaning was probably 'light, light-coloured'; the meaning 'green' has developed in Tab. and some Ag. dialects.

| Khin. *čürü* grey.

| W.-Cauc. **pəč:a* 1 brown 2 yellowish 3 to rust: Abkh. *a-^wa-bʒa* 1; Abaz. *^wa-bʒa* 1; Ad. *b^wa-pčá* 1,2; Kab. *b^wa-bʒa* 1,2; Ub. *b^wa-pčá* 3.

Ub. *a-b^wa-pčá-n*. All forms go back to the PWC compound **b^wa-pəč:a* (with **b^wa-* 'yellow' q.v.). Correspondences are quite regular, thus there is no need to consider the PAT form as an Adygh loan.

See Shakryl 1968, 55, 100; Shagirov 1, 131.

[] The root denoted some light (yellowish or greenish) colour, whence all the different colour meanings in languages. Phonetically the comparison seems plausible, with several comments:

a) PL and PWC suggest the reconstruction of **ī* as main vowel; however, Av.-And. reflects are unclear;

b) The PWC form incorporates the former class prefix **b-*.

c) Most forms are deductible from the original root structure **HčVrV̄-*; however, Av. *čar-* (borrowed in Kar. *čaro-b*) suggests rather **HčVrV̄-*. Variations of this type can be sometimes met in adjectival stems.

**HçarV* grey, light-coloured: Av.-And. **haça-*; Lezg. **čari-*; Khin. *çar*.

| Av.-And. **haça-* (~ **h-*) white: And. *haça*; Cham. *haça-b*; Tind. *haça-b*;

Kar. *haça-b*; Botl. *haça-ça*; God. *haça*.

Cf. also Cham. Gad. *hadda-b*, Gig. *hazi-l*.

| Lezg. **čari-* 1 grey 2 variegated 3 yellow 4 blue: Lezg. *čaru* 1,2; Tab. *čaru* 1; Kryz. *čəri* 3; Bud. *čoru* 4.

| Khin. *çar* blue, grey.

Also reduplicated: *çarçar*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**Hčwējmă* (~ -ö) leg bone: Nakh. **n(h)osta* (~t-); Av.-And. **hinçV* (~h-,c-); Tsez. **öc* (~ä-); Lezg. **čwām*.

| Nakh. **n(h)ōsta* (~t-) 1 leg (from foot to knee) 2 shin, shank: Chech. *nosta*; Ing. *nost*.

PN paradigm **n(h)ōsta*, **n(h)āstar-* (cf. Chech. *nastara-*, Ing. *nastaro*). 4th class in Chech. and Ing.

| Av.-And. **hinçV* (~h-,c-) groin (of an animal): Tind. *hinc:i*.

Attested only in Tind., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. **öc* (~ä-) knucklebone: Bezht. *öc*.

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **čwām* 1 shin-bone 2 ankle: Lezg. *čum* 1; Rut. *čum* 1; Tsakh. *čom* 1; Arch. *čam-mul* 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *čum* / *čim*. Arch. *-mul* is a plural suffix. Obl. base **čwāma-* (cf. Rut. *čumu-*, Tsakh. *čoma-*); 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. A typical case of the HCVRV̄ structure; medial **-j-* reconstructed to account for **-st-* in PN. There is some doubt as to the reconstruction of the final resonant: the reconstruction **Hčwējnă* (with assimilation **-n* > *-m* in PL) is also possible (Av.-And-Cez languages are here not informative).

**HčVrē* / **HrVčē* clearing, uncultivated land: Nakh. **irčV* (~^s,h,ī,-3-); Av.-And. **hač:a* (~h-,o); Lezg. **čura* (~o-).

| Nakh. **irčV* (~^s,h,ī,-3-) stubbed ground; a sown forest clearing: Chech. *irzū*.

The word is attested only in Chech. (-ū is a nominal suffix), thus there may be several variants of the PN reconstruction.

| Av.-And. **hač:a* (~h-,o) meadow: Cham. *hač:a* (Gig.); Tind. *hač:a*.

| Lezg. **čura* (~o-) 1 pasture, meadow 2 earth, ground 3 cave 4 wasteland: Lezg. *čur* 1; Tab. *čur* 1; Ag. *čir* 1; Rut. *čir* 2; Tsakh. *čije* 2; Kryz. *čerä* 3; Bud. *čirčir* 4.

Obl. base **čurä-* (cf. Lezg. *čura-*). 4th class in Rut. and Tsakh. The Kryz. word is somewhat dubious (both phonetically and semantically); cf. also Kryz. *čerčur* 'swamp, marsh' (with the same reduplication as in Bud.).

The original meaning of this nominal stem may be reconstructed as "uncultivated land; waste land". It seems quite probable that it served as basis for the adjectival stem **čuri-* (~o-) with the basic meaning "wild": cf. Lezg. *čuru* "wild (of plants)"; Tab. *čuru* "wild (of plants); bad", substantivated in *čuru-b* "pus" (Düb. *čiruv*); Ag. Bursh. *čire-r* "dirty, bad", Burk. *čure-f* 'old, worn out' (probably > Darg.

Chir. *çir-ze* 'lean'; Kryz. *çir* 'wild (of plants, animals)', secondarily substantivated as *çir* 'wild pear'; possibly also Rut. *çiri-di* 'lame' (< 'crippled, bad').

Kryz. *çerā* 'cavern' is somewhat deviant both phonetically (-e-) and semantically. Perhaps it would be better to separate it and compare it to another root, reflected in PA **riç:o* 'cavern' (And. *reç:o*, Akhv. *reç:a*, Cham. *jeşa*, Gig. *ruça*, Tind. *ruç:a*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The vocalism is hard to establish (too few data). The PN and PL forms point to a root structure **HCVRV*; however, the PA form reflects rather a metathesized structure **HRVCV*. Cf. also Urart. *çir-ab* 'empty, uninhabited' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 44).

**Hçw̄lV̄* / **Hl̄çw̄V̄* heifer: Nakh. **asse*; Av.-And. **çora*; Lezg. **luça*.

| Nakh. **asse* calf: Chech. *ēsa*; Ing. *asa*; Bacb. *āsē*.

The Bacb. notation of Kadagidze (*āsē*) stands obviously for *assē* (Bacb. has lost long vowels); cf. also *assē* in Imnaishvili's notation.

Obl. base **āssi-* (cf. Chech. *ēsa-*, Ing. *āso*); 3d class in Chech., Ing., 5th class in Bacb. Cf. also a derived form: Bacb. *asa'o* (Imnaishvili: *assa'o*) 'heifer'.

| Av.-And. **çora* heifer: Av. *açár* (*Gudava*); And. *çora*; Cham. *çā*; Tind. *çara*; Kar. *çara*; Botl. *çara*; Bagv. *çara*; God. *çara*.

The Av. form probably reflects a merger of two Av.-And. roots: a) = PA **çora*; b) = PA **badaça* 'heifer, bull-calf' q.v. (the And. "animal" infix -dV is regularly rendered in Av. as -fV-, thus the Av. correspondence for **badaça* would be **ba^faça* > **aça*).

An Andian loan (before the shift **o* > *a*) is Inkh. *çoro* 'heifer'.

| Lezg. **luça* 1 heifer 2 enclosure for heifers: Lezg. *liç 1* (*Khl.*); Tab. *liç 1*; Ag. *luç 1*; Rut. *liç 1*; Tsakh. *wuče / wiče 1*; Arch. *liçi 2*.

Obl. base **lučä* (cf. the Tsakh. form and Rut. *ličä-*). 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. Ag. > Darg. Chir. *luç* 'heifer'.

See Leksika 1971, 159.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for the metathesis (usual for the HCVCV structure) correspondences are regular.

**HçōlV̄* black: Nakh. **ārçi-*; Av.-And. **-içV(r)-*; Lezg. **çulV̄* (~o-).

| Nakh. **ārçi-* black: Chech. *ārža*; Ing. *ārža*; Bacb. *arçī*.

Cf. Cheb. *āržī*, Khild. *ēržī* etc. The vowelless base **ārç-* is preserved in Chech. *arž-dan*, Bacb. *arç-dar* 'to paint black'.

| Av.-And. **-içV(r)-* black: Av. *çe^fera-b*; Chad. *çe^fera-b*; And. *-eçe-dir*; Akhv. *-açi-da*; Cham. *-eça-tu-b*; Tind. *-eça-tu-b*; Kar. *-eçe-ṭi-rob*; Botl. *-eçer*; Bagv. *-eçe-tu-b*; God. *-eçer*.

The most archaic forms are Botl. *-eçer* and God. *-eçer* (= Av. *çe^fer-*). Other languages reflect PA **-içVr-dV-* (with an added adjectival suffix) > **-içVdV-*; in some languages (Cham., Tind., Kar., Bagv.) an assimilative glottalization (d > t after ç) took place.

| Lezg. **çulV̄* (~o-) 1 black 2 (dark berry): raspberry: Lezg. *çulaw 1*; Ag. *çula mexer 2*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of the cases of exceptional preservation of a laryngeal in Av. (in the original **HCVCV* structure). Since the stem has no class prefixes in PN, Av. and PL, the PA situation is probably secondary (the expected stem **çVr-* or **HiçVr-* began to have an adjectival inflection).

**Hçw̄arV̄* grey, yellow: Nakh. **ačV-* (~-ž-); Tsez. **ečV-* (~h-); Lak. *çalj-*; Lezg. **ç^weri-*.

| Nakh. **ačV-* (~-ž-) 1 light-bay, cream-coloured 2 yellow: Chech. *ōza 1*; Ing. *azaža 2*.

| Tsez. **ečV-* (~h-) yellow: Tsez. *içi*; Gin. *içdiju*; Khvarsh. *-ejçu* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *eçuka*.

PTsKh **ečV-*.

| Lak. *çalj-* reddish, red-haired.

Lak. *çalj-* > Arch. *çelj* 'light yellow (of hair, crops)'.

| Lezg. **ç^weri-* 1 grey 2 yellow: Rut. *çuri-d* (*Ikhr.*) 1; Tsakh. *çoru-n 1*; Bud. *çoru 2*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In PTs we would rather expect **çV(r)-*, but rules of root structure development are often violated in adjectives (because of active class prefixation / suffixation); otherwise all correspondences are regular. The root must have denoted some light colour (yellowish, greyish).

**HdūrV̄* plot of land; yard, enclosure: Nakh. **urd* (~h-,t); Lezg. **t:or-*; Khin. *t:oz*; W.-Cauc. **d^wə*.

| Nakh. **urd* (~h-,t) plot of arable land, allotment: Chech. *urd*; Ing. *urd*.

Obl. base **urde-* (Chech. *urda-*, Ing. *urdo*) is probably recent; more archaic is the stem **ardo-*, preserved in plural (Chech. *arda-s*, Ing. *orda-s*) and pointing to a short root vowel in PN (otherwise in Ing. *ɔ-* would be expected). 3d class in both languages.

| Lezg. **t:or-* godekan (place for community meetings): Arch. *dori*.

Attested only in Archi, but having probable external parallels.

| Khin. *t:oz* door.

| W.-Cauc. **d^wə* plain, field: Abkh. *a-d^wə*; Ub. *d^wə*.

Ub. def. *a-d^wə*.

[] The original meaning in PEC was probably 'enclosure, yard' (for the semantics in Khin. cf. cases like Russ. *дверь* 'door' - *двор* 'yard' etc.). It is interesting to note a probable HU parallel: Hurr. *ardā* 'town', Urart. *ardi-nā* 'the Town' (name of Muşasir, the capital of Urartu), with the root structure reflex similar to PN (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 26).

**Helqw̄A* to bark: Lezg. **elq^wa*; W.-Cauc. **q:l^wə*.

| Lezg. **elq^wa* to bark: Ag. *ç-irq^w-*; Rut. *-erq^wa-*.

In Ag. č- is an expressive preverb.

| W.-Cauc. *q:I^wə 1 to bark 2 to howl: Ad. hā-q:ṽə-n 1; Kab. q:ṽə-ḃə-n 2; Ub. qI^wə- 1.

PAK *q:ṽə- (in Kab. - a compound with ḃə-n 'to weep, cry'); Ub. a-qI^wə-n.

[] An onomatopoeic Lezg.-WC isogloss; the correspondences, however, are regular, and the root may be old (unlike other words for "barking" in Caucasian languages, which are all heterogeneous and certainly recent onomatopoeia).

*=HēlχU to rake up, shovel up; to tear off: Nakh. *laḥ-; Av.-And. *uχ:-; Lak. -aIχ:i-; Lezg. *ʔalχ:i-; W.-Cauc. *tχ^wV.

| Nakh. *laḥ- 1 to rake up, shovel up 2 to touch: Chech. laḥ=ō 1; Ing. loḥa=e 1; Bacb. laḥ- 2.

Cf. also Bacb. laḥ-dar 'to gather (fruits)' (Chech. laḥ=ō has this meaning, too). The durative stem is *lēḥ- > Chech. lēḥ=ō, Bacb. leḥ-, leḥ-dar.

| Av.-And. *uχ:- 1 to rake up, shovel up 2 to comb 3 take off: Av. =uχ:- 1; Chad. χa- 2; And. =uχ:- 3; Cham. -uχ:- 3; Tind. -uχ:- 3;

Cf. also Av. lit. χ:ā- 'to rake up, shovel up' (reflecting stem II). In And. the root means also 'to take away'. The meaning 'to take off' in Andian languages has obviously developed from *'tear off, scrape off'.

| Lak. =aIχ:i- to rake up, shovel up.

G. pr. -aI-χ:u-nu. Cf. Khosr. (with reduplication) χ:li-χ:li-n 'to scratch, scrape'.

| Lezg. *ʔalχ:i- 1 to scoop up; gather 2 take away 3 choose 4 take off: Tsakh. ḃI-a=χ:la- 3; Kryz. G-ä=h- /G-iḥ- 2; Bud. a=h- 4; Arch. =erχ:la- 1.

Cf. Arch. dur. =erχ:lu-r (for final *-i), and (with the same semantic development as in Shakhdagh) ga=χ:la-s (ga=χ:lu-r) 'to take off'; Kryz. ja=h- / jih- 'to take off; to skin, take off skin'; Bud. ja=h- 'to scrape, skin, take off skin'.

| W.-Cauc. *tχ^wV 1 to rake up, shovel up 2 to tear off, tear away: Abkh. ajzā-h^wh^wa-ra 1; Abaz. az-h^wh^wa-ra 1; Ad. tχ^wə-n 1; Kab. tχ^wə-n 1; Ub. tχ^w(ə)- 2.

PAT *h^wa (with emphatic gemination, used only with reciprocal and versional prefixes); PAK *tχ^wə. The Ub. stem is used only with preverbs (ja-tχ^w-, ḃa-tχ^w- etc., see Vogt 191), and is somewhat dubious semantically. See Abdokov 1973, 68; Shagirov 2, 78.

[] The etymology seems reliable, both phonetically and semantically. On the possible PTs reflex of this root see under *-iχV 'to take, carry'.

*HēlχV (~-L-) armful: Av.-And. *hoχ:V (~ h-); Tsez. *heχu (~ h-).

| Av.-And. *hoχ:V (~ h-) armful: And. hoχ:ija; Cham. haχ:ṽ; Tind. haχ:ar; God. haχ:e.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. haχ:u. The root is provided with different suffixes (-ja in And., -r in Tind.).

| Tsez. *heχu (~ h-) armful: Gunz. heχu.

Isolated in Gunz., but having good Andian parallels.

[] An And-Tsez. isogloss.

*HēmGĀ to bite: Nakh. *aḃ-; Av.-And. *q:am- / *q:an-; Tsez. *uq- (~-iḃ^w-); Lezg. *ʔeq:i-; Khin. qin-; W.-Cauc. *qIA.

| Nakh. *aḃ- to eat: Chech. =a[?]-; Ing. =a[?]-; Bacb. =aḃ-.

One of the cases of irregular development *-q- > -ḃ- in Chech.-Ing. Also means "gnaw" in Chech.

| Av.-And. *q:am- / *q:an- 1 to bite 2 to eat (tr.): Chad. qam- 1; And. q:am- 1; Akhv. q:onu- 2; Cham. q:an- 1; Tind. q:an- 2; Kar. q:am- 2; Botl. q:am- 1; Bagv. q:an- 2; God. q:am- 1.

Cf. also Kar. Anch. q:am- 'bite', Akhv. Tseg., Ratl. q:am- 'eat'. In Akhv. the word for 'bite' is q:eleču-ru- which is probably an old compound *q:am-IV-Hiç- (see *Hiç-).

| Tsez. *uq- (~-iḃ^w-) to eat: Bezht. =uq-; Gunz. =uq-.

PGB *uq-.

| Lezg. *ʔeq:i- bite: Arch. =eq:a-.

Dur. =erq:u-r. The Arch. form is isolated within Lezghian, but has rather reliable external correspondences.

| Khin. qin- to eat.

Term. qin-i, dur. qan-dä.

| W.-Cauc. *qIA to bite: Abkh. á-c-ha-ra; Abaz. c-ha-ra; Ad. ja-ca-q:a-n; Kab. (ja)-za-q:a-n; Ub. qIḃ-.

Cf. also Abkh. Bz. -c-ha-, Ub. 1st p. sá-qIḃ-n. In PAT and PAK present is a compound with 'tooth' as a first component: PAT *cā-ha-, PAK *c:a-q:a-. PAT *h reflects rather PWC *qI (with palatalization due to Ablaut?); the normal reflex q is present in the reduplicated form PAT *qaqA (Abkh. á-qaqa-ra, Abaz. qaq-ra) = Ub. qIaqla- 'to chew'.

[] Correspondences are regular. The quality of the initial laryngeal is not quite clear (there is not enough evidence), but it must be reconstructed to account for the PWC pharyngealization.

*HēmχwV to grind: Nakh. *ʔaḥ-; Av.-And. *ʔiχ^wVn-; Tsez. *ʔab:ṽə-; Lak. ha=a-; Darg. *ʔurχ:ṽab; Lezg. *rex:I^wa; Khin. zoχ; W.-Cauc. *L^wa-ga-.

| Nakh. *ʔaḥ- to grind: Chech. aḥ-; Ing. aḥ-; Bacb. aḥ-.

A terminative verbal stem with no class markers. There are two archaic derivatives:

1) PN *hēr (obl. *hāri-, sometimes passing to dir.) "mill": Chech. ḥer (ḥēra-) 'mill' (cf. also ka-har 'hand-mill', har-χō 'miller'); Ing. hajra (erg. ḥāro) 'mill' (cf. also kel-har 'hand-mill'); Bacb. hajrī, hajrā 'mill'. 4th class in all languages.

2) PN *hāru 'meal, flour': Ing. ḥor, Bacb. hajrū, hajrī (3d class in Ing., 4th class in Bacb.).

| Av.-And. *ʔiχ^wVn- to grind: Av. χ:ené-; Chad. χen-; And. ʔiχ^wo-qi-; Tind. χ^wan-.

The And. form reflects "stem I" (with a not quite clear suffix or lexical component -qi-); Av. and Tind. reflect "stem II" (note the correspondence Av. $\chi:(\text{w})$: And. $\chi(\text{w})$ typical for reflexes of the EC $*\chi(\text{w})$ in tense words). There are several archaic derivatives:

1) PA $*\chi^w\text{obu}$ ($*?i\chi^w\text{obu}$) 'mill': Av. *hobó* (*habí-l*, *habá-l*, Chad. *hubí-l*, *habá-l*); And. *i\chi^w\text{ob}*; Akhv. $\chi^w\text{aba}$; Cham. $\chi^w\text{ab}$ (Gig. *χobu*); Tind. $\chi^w\text{abu}$; Kar. *χabu* (Anch. $\chi^w\text{aba}$, Tok. *hobu*); Botl. $\chi^w\text{abu}$; Bagv. $h^w\text{ab}$ (Tlis. $\chi^w\text{ab}$); God. $\chi^w\text{abu}$. Note that Av. here reveals a h-reflex (old dialectal variation of χ : and $*\chi > h$).

2) PA $*\chi^w\text{or-}$ (oblique base in the archaic paradigm of $*\chi^w\text{obu}$): Akhv. Tlan. plur. *χel-ar*, Kar. Anch. plur. $\chi^w\text{ar-e}$, Bagv. (obl. stem) $h^w\text{ar-}$.

Also derived from this root is Av. $\chi:\acute{a}rab$ 'meal, flour' (it could be united with PA $*\chi^w\text{or-}$, but the meaning and external evidence show that these are two different derivatives).

| Tsez. $*?ab:w\acute{a}$ to grind: Bezht. *ha?a-*; Gunz. *h\acute{o}-d-*.

The verbal root as such is attested only in PGB (probably with a metathesis: $*h\acute{o}^? \sim < ?\acute{o}h\acute{o}$). There are, however, better attested archaic nominal derivatives:

1) PTs $*\acute{b}:\acute{w}abu$ A, $*\acute{b}:\acute{w}abar$ A : PTsKh $*\acute{b}abu$, $*\acute{b}abar$ > Gin. *βemer* / *βeme* 'mill; wheel' (Lomtadze records also a variant *βlemer*), Khvarsh. *βabo* 'mill, millstone', *βabal* 'wheel', Inkh. *βobol* 'mill'; PGB $*h\acute{o}bu$, $*h\acute{o}bar$ > Bezht. *haboj* 'mill' (Khosh. *habo* 'mill', *habor* 'blades of the mill-wheel', Tlad. *habor* 'mill; wheel'), Gunz. *h\acute{o}bur* 'mill'.

2) PTs $*?ab:w\acute{a}$, $*?ab:w\acute{ar}$, reflected in Tsez. *abur* 'mill, millstone' (in dialects: Asakh. *abwir* id., Kid. $\acute{a}βlu$ / *ablu* 'mill', $\acute{a}βlur$ 'mill-wheel, wheel').

| Lak. *ha=a-* to grind.

G. pr. *ha=(u)nu*. Cf. Khosr. *ha-ja-* (aor. *ha-jun-di*) id. The root is also preserved without vowel reduction in Anlaut: *ul-χ:a-* 'to eat with appetite' ($*\text{to grind}$). These two verbal stems reflect the usual Lak. variation χ : / h (having probably a dialectal origin) and the old verbal Ablaut (in this case $*H\acute{e}m\chi wV- > ul\chi:a-$, $*H\acute{e}m\chi wV- > *\chi^wV- > ha-$). Lak. also reflects old nominal derivatives: *hara-qalu* (Khosr. *haraqalu*) 'mill', *nih* (Khosr. *nih*) 'mill-stone, wheel'.

| Darg. $*?ur\chi:w\acute{ab}$ 1 mill-stone 2 mill: Ak. *urχam* 1; Chir. *urχ:w\acute{ab}* 1,2.

Cf. also Kait. *urχ:aw*, Kub. *ūχ:ab* 'mill', Tsud. *urχ:ab* 'mill-stone'. The Darg. dialects have preserved only a nominal derivative; the deriving verb ('to grind') was lost.

| Lezg. $*re\chi:I^w\acute{a}$ 1 mill 2 to grind: Lezg. *reβ^w* 1; Tab. *raβl-in* 1; Ag. *raX* 1; Rut. *ruχl* 1; Tsakh. *joχ:la* 1; Kryz. *rāhā-ž* 2; Bud. *s-or^u* 2; Arch. *dexl^w* 1; Ud. *b-erχ-sun* 2.

The nominal root $*re\chi:I^w\acute{a}$ (which is itself an archaic verbal derivative, see below) is present in all languages except Shakhdag and Udi and belongs to the 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *rāχl^w* 'mill', Tab. Kand. *raβl* / *raβlin*, Düb. *raβla*, Ag. Fit. *raχl^w*, Tp. *ra^o* id., Kryz. *rāhā-ž*, Bud. *raha-ž* 'meal, flour'; in Arch. the root contains $-\chi l:w-$, cf. the conjunctive form *dexl:u* 'and the mill-stone' and the secondary derivative *duxl:a-t* 'mill'.

The original verbal root is not preserved as such in PL; instead, a secondary denominal stem $*re\chi:I^w\acute{a}-$ was used. Besides the listed Kryz., Bud. and Ud. forms cf.:

Lezg. *reβ^we-z*, Tab. *ra-βl-uz* (Düb. *ra-βl-us*), Ag. *ruX-as* (Bursh. *urXa-s*), Rut. *-u-ruχl^wa-s*, Tsakh. *gi-χ:I^war-es*, Arch. *de-χl:a-s* (dur. *derχl:u-r*). The verb belongs to the weak verbal class. Lezghian languages preserve also two other archaic derivatives from the same verbal root:

1) PL $*\chi:Iur$ / $*\chi:Iuj$ 'meal, flour': Lezg. *βūr* (Khl. *χūr*), Tab. *χlu* (Düb. *χluj*), Ag. *Xur* (Fit. *χIur*, Tp. *ur*, Burk. *raXu* < $*Xaruj$), Rut. *χIur*, Tsakh. *χlu* (*χluji-*), Ud. *χari*. The word belongs to the 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh.

2) PL $*\chi:Iuw(a)$ 'mill': Kryz. *huw*, Bud. *huw* / *uw* (4th class in Kryz., but 3d class in Bud.). See Bokapev 1961, 68; Leksika 1971, 174-175, 205; Giginayshvili 1977, 121; Maromarov 1966, 342.

| Khin. *zoχ* mill, mill-stone.

Pl. *cχá-bir* (with assimilation). The verbal stem *cχu-w-* 'to grind' is derived from the same root.

| W.-Cauc. $*L^w\acute{a}-ga-$ to grind: Abkh. *á-laga-ra*; Abaz. *laga-ra*; Ad. *hāžā-n*; Kab. *hāza-n*.

PAT $*laga-$; PAK $*haga-$ (intrans.; the transitive form is $*hag\acute{a}$ > Ad. *hāžā-n*, Kab. *hāza-n*). See Deeters 1931, 290; 1963, 39; Shagirov 2, 117.

[] One of the cases of the non-trivial correspondence PEC $*\chi w$ (with tense phonation) : PWC $*L^w$ (cf. also $*\chi Hw\acute{e}je$ 'dog'); note in both cases the existence of an oblique stem or derivatives in $-r-$. See Abdokov 1983, 181-182.

For PEC several nominal derivatives can be reconstructed: 1) $*r-H\acute{e}m\chi wV$ 'mill, mill-stone' > Lak. *nih*, PL $*re\chi:I^w\acute{a}$, Khin. *zoχ*. 2) $*H\acute{e}m\chi wV-rV$, (with Ablaut and/or reduction) $*H\acute{e}m\chi wV-rV > *\chi HwVrV$ 'mill, mill-stone' > PN $*h\acute{e}r$, PA $*\chi^w\text{or-}$, PTs $*?ab:w\acute{ar}$, Lak. *hara-qalu*.

3) $*H\acute{e}m\chi wV-rV > *\chi HwVrV$ 'meal, flour' > PN $*h\acute{a}ru$, Av. $\chi:ara-b$, PL $*\chi:Iur$. This form probably differed from the second one in vocalism (cf. the opposition in PN), which is rather hard to reconstruct in this case.

4) $*H\acute{e}m\chi wV-w\bar{V} > *\chi HwVw\bar{V}$ 'mill, mill-stone' > Av. *hobó*, PA $*?i\chi^w\text{obu}$ / $*\chi^w\text{obu}$, PTs $*\acute{b}:\acute{w}ab\acute{a}$, $*\acute{b}:\acute{w}abar$, PL $*\chi:Iuw(a)$.

It is rather difficult to attribute the PD form $*?ur\chi:w\acute{ab}$ / $*?ur\chi:w\acute{am}$: the latter variant probably reflects (with metathesis) the second stem (PEC $*H\acute{e}m\chi wVrV$ 'mill'); the former variant may actually represent a contamination of the second and the fourth stems.

A NC source is probable for Osset. *k^wiroj* / *kurojnā* 'mill' (the Indo-European etymology of it is hardly possible, see Abayev 1958, 612).

$*HenqwV$ meadow, plot: Tsez. $*?o\chi V$ ($\sim \acute{a}, \acute{v}, \acute{b}:$); Lezg. $*?e\chi I^w-$ ($\sim *?u\chi I-$); Khin. *inqa*.

| Tsez. $*?o\chi V$ ($\sim \acute{a}, \acute{v}, \acute{b}:$) a small plot of land: Bezht. *ōβā* (Khosh.).

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. $*?e\chi I^w-$ ($\sim *?u\chi I-$) 1 virgin soil, fallow 2 meadow: Tab. *uχlaw*; Rut. *uχla-l* (Ibragimov).

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *uχlaw* 'virgin soil, fallow'.

| Khin. *inqa* field.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level.

*HērcV- to stand up, to raise: Nakh. *l-abç-; Av.-And. *hirç-; Tsez. *ɔç- (~u-, -ü-); Lak. =a=ça-.

| Nakh. *l-abç- lean upon a staff while stepping: Chech. *l-owz-*.

Isolated in Chech., but obviously archaic. Length of vowel is determined by forms like *lewz-ira*, *lewz-ina*. There exists also a durative stem *līz-* < *l-ēbç-.

| Av.-And. *hirç- 1 stand up 2 raise 3 high: And. *hirçi* 3, *hirç-* 1; Akhv. *heç-* 1, 2, *heçeda* 3; Cham. *heçu-b* 3, *heç-* 2; Tind. *heçu-b* 3; Kar. *herço-b* 3; Botl. *hirçi* 3; Bagv. *heçu-b* 3; God. *hiçi* 3.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *hinz-* 'to stand up', *hinzi* 'high'. Tind. *hec:-* 'to stand up (from a sitting position)' is modified from *heç- under the influence of *heç:-* 'to stand up'.

| Tsez. *ɔç- (~u-, -ü-) stop, detain: Gin. =oç-*era*.

A causative formation. Cf. perhaps also (with Ablaut) Bezht. Tlad. -iç- in =aß-iç- 'to stand up'; -oç- in =eçe-n-oç- 'to stand'.

| Lak. =a=ça- stand.

G. pr. =a=çu-nu. Cf. Khosr. =a=ça-n id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Class prefixation in Lak. and Tsezian is probably secondary (cf. the prefixless structure *hirç- in PA). PN *-b- is a former aspective (plural) marker.

The root *HērcV- has a parallel in HU *asχ- (< *arc- with a typical HU development): Hurr. *ašχ-* 'to raise; endow', *ašχu/o* 'high, upper', Urart. *ašχ-* 'to endow' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 47).

*HērxwA / *HēwxwA to comb; to scratch, scrape: Av.-And. *oχ^w-; Lak. =ulχ:a-; Darg. *ʔabχ^w- / *ʔibχ^w-; Lezg. *ʔerχ^wa; W.-Cauc. *χ^wa.

| Av.-And. *oχ^w- to comb: And. =oχ^w-.

Attested only in Andian, but having good external parallels.

| Lak. =ulχ:a- to comb.

G. pr. =ul=χ:u-n. In Khosr. the root (=ulχ:i-n) is used only to denote "to comb (wool)"; for hair-combing a derivate *z-iχ:li-n* is used.

| Darg. *ʔabχ^w- / *ʔibχ^w- to comb: Ak. *abχ-es*; Chir. *abχ-* / *ibχ-*.

| Lezg. *ʔerχ^wa 1 to comb 2 to scratch, scrape 3 comb (n.): Lezg. *çuχ^wa-* 2; Tab. *ž^v-u=χ-* 1; Ag. *ž-irχ-* 1; Tsakh. *giw-a=χa-* 1; Arch. =eχ:a- 1; Ud. *oχ* 3.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *ži=χ-*, Ag. Bursh. *žurχa-*, Arch. dur. =erχ:u-r. All reflexes point uniformly to *-χ^w-, except Arch. -χ:-. Tense -χ:- in Archi should be probably explained by the influence of *gobχ:a-s* 'to scratch, scrape' (or the Lak. form =uχ:la-n?). Lezg., Tab. and Ag. reflect a stem with an expressive preverb (*č:- or *č-).

| W.-Cauc. *χ^wa 1 to scratch 2 to rub: Abkh. *a-h^wa-ra* 1; Abaz. *h^wa-ra* 1; Ad. *χ^wa-n* 2; Kab. *χ^wa-n* 2; Ub. *χ^waχ^wa-* 1.

PAT *h^wa; PAK *χ^wa (cf. also *ta-χ^wa- 'to scratch' > Ad., Kab. *taχ^wa-*); Ub. *sə-χ^waχ^wa-n*. The Ub. form is reduplicated.

See Abdokov 1973, 69; Shagirov 2, 86, 112.

[] A reliable common NC verbal root; correspondences are regular. See Abdokov 1983, 182.

*=HēwxV(n) to become warm, hot, catch fire: Nakh. *ʔabχ-V(n); Av.-And. *iχVn-; Tsez. *iχ:V- A; Darg. *uχ:(Vn)-; Lezg. *ʔeχVn- (~l-).

| Nakh. *ʔabχ-V(n) hot: Chech. =owχa; Ing. =ajχa; Bacb. =apχē.

This adjective is a derivate from a verbal root *ʔōbχ-/ʔēbχ-, reflected in Bacb. =epχ-dar 'to warm up' (dur.), =opχ-dar id. (term. = Chech. =oχ-dan). Cf. also other Bacb. derivatives: *jopχ* "heat", *dopχ* "sweat", *dapχ-na* "heat", *japχol* "warmth".

| Av.-And. *iχVn- 1 warm 2 to kindle 3 to become heated: Av. *χína-b* 1; Chad. *χéna-b* 1; Akhv. =iχ(ũ) 2; Tind. =iχ- 3.

In Av. Chad. h- would be expected normally; χ- should probably be explained by the influence of literary Avar. An Ablaut variant of the same root is PA *ʔoχ^wVn- 'to boil, seethe' > And. *oχ^won-* (the MSU recording is *oχ:ʔon-*, which is probably a misspelling), Akhv. *āχun-*, Cham. *aχ^wa-ta-d-* (Gig. *aχaχ-*), Kar. *ahan-* (Anch. *āχuχ^w-*, Tok. *ūhūh-*), God. *āwuχ-*.

| Tsez. *iχ:V- A warm: Gin. =eχχes; Khvarsh. =eχχu; Inkh. =iχχu; Bezht. *ixijo*; Gunz. =iχχu.

PTsKh *iχ-, PGB *iχ-. This is a verbal stem, cf. Gunz. =iχ-la 'to warm up, get warm'.

| Darg. *uχ:(Vn)- to burn (intr.): Ak. =uχ-es.

| Lezg. *ʔeχVn- (~l-) to catch fire: Arch. *eχmus* (*eχin-*).

The verb is isolated in Arch., but has probable external correspondences.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. "Lax" phonation (hence *-χ-) is suggested by PN, PA and PL reflexes; however, the PTs and Darg. forms point rather to *=HēwxV(n). Reasons for this variation are not quite clear.

*=HēxwV to pour, scatter: Av.-And. *χ:ʔV-l-; Lak. =alχ:i-; Lezg. *ʔeχ^wa (~ *ʔeχi).

| Av.-And. *χ:ʔV-l- to rinse, paddle: Kar. *χ:ul-* (*Archo*).

Cf. also Rach., Rats. *χ:ul-* id. Attested only in Kar., with possible external parallels.

| Lak. =alχ:i- to wash off, wash away.

G. pr. =al=χ:u-nu. The verb is homophonic with =alχ:i- 'to rake up, shovel up' (q.v.), which is probably a result of secondary merger.

| Lezg. *ʔeχ^wa (~ *ʔeχi) 1 to pour 2 to scatter, strew 3 to sift, screen: Lezg. *al-aχ-* 2; Kryz. *q:-aχ-* 1; Bud. 'aχ- 3; Arch. =eχa- 1.

Arch. dur. =erχu-r. Cf. also Arch. (with secondary -n-conjugation?) *e=χin-* 'to rain'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Andian reflex is not quite secure (unclear is the -l-conjugation), but the Lak-Lezg. parallel is all right.

*HəGwĒ(n) to close, cover: Nakh. *=[u]q-; Av.-And. *=[i]q:ʔV(n)-; Tsez. =ūq- / =īq-; Lak. =a=q-i; Darg. *ʔalβiʔVn-; Lezg. *ʔaq:l^wā; W.-Cauc. *q^wə.

| Nakh. *=[u]q- to stop up, plug: Chech. =uq-; Ing. =iq-; Bacb. =uq-.

The vowel -i- in Ing. is unclear. Bacb. also has a durative stem *apq-* (< *ʔabq-).

| Av.-And. $*=[i]q:V(n)$ - 1 be closed, shut; compress 2 to close 3 close eyes: Av. $q:a-$ 1; Chad. $q:a-$ 1; And. $joq:an-$ 2; Akhv. $eq:-$ 2; Tind. $=aq:w\tilde{i}-$ 1,2; Kar. $q:ij\tilde{a}-$ 3.

Stem I, besides the cited forms, is reflected in Av. $=uq:-$ 'to shrink, be compressed', $req:e-$ 'to be adjusted, fit' (= Av. Chad. $req\acute{e}(l)-$ 'to be closed, close'), And. $=uq:-$ (*'to compel' >) 'to drive, urge, expel'; with the nasal conjugation - in Akhv. $=uq:un-$ 'to close eyes', Kar. $ruq:an-$ 'to close, compress'. Stem II $*q:(w)in-$, besides, the Kar. form $q:ij\tilde{a}-$, is reflected in And. $q:in-$ 'to be stuck; to press, compress', Akhv. $q:in-$ 'to press, squeeze' (also reduplicated: $q:iq:in-$). We should also mention a nasalless stem II $*q:w\tilde{a}b-$ (~ -o-) 'to wink, blink' (*'close eyes') > Cham. $q:ab-$, Kar. $q:w\tilde{a}b-$, and a reduplicated stem > Av. $q:aq:a-$ 'to exert pressure; to rumple', Akhv. Tseg. $m-aq:ajq:w-$, Tlan. $m-aq:oq:ejj-$ 'to drive, expel'. Av. $q:aq:a-$ > Bezht. Khosh. $q\acute{a}q\acute{a}zi$ =owal 'to press, compress'.

The phonetic and semantic range of Av.-And. forms here is extremely wide, and one can suspect that we deal here not with one, but with two or several original roots; they are, however, so intertwined that it seems almost impossible to distinguish them at this point.

| Tsez. $*=\tilde{u}q-$ / $=\tilde{i}q-$ to close: Tsez. $=uq-$; Khvarsh. $=\tilde{u}q-$; Bezht. $=\tilde{i}q-$ (Tlad.); Gunz. $=\tilde{i}q-$.

PTsKh $*=\tilde{u}q-$; PGB $*=\tilde{i}q-$. The vowel correspondence between PTsKh and PGB is irregular.

| Lak. $=a=q\tilde{i}-$ to close in, place in; be covered.

G. pr. $=a=q\tilde{u}-nu$. With a preverb l- cf. also $la=q\tilde{i}-n$ ($la=q\tilde{u}-nu$), Khosr. $laq^w\tilde{i}-n$ 'to close, be closed'.

| Darg. $*?al\beta I^wVn-$ to fasten, button up: Ak. il^c-es .

Cf. also Ur. al^cVn- / ul^c- id.

| Lezg. $*?aq:I^w\tilde{a}$ to lock, fasten: Tab. $qI-a=q:I-$ (Düb); Rut. $s-a=q:e-$; Arch. $d-aq:Ia-$.

Cf. Arch. dur. $darq:Iur$. Unclear is the loss of pharyngealisation in Rut. (cf. also $l-a=q:e-$ 'to unlock'). Besides the forms mentioned above, we must note a strange development in lit. Tabasaran and the Southern dialect: $qI-a=q:I-$ (with irregular $-qI-$, opposed to regular $-q:I-$ in Northern Tab.). This could be a separate root, connected with Arch. $erqI^win-$ 'to conceal, put away' - however, the Archi form itself may be related to $d-aq:Ia-s$ (in most forms $-qI^w-$ here occurs in a syllable-final position - like inf. $erqI^wmus$ etc. - and it may in fact represent the morphonemic $*q:I^w$).

| W.-Cauc. $*q^w\tilde{a}$ 1 to fasten, button up 2 fastening, button: Ad. $\acute{e}\tilde{a}-2^w\tilde{a}$; Kab. $\acute{s}\tilde{a}-2^w$; Ub. $q\tilde{a}-$.

PAK $*\acute{e}\tilde{a}-2^w\tilde{a}$; Ub. $a-s-q\tilde{a}-n$. The meaning of the component $*\acute{e}\tilde{a}-$ ($*\acute{e}\tilde{a}-$) in PAK is not clear.

[] A widely represented common NC verbal root. It reveals a constant variation between -0 and -n-conjugations (in PA, probably also in PL); it is, therefore, not excluded that we deal here with a merger of two (or more) individual verbal roots (see above in the Andian part), which are now almost impossible to separate from each other. A possible old nominal derivative see under $*hGunu$.

$*H\acute{e}r\check{c}wVn$ to become cloudy, dull (of weather): Nakh. $*ja\check{c}-$; Av.-And. $*-ir\check{c}^w-$; Lak. $=a\check{s}:a-$ / $=a\check{s}:i-$; Lezg. $*raI\check{c}(^w)Vn-$ (~ -s-).

| Nakh. $*ja\check{c}-$ 1 to be cloudy, dull (of weather) 2 to rain: Chech. $ja\check{c}-$ 1; Ing. $ja\check{c}-$ 2; Bacb. $ja\check{c}-$ 2.

| Av.-And. $*-ir\check{c}^w(Vn)-$ to become cloudy (of weather): Av. $ro\check{c}:n-$; Kar. $\lambda-or\check{c}-$.

In Kar. $\lambda-$ is an expressive prefix (cf. also Anch., Archo. $or\check{c}-$ id.).

| Lak. $=a\check{s}:a-$ / $=a\check{s}:i-$ to become cloudy (of weather).

G. pr. $=a\check{s}:u-nu$.

| Lezg. $*raI\check{c}(^w)Vn-$ (~ -s-) to become cloudy (of sky, weather): Arch. $daI=\check{s}in-$.

Attested only in Archi, but having good external parallels.

$*=H\acute{e}\chi Vr-$ to know, perceive: Av.-And. $*=i\chi^w-/*?i\chi^wVn-(\sim q^w)$; Darg. $*=a\chi-/*=u\chi:Vl-$; Lezg. $*?a\chi I:a-$; Khin. $d-a\chi i$; W.-Cauc. $*\chi(I)a-$.

| Av.-And. $*=i\chi^w-/*?i\chi^wVn-(\sim q^w)$ 1 to know 2 to be able 3 to be possible: Av. $=eh-$ 3; Chad. $=eh-$ 3; Cham. $e\chi^wn-2,3,=e\chi^w-I$; Tind. $e\chi^w\tilde{i}-$ 2.

Cf. also Cham. $beh-id-$, Tind. $=eh-$ 'to be possible' - obviously borrowed from Avar and coexisting with genuine reflexes $e\chi^wVn-$, $e\chi^w\tilde{i}-$.

| Darg. $*=a\chi-/*=u\chi:Vl-$ know: Ak. $=ah-/=al-$; Chir. $ha=a(r)\chi-,=u\chi:-$.

Cf. also Ur. $=ah(r)-/=al-$ id. The form $=al-$ in Ak. and Ur. is obviously a contraction from $=ahl-$ (or $=alh-$), cf. Chir. $=u\chi:ul-$. The root reveals a rather strange alternation of $-\chi-$ and $-\chi:-$.

| Lezg. $*?a\chi I:a-$ 1 to know 2 to teach 3 be able 4 teaching, lesson: Tab. $a\beta Iu-I$; Ag. $aha-$ 1; Tsakh. $=a\chi I:a-$ 1,3; Kryz. $ha-r\ jeri\check{z}$ 2; Ud. $a\chi I$ 4.

A verbal stem, but mostly with a defective paradigm (only compound gerund forms in Tab., Ag. and Kryz.); Udi has preserved an old deverbative noun.

| Khin. $d-a\chi i$ to see (dur.).

| W.-Cauc. $*\chi(I)a-$ 1 to hear 2 to be heard, reach one's ears: Abkh. $a-ha-ra$ 1; Abaz. $ha-ra,^s a-ha-ra2$.

PAT $*ha-$. The PWC reconstruction is tentative: without Ub. and AK parallels we could reconstruct $*\chi$, $*\check{\chi}$, $*qI$, $*q\tilde{I}$, $*\chi I$ or $*\check{\chi} I$.

[] The original $*-r$ -declension is preserved in PD; traces of it are perhaps also seen in PL (although the verb has a defective paradigm there). The verb may have had a second stem, $*-H\acute{e}\chi Vl-$ (or, $*-Ho\chi Vl-$ with Ablaut) reflected in PD as $*-u\chi Vl-$ and in PA as $*-i\chi^wVn-$. The source of the PA labialisation is not quite clear - perhaps we should reconstruct $*-H\acute{e}m\chi Vr-$ or $*-H\acute{e}w\chi Vr-$ with a medial labial resonant.

$*=H\acute{e}\chi wAn$ to quarrel, fight: Av.-And. $*=i\chi Vn$ (~ -q-); Lak. $=aha-$; Darg. $*=a\chi I^w-$ (~ - $\chi:I^w-$); Lezg. $*?a\chi:w\tilde{a}n$ (~ -en); W.-Cauc. $*\chi I^wa$.

| Av.-And. $*=i\chi Vn$ (~ -q-) to hate: Cham. $jixan-$.

Attested only in Cham., but having probable external parallels. j- is probably an original class marker.

| Lak. $=aha-$ to quarrel.

G. pr. $=ah-nu$.

| Darg. $*=a\chi I^w-$ (~ $-\chi:I^w-$) to fight: Ak. $=al\dot{h}^w-$ / $=ir\dot{h}^w-$.

An Ur. form (cited from Uslar's recordings).

| Lezg. $*?a\chi:w\ddot{a}n$ (~ $-en$) 1 to quarrel 2 to fight 3 war, fight: Lezg. $q:-ex\ddot{u}n-$ 1; Ag. $al-uxI-$ 1; Kryz. $=\ddot{a}\chi n-$ 2; Arch. $an\chi$ 3.

The Archi word is an old nominal derivate and points to original $*\chi:w$ (cf. plur. $an\chi:-um$). The Lezg. and Ag. forms, however, favour the reconstruction of weak $*-\chi^w-$. The reason for this is not quite clear (influence of other verbs of "beating", e.g. PL $*t:-ar\chi V-$, $*jir\chi Ia-$ q.v. ? - The latter would explain also the irregular pharyngealisation in the Agul form).

| W.-Cauc. $*\chi I^w a$ 1 to curse, offend 2 curse, offence: Abkh. $\acute{a}-\dot{c}^w-\dot{h}a-ra$ 1; Abaz. $\dot{c}^w-\dot{h}a-ra$ 1; Ad. $\chi^w\ddot{a}na-n$ 1; Kab. $ja-\chi^w\ddot{a}na-n$ 1; Ub. $\dot{c}^w\ddot{a}-\chi I\acute{a}$ 2.

PAT $*c^w\ddot{a}-\dot{h}a-$ (a compound with $*c^w\ddot{a}-$ 'bad, evil' = Ub. $\dot{c}^w\ddot{a}-\chi I\acute{a}$). PAK $*\chi^w a-na-$ 'to curse' is actually a nominal derivate from $*\chi^w a-na$ 'curse' (preserved in Kab. $\chi^w an$), which itself is originally a nominal form of the verbal stem $*\chi^w a-$. Delabialisation in PAT and Ub. is due to dissimilation (with the labialised $\dot{c}^w-$ of the 1st compound element). Cf. also PAK $*\chi^w\ddot{a}-\dot{c}a-$ > Kab., Ad. $\chi^w\ddot{a}\dot{s}a-n$ 'to quarrel, swear, grumble' (probably borrowed into Ubykh as $\chi^w\ddot{a}\dot{c}a-$ / $\chi^w\ddot{a}\dot{c}a-$ 'être excité'). In Abaz. there are also variants $\dot{h}^w a-\dot{c}^w a-ra$ 'to prate, twaddle', $\dot{c}^w\dot{g}a-\dot{h}^w a-ra$ 'to talk scandal' (but these may contain PAT $*h^w a$ 'to speak').

[] The etymology seems reliable both phonetically and semantically.

$*=H\ddot{a}\chi wV$ to get cold, freeze: Nakh. $*=ah-$; Av.-And. $*=ux(Vn)-$; Tsez. $*\dot{b}:\dot{t}-du$; Lak. $l-i=hi-$; Darg. $*=a\chi:I-$.

| Nakh. $*=ah-$ to be (get) frost-bitten: Chech. $=ah-\ddot{o}$; Ing. $=oha-be$.

| Av.-And. $*=ux(Vn)-$ get cold, freeze: Av. $=\acute{u}h-ine$; And. $zar-\chi u-$; Akhv. $\dot{c}:-uru-$; Tind. $zar-ux-$.

The And. and Tind. word has $zar-$ 'ice' as the 1st component. Like in some other cases, there's a vacillation between $-n$ and $-r$ -conjugations.

| Tsez. $*\dot{b}:\dot{t}-du$ shadow: Tsez. $\dot{b}edu$; Gin. $\dot{b}edu$; Khvarsh. $\dot{b}edu$; Inkh. $\dot{b}idu$; Bezht. $\dot{h}ido-ci$; Gunz. $\dot{h}\ddot{u}du-la$.

PTsKh $*\dot{b}idu$; PGB $*\dot{h}\ddot{u}du-$ (in Gunz. probably $\dot{h}\ddot{u}du-$ < $*\dot{h}\ddot{u}du-$ through vowel assimilation).

| Lak. $l-i=hi-$ get cold, freeze.

G. pr. $l-i=hu-nu$. An archaic derivate is probably $\chi:Iu-t$ (Khosr. $\chi:Iu-t$ 'shadow' (cf. the Darg. and Tsez. parallels), with a Proto-Lak. dialectal variation $\chi:I$ / h (typical for reflexes of uvular fricatives).

| Darg. $*=a\chi:I-$ get cold: Chir. $=a\chi:I-$ / $=i\chi:I-$.

In Chir. there also exists a verbal stem $=er\chi:-$ / $=ur\chi:-$ 'to get cold, freeze', and the adjective $=ux:an-ze$ 'cold'. Derived from the same root are words for 'shadow': Ak. $dal\dot{h}-\dot{c}i$, Chir. $ta\chi-t:e$ (probably with assimilation < $*d-a\chi:-t:V$).

It seems probable that the two PD roots ('get cold' and 'freeze') underwent contamination in different Dargwa dialects. The external evidence shows that PD must have originally possessed $*=a\chi:I-$ 'to get cold' and $*=ar\dot{b}^w-$ / $*=ir\dot{b}^w-$

'to freeze'. The Chirag dialect preserved the first root, but changed the second (under the influence of the first root) to $=er\chi:-$ / $(=ir\chi^w:-)$ > $-ur\chi:-$. Other dialects merged both roots into a single conglomerate: $*=ar\dot{b}I^w-$ / $*=ir\dot{b}I^w-$ (see under $*=irGwVr$).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. The semantic correlation 'cold, coolness' : 'shadow' (occurring in PTs, Lak. and PD) is quite usual in NC languages.

$*=Hi\dot{c}V$ to rot, ferment: Av.-And. $*=i\dot{c}:-$; Lezg. $*?i\dot{c}\ddot{a}$ (~ $-e$).

| Av.-And. $*=i\dot{c}:-$ 1 to ferment 2 to turn sour: Av. $=e\dot{c}:-$ 1; Chad. $=ecn-$ 1; Kar. $=e\dot{c}:an-$ 2.

Cf. also Kar. Anch. $=e\dot{c}:-$ 'to turn sour'. The root reveals a variation between -0 and $-n$ -conjugation.

| Lezg. $*?i\dot{c}\ddot{a}$ (~ $-e$) to rot: Rut. $s-i=\dot{c}e-$; Tsakh. $qI-i=\dot{c}e-$; Kryz. $s-\ddot{a}=\dot{c}-$; Bud. $s-e=\dot{c}-$; Arch. $\dot{s}el-$.

Cf. also Arch. dur. $\dot{s}elr\dot{s}i-r$ (a reduplication). See Talibov 1980, 300.

[] An Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss.

$*=Hi\dot{c}\ddot{A}I$ naked, bare: Nakh. $*=ar\dot{c}-$; Av.-And. $*hin\dot{c}:V-$ (~ $h-$); Darg. $*lim\dot{c}al-$; Lezg. $*\dot{q}\ddot{a}-\dot{c}VI-$; Khin. $\dot{c}i-tar$; W.-Cauc. $*p(\ddot{a})\dot{c}V$.

| Nakh. $*=ar\dot{c}-$ naked, bare: Chech. $=erzina$; Ing. $=erzana$; Bacb. $=ar\dot{c}in\ddot{o}$.

The pure stem is preserved in Bacb. $=ar\dot{c}-dalar$ 'to become naked, take off clothes'. PN $*=ar\dot{c}i-no$ is historically a participial form.

| Av.-And. $*hin\dot{c}:V-$ (~ $h-$) naked, bare: Av. $\acute{r}i\dot{c}:a-b$; Chad. $\acute{r}i\dot{c}-gu-jab$; Cham. $\dot{s}in-kura$; Tind. $hinc:u-ra\chi:u-b$.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. $\dot{c}:in-\dot{c}a\dot{q}:ulda$ 'naked'. In Tind. and Cham. the root $*hin\dot{c}:V-$ is provided by expressive suffixes. [In Cham. Gig. $-\dot{c}a\dot{q}:ul-da$ may be a remnant of another root, possibly reflected (with distortions) in Darg. $\dot{c}aIn\dot{k}(u)-si$ and Lak. $\dot{k}a\dot{c}a-s:a$ 'naked'; cf. also Akhv. (cited from Khaidakov 1973, thus not very reliable), $\dot{q}:u\dot{c}a$ 'naked'.]

| Darg. $*lim\dot{c}al-$ naked: Kait. $lim\dot{c}al$.

| Lezg. $*\dot{q}\ddot{a}-\dot{c}VI-$ naked: Lezg. $\dot{q}e\dot{c}il$; Tab. $\dot{b}Ia\dot{c}li$; Ag. $\dot{q}Ia\dot{c}ul-f$; Rut. $\dot{b}a\dot{c}ul-di$; Tsakh. $\dot{c}ele-n$; Kryz. $\dot{q}\ddot{a}\dot{c}in$; Bud. $\dot{q}\ddot{a}\dot{c}in$.

Most forms - except Tsakhur - contain the adjectival prefix $*\dot{q}\ddot{a}-$. Cf. also Tab. Düb. $\dot{q}Ia\dot{c}li$, Ag. Bursh. $\dot{q}ar\dot{c}le-r$, Burk. $\dot{q}a\dot{c}ul-f$ (pharyngealization in most Tab. and Ag. dialects is secondary before the front vowel $*\ddot{a}$). Within the complex stem $*\dot{q}\ddot{a}$ + class markers + $*\dot{c}VI-$ there could occur different combinatory changes (vocalic and consonantal).

See Magometov 1966, 340; Leksika 1971, 217.

| Khin. $\dot{c}i-tar$ naked, bare.

| W.-Cauc. $*p(\ddot{a})\dot{c}V$ naked: Ad. $\dot{p}\dot{c}\ddot{a}na$; Kab. $\dot{p}\dot{c}\ddot{a}na$; Ub. $-\dot{p}\dot{c}\ddot{a}$.

PAK $*\dot{p}\dot{c}a-na$. The root is also used in compounds $*\lambda a-\dot{p}\dot{c}\ddot{a}$ 'bare-footed' (Kab. $\lambda\ddot{a}m\dot{c}a$ / $\lambda\ddot{a}\dot{p}\dot{c}a$, Ad. $\lambda\ddot{a}\dot{p}\dot{c}a$) = Ub. $\lambda a-\dot{p}\dot{c}\ddot{a}$ and $*\dot{s}ha-\dot{p}\dot{c}\ddot{a}$ 'bare-headed' (Kab. $\dot{s}ham\dot{c}a$ / $\dot{s}hap\dot{c}a$, Ad. $\dot{s}h\ddot{a}\dot{p}\dot{c}a$) = Ub. $\dot{s}a-\dot{p}\dot{c}\ddot{a}$.

Shagirov (2,49-50) proposes to compare PAK $*\dot{p}\dot{c}a$ rather with Ub. $\dot{p}\dot{c}a$ 'clean' (thus considering Ub. $-\dot{p}\dot{c}\ddot{a}$ a loan from Ad.). This seems to us less likely, because Ub. $\dot{p}\dot{c}a$ has a different etymology (see PWC $*\dot{p}\ddot{a}zV$ 'clean'), and we prefer

to follow Abdokov (1973, 57, 65).

[] As many other adjectival stems, PNC $*=H\dot{i}\check{c}\check{A}l-$ could have suffixed class markers, turning to $*=H\dot{i}\check{c}lV-$ > $*=H\dot{i}l\check{c}V-$ (this process could occur independently in different subgroups). The latter form is reflected in PN and PA - but archaic Lezghian and Dargwa data speak in favour of the original structure $*=H\dot{i}\check{c}\check{A}l-$. The root could also use prefixed class markers, which are preserved in Nakh languages and have left traces in some Lezghian languages, as well as in PWC $*p(\partial)-$. Despite all these difficulties, the etymology seems both phonetically and semantically quite satisfactory.

$*=H\dot{i}\check{c}\check{A}n$ (~ $-\check{c}-$) to press, squeeze: Lak. $la\check{c}u-$; Darg. $*=a\check{c}Vn-$; Lezg. $*\dot{i}r\check{c}Vn-$ (~ $h-$); W.-Cauc. $*b\check{a}\check{c}\check{a}$.

| Lak. $la\check{c}u-$ to seize, clutch, cling.

G. pr. $la=\check{c}u-n$. Cf. also Khosr. $la\check{c}u-n$ 'to cling, stick to'.

| Darg. $*=a\check{c}Vn-$ to press, squeeze: Chir. $=a\check{c}-$ / $=a\check{c}\check{c}-$.

Cf. also Ur. $=a\check{c}Vn-$ / $=a\check{c}l\check{c}-$ id.

| Lezg. $*\dot{i}r\check{c}Vn-$ (~ $h-$) to press, squeeze: Rut. $=ir(i)\check{c}a-$; Tsakh. $ho=\check{c}an-$; Arch. $\check{c}al\check{c}n-$.

| W.-Cauc. $*b\check{a}\check{c}\check{a}$ 1 to rumple, crumple 2 to press, be pressed: Abkh. $a-r-b\check{a}\check{c}-r\check{a}$ 1; Abaz. $r-b\check{c}-ra$ 1; Ub. $b\check{a}\check{c}(\check{a})-$ 2.

PAT $*r\check{a}-b\check{a}\check{c}\check{a}$ (with a causative prefix; cf. also Bzyb. $a-r-b\check{a}\check{c}-r\check{a}$ 'to rumple'); Ub. $a-b\check{a}\check{c}\check{a}-n$ 'il est opprimé', $a-s\check{a}-b\check{a}\check{c}\check{a}-n$ 'je le presse'. The correspondence PAT $*\check{c}$: Ub. $\check{c}$ points to PWC non-palatalized $*\check{c}$.

[] The EC-WC parallel is reliable both phonetically and semantically. The PWC form (like many others) contains a former class prefix $*b-$.

$*=H\dot{i}G\check{A}$ to freeze, get cold, be benumbed: Nakh. $*b\check{o}r$; Av.-And. $*=i\check{b}-$; Lak. $=a\check{c}l=i-q:i-$; Lezg. $*\dot{i}ql\check{a}-$; Khin. $q:i$; W.-Cauc. $*q:\check{a}$.

| Nakh. $*b\check{o}r$ 1 cold (n.) 2 freeze: Chech. $b\check{o}r-\check{o}$ 2; Bacb. $\check{b}or$ 1.

4th class in Bacb. Cf. also Bacb. $\check{b}or-\check{i}$ 'cold as ice', $\check{b}or-dar$ 'freeze'. Historically this is a verbal root with a suffixed $-r$. A trace of the vocalized stem $*-a\check{b}-$ is probably present in the compound Chech. $\dot{i}n-da\check{b}$, Ing. $\dot{i}n-dar\check{b}\check{a}$ 'shadow'.

| Av.-And. $*=i\check{b}-$ to get cold, freeze: And. $=e\check{b}-e\check{s}-$; Cham. $=e\check{b}-a\lambda-$.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. $=e\check{b}-i\check{c}-$ (the root $*-i\check{b}-$ is attested only within compound verbs).

| Lak. $=a\check{c}l=i-q:i-$ grow cold; catch cold.

Pret. $=a\check{c}l=i-q:u-nu$. Cf. also the derivatives: $dalrq:u$ (gen. $dalq:i-l$) 'cold; rheumatism', $dalirq:u-s:a$ 'cold' (adj.).

| Lezg. $*\dot{i}ql\check{a}-$ 1 get cold 2 cold 3 to go out, be extinguished: Lezg. $el-\dot{u}q-iz$ 3; Tab. $aqlu$ 2; $abqlubl$; Ag. $d-aqla-s$ 1; Rut. $s-a-qla-s$ 3; Tsakh. $\check{c}a-aqla-s$ 3; Bud. $\dot{s}at\check{c}a$ 2; Arch. $\chi le-t:ut$ 2.

Cf. also Arch. $a=\chi la-s$ (dur. $=ar\chi lu-r$) 'to be extinguished, go out'. A verbal stem, belonging to the strong verb class in PL. Most forms reflect the Ablaut grade $*\check{a}$ ($*\dot{i}ql\check{a}-$); the grade $*-i-$ is preserved in Arch. $\chi le-$ (< $*\dot{i}ql\check{a}-$ 'cold').

Most Lezghian languages have derived from this root words for 'shadow': Lezg. qen (Khl. $\check{a}ql\check{a}n$), Tab. Düb. $d-aqlin$ (Kand. $d-aqlun$ 'mountain shadow'), Ag. aql (Bursh. $d-aql$), Rut. aql / $aqlan$, Tsakh. aql , Arch. $ej\chi lurt$.

| Khin. $q:i$ cold.

Cf. also $q:\check{a}-wil$ id.

| W.-Cauc. $*q:\check{a}$ to be benumbed, dumbfounded (by cold, surprise etc.): Ad. $q:\check{a}-n$; Kab. $q:\check{a}-n$; Ub. $q(\check{a})-$.

PAK $*q:\check{a}$ (see Kuipers 64); Ub. $s\check{a}-q\check{a}-n$. In Shapsugh the verb also means 'to harden' (which may be a contamination with another WC root, $*q:\check{w}a$ q.v.).

[] PN and Khin. have preserved only nominal derivatives of the root; in PL and Lak. it still functions as a verb. The vocalic reconstruction is not quite certain because of reduction in PN (in a suffixed derivate) and pharyngealization. The EC-WC comparison seems both phonetically and semantically reasonable. See Abdokov 1983, 175.

$*=H\dot{i}b\check{w}E(r)$ to beat: Av.-And. $*=u\check{b}-$ / $*\check{b}ur-$; Tsez. $*\check{b}:\check{e}\check{b}-$; Lak. $\check{b}a=\check{b}a-$; Lezg. $*\dot{V}b\check{I}(\check{w})V$ (~ $-q:-$); W.-Cauc. $*\check{b}I^wV$.

| Av.-And. $*=u\check{b}-$ / $*\check{b}ur-$ 1 to hit 2 to break up, crush: Av. $\check{b}ur-$ 2; Cham. $=u\check{b}-l$; Tind. $=u\check{b}-l, \check{b}urij-$ 2; God. $=u\check{b}-l$.

As in many other verbal roots, two stems are represented: stem I $*=u\check{b}-$ and stem II $*\check{b}u-r-$.

| Tsez. $*\check{b}:\check{e}\check{b}-$ B 1 to beat, forge 2 to crush, grind: Tsez. $\check{b}i\check{b}-$ 2; Gin. $\check{b}e\check{b}-$ 2; Gunz. $h\check{e}h-$ 1.

PTsKh $*\check{b}\check{a}\check{b}-$.

| Lak. $\check{b}a=\check{b}a-$ to break.

G. pr. $\check{b}a=\check{b}u-n$. Cf. Khosr. $\check{b}a=\check{b}a-n$ id.

| Lezg. $*\dot{V}b\check{I}(\check{w})V$ 1 to beat, hit 2 to break: Tab. $u=\check{b}I-$ 2; Ud. $du\check{b}-sun$ 1.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. $u=\check{b}I-$ 'to break'.

| W.-Cauc. $*\check{b}I^wV$ 1 to beat 2 to beat up, whip: Abkh. $a-\check{b}^w-ra$ 2; Abaz. $\check{b}^w-ra$ 2; Ad. $wa-n$ 1; Kab. $wa-n$ 1.

PAT $*\check{b}^w\check{a}$; PAK $*wa$. The AK root is compared by Dumézil (1971, 158-159) with Ub. $ja-$, but the correspondence AK $*w$: Ub. j is irregular (whereas PAT $*\check{b}^w$: PAK $*w$ is normal and points to PWC $*\check{b}I^w$).

[] A common NC root; sometimes reduplicated (as in PTs and Lak). Correspondences are regular except for the PTs nasalisation, which has an obscure origin.

$*=H\dot{i}kV$ to be, become; be able, require: Lak. $alrki-n-$; Darg. $*=ik-$; Lezg. $*\dot{i}k\check{a}-$; Khin. k^wi .

| Lak. $alrki-n-$ to be necessary, require, must.

Cf. Khosr. $alrk^wi-n-$ id. A deverbative with the original verbal paradigm already lost.

| Darg. $*=ik-$ an auxiliary verb ('to be, to do'): Ak. $=ik-$ / $=ilk-$; Chir. $=ik-$ / $=irk-$.

| Lezg. $*\dot{i}k\check{a}-$ 1 to be, become 2 to be able: Rut. $=iki-$ 1,2; Arch. $ke-$ 1,2; Ud. $bak-sun$ 1.

In Rut. the root is confined to infinitive, but has a complete paradigm in

Archi and Udi.

| Khin. *k^wi* to do, to make.

The root is *k(i)*-, cf. dur. *ki-ri*. The verb is frequently used as an auxiliary in verbal compounds.

[] A modal verb, confined to the Eastern Daghestan area (cf. perhaps also the Khin. present *k^wi* < **kV-wi* in the suppletive paradigm of the verb 'to be, become').

*=**Hik^wVn** to spin, to knit: Nakh. *=*ak-* / *=*ek-*; Av.-And. *=*Vk^wVn*; Tsez. **biq^wVna* A; Lak. *ḡunu*; Darg. *=*uk(Vn)-* / *=*ulk-*; Lezg. **ik^wV(n)-* (~ *h-*); Khin. *ink*.

| Nakh. *=*ak-* / *=*ek-* to embroider: Chech. =*ag-*; Ing. =*ag-*.

The Ablaut grade *=*ek-* is seen in Chech. *t-eg-* 'to embroider; to sew' (term.).

| Av.-And. *=*Vk^wVn* 1 to sew 2 needle 3 knitting needle: Av. *roḡ:én* 2; Chad. *ṭukén* 2; Cham. =*ak^wVn-* 1; Tind. *bek:un* 3.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. =*ak^wVn-* id. (NB: the printed version of the MSU recordings has -*k-* in U.-Gakv. - which is a misspelling; the correct form is found in Bokarev).

The verb is attested only in Cham.; other languages reflect only the derivate **b-ik^w:in* / **r-ik^w:in* (cf. also Cham. Gig. *beḡun*) 'knitting needle'. The dialectal Av. form *ṭukén* possibly reflects a variant of the same derivate with a **d-* prefix (Proto-Avar **d-ek^w:en* > **teḡ:en*; cf. also a characteristic Archi loan from Old Avar *teḡon* 'needle', where -*ḡ-* is rendering Av. -*k:-*).

| Tsez. **biq^wVna* A 1 needle, knitting needle 2 big needle: Gin. *maq^ware* 1; Khvarsh. *biḡ^wan* 1; Inkh. *buḡun* 1; Bezht. *muḡala* 2; Gunz. *muḡel* 2.

PTsKh **biḡ^wVn(V)*; PGB **muḡVI(a)*. In PGB (as well as in Ginukh) there occurred a metathesis of nasalisation. The word is a derivate from a non-preserved verbal stem *=*iḡ^wVn-*; other derivatives are Gin. *meḡu* (< **biḡun*) 'thread', PGB **mōḡu* (< **boḡun*) > Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *maḡo*, Gunz. *mōḡu* 'loom'.

| Lak. *ḡunu* wire.

Cf. also Khosr. *ḡunu* 'knitting needle'.

| Darg. *=*uk(Vn)-* / *=*ulk-* to spin: Ak. *luk-es*.

| Lezg. **ik^wV(n)-* (~ *h-*) 1 to spin 2 rope: Tab. *d-i=k-* (*Düb.*); Kryz. *mukaḡ* 2; Bud. *mikəḡ* 2; Arch. *baḡkon* 2.

The verb is attested only in the Dübek dialect of Tabasaran, thus its precise PL reconstruction is impossible. Archi and Shakhdagh reflect a PL derivate **w-āIk^wVn:(a)* (with Ablaut and shift of nasalisation in Shakhdagh). Another derivate is probably PL **lik^wVr* (< **r-ik^wV-l*) > Tsakh. *luḡor* (Tsakh. prop. *nuḡar*, Gelm. *luḡor*) 'spinning-wheel, distaff', Arch. -*ḡolor* in *marzi-ḡolor* 'loom'.

| Khin. *ink* rope.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Many languages reflect the PEC derivate **w-Hik^wVnV* 'tool for spinning / knitting' (needle or thread). We must also mention that in some languages this derivate merged with PEC **w-ilḡwVnV* 'tool for sewing' (< *=*ilḡwVn* 'sew' q.v.).

*=**HilVḡVr** to laugh, rejoice: Lak. =*allaqa-*; Darg. **d-aqlala*; Lezg.

**ilqlar*.

| Lak. =*allaqa-* to rejoice, have a good time.

G. pr. =*alla=qu-n*. Cf. also, with Anlaut reduction, dur. *qla-n* 'to laugh' (Khosr. *qla-n*).

| Darg. **d-aqlala* laugh: Chir. *daqlala*.

| Lezg. **ilqlar* to laugh: Lezg. *ḡüre-*; Tab. *alql-*; Ag. *ilql-*; Kryz. *qur-*; Arch. *ḡlar-*.

Cf. also Lezg. pret. *ḡüre-na*, Ag. Bursh. *alqlan-*, reduplicated forms: Kryz. dur. *quḡari*, Arch. term. *ḡluraḡlu*; derivatives: Lezg. *q^wer* (with secondary labialization), Rut. *jaql*, Tsakh. *aqlana*, Bud. *qur* 'laugh', perhaps also Ud. *muql* 'merry, glad' (< **w-ilqlIVn* < **w-ilqlIVr*).

See Khaidakov 1973, 140.

[] The root is expressive (it has a unique root structure: HVRVCVR) and spread only in the Eastern Dagestan area. The irregular development in PD (we would rather expect **q:l*) is probably due to the root's expressive nature.

***Hil^wV(-lV)** root, seed; kin: Nakh. **ablV* (~ *λ-*, -*L-*); Av.-And. **hiḡ:ib* (/ -*m*); Tsez. **ḡib(u)* A; Lezg. **ḡ:iw(a)*; W.-Cauc. **ḡ^wəla*.

| Nakh. **ablV* (~ *λ-*, -*L-*) 1 root 2 village: Chech. *ewla* 2; Ing. *owla* 1.

Vowel differences in Chech. and Ing. can be explained by different analogical levellings of a paradigm like **abla*, **abli-*. The semantic difference can be explained if we look at external evidence (this root reveals meanings like 'root' and 'kin, family > village' in many languages). Thus the resemblance of the Chech. word to Turkish (e.g. Tat. *aul* 'village' etc.) is probably accidental (at the most the Turk. word could have influenced the meaning of the Chech. word - but there are not enough reasons to speak of a loan).

| Av.-And. **hiḡ:ib* (/ -*m*) root: Av. *ḡ:ibil*; Chad. *ḡibil*; And. *hiḡ:im*; Akhv. *eḡ:e*; Cham. *heḡ:im*; Tind. *heḡ:ab*; Kar. *heḡ:ebo*; Botl. *hiḡ:ib*; Bagv. *herḡ:em*; God. *hiḡ:im*.

Av. has a suffixed form (with -*il*); accent paradigm B (*ḡ:olbō-l*, *ḡ:albā-l*). Note the parallel meaning 'kin, family' in Av. (a rather archaic feature). Cf. also Akhv. Tlan., Ratl., Tseg. *eḡ:eb*, Kar. Anch. *reḡ:ebo* (< **herḡ:ebo*). The epenthetic -*r-* in Kar. Anch. and Bagv. is obviously secondary.

| Tsez. **ḡib(u)* A leaf: Tsez. *ḡalib*; Gin. *ḡebu*; Khvarsh. *ḡib*; Inkh. *ḡib*; Bezht. *ḡibo*; Gunz. *ḡibu*.

PTsKh **ḡib(u)*, PGB **ḡibu*.

| Lezg. **ḡ:iw(a)* root: Tab. *ḡ:iw*.

The word has no parallels within the Lezghian family (from Tab. dialects cf. also Düb. *ḡuv* 'root'), but (assuming that Tab. *ḡ:* here regularly goes back to PL **ḡ:* before a front vowel) has very good external cognates.

| W.-Cauc. **ḡ^wəla* 1 seed 2 kin, clan 3 village, people, society: Abkh. *ā-z^vla* 1,2; Abaz. *z^wla* 1; Ad. *ḡəLa* 3; Kab. *zəLa* 1,3; Ub. *ḡəjə* 1.

PAT **z^wəla* (cf. also Bz. *ā-z^vla*). The root means both 'seed' and 'clan, kin' in Abkh.; in Abaz. cf. *z^wla-ra* 'people, village, society'. PAK **ḡ:əLā*. The root also means both 'seed' and 'people, village' in Kab., but in Ad. it preserved only the more

abstract meaning. In the natural sense ('seed') the root is preserved in Ad. within the compound *čəLā-pχ* 'seeds, seed stock' (etymology of the second component see under **pəχ^wə*).

[] Cf. also HU: Uart. *zil(i)b-* 'seed; descendants, kin' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 48).

An interesting common NC root. An original polysemy ('root, seed' : 'kin, clan') can be reconstructed, because both meanings keep recurring in different subbranches (Nakh, Avar, WC, HU). The meaning 'leaf' in PTs is obviously secondary - although phonetically PTs **lib(u)* goes back directly to **Hil^wV*, semantically it has merged with PNC **lāpi* 'leaf' q.v.

**Hil^wV* (~ -ä-) to say: Nakh. **lē-w-* / **āλ-*; Av.-And. **hiλ:-*; Tsez. **iλ-*.

| Nakh. **lē-w-* / **āλ-* to say: Chech. *lē-, āλ-*; Ing. *le-, al-*; Bacb. *lev-, aλ-*.

The PN paradigm is **āλ-* (term.) vs. **lē-w-* (with loss of initial vowel) (dur.). In Bacb. there also exists a secondary Ablaut stem *law-* 'to talk to someone'.

| Av.-And. **hiλ:-* to say: And. *hiλ:on-*; Akhv. *eλ:-* (*Gudava*); Cham. *iλ:-*; Tind. *hiλ:-*; Kar. *k-eλ:-*; Botl. *hiλ:-*; Bagv. *hiλ:-*; God. *hiλ:-*.

Cf. also Kar. Arch., Anch. *heλ:-*, Cham. Gig. *hiλ:-*. k- in Kar. is an old preverb. Reasons for -n-conjugation in And. are not clear. In Tindi there also exists a word *λ:o* 'a particle of indirect speech ('says')', reflecting an old Ablaut stem.

| Tsez. **iλ-* 1 to speak, say 2 to call: Tsez. *eλ-* 1; Gin. *eλ-* 1; Khvarsh. *iλ-* 1; Inkh. *iλ-* 1; Bezht. *iλ-* 2; Gunz. *iλ-* 2.

PTsKh, PGB **iλ-*. Cf. also Gunz. *λe* 'a particle of indirect speech ('says')', and *aλ-* 'to cry (out)' which probably reflect old Ablaut variants.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Vowel length is not clear (PN probably reflects an alternation of long/short root vowels); otherwise regular. Cf. also Hurr. *χill-* 'to speak' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 51).

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241 (with incorrect Lezg. and Darg. parallels).

**=HimGwV* to go, walk: Av.-And. **q:Vq:^wVn-*; Tsez. **=o(˜)q^w-* B (˜-e-); Lezg. **?iqI:^wä-*; Khin. -bi.

| Av.-And. **q:Vq:^wVn-* to set off, be on the road: Av. *q:óq-n-*.

| Tsez. **=o(˜)q^w-* B (˜-e-) 1 to go 2 to come: Tsez. *oq-* (*Radzhibov*); Khvarsh. *=eq^w-* 1; Inkh. *=eq^w-* 1.

PTsKh **=eq^w-*.

| Lezg. **?iqI:^wä-* 1 to come 2 to go 3 to go away 4 coming 5 bring: Lezg. *q:^we-* (*inf.*) 1; Tab. *βI-* 1,2; *a=βI-* 2; Ag. *baI-* 2; Rut. *qI-u=βIu-* 3; Tsakh. *=iq:Ia-* 2; Kryz. *t-uβ-* 5; Bud. *č-a=β-* 2,5; Arch. *qIe-s,herqIa-s* 2; Ud. *eβa-lo* 4.

Different grades of the PL Ablaut paradigm (**?iqI:^wä-/ *?äqI:^wa-/ *?oqI:^wä-*) are reflected in different languages (all three grades simultaneously are present in Archi: *qIe-s* / **?iqI:^wä-*, dur. *orqli-r* / **?oqI:^wä-* 'go', *h-erqIa-s*

/ **?äqI:^wa-* 'go, walk'). The Ag. form varies across dialects: Rich. *baI-*, Tp., Bursh. *waI-*, Fit. *βI^wa-*. In the prohibitive form (meaning in Ag. both "do not go" and "do not be, become") the root consonant either loses labialisation (Bursh. *maRa*), or acquires nasalisation (Rich. *maI^ma*). In Budukh *č-a=β-* is durative, *tu=β-* (= Kryz. *tuβ-*) - terminative; cf. also Kryz. *q:-äβ-* 'to bring (from below)', *˚u=β-* 'to bring (from above)' (= Bud. *˚u=β-* id.).

| Khin. -bi to go.

The root is used only with preverbs with the meaning 'to go towards smth.'; it is part of the suppletive paradigm with *-χi* 'to go away from smth.' (see Kibrik-Kodzasov-Olovyannikova 1972, pp.54-56).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One is tempted to compare also PN **βo-*, the present (durative) stem from **-aχ-* 'to go', but this raises phonetic problems.

The PTs and Av. forms (as well as PL Ablaut grade **?oqI:^wä-*) reflect a PEC Ablaut grade **-HumGwV*; in Av. the root is reduplicated.

=HimGwV* small: Tsez. **=iβ(:)V*; Darg. **=iββIa-*; Lezg. **muq:IV-* (miq:I^wV-*).

| Tsez. **=iβ(:)V* small: Tsez. *=eβe*; Khvarsh. *iβa(j)* (*Radzhibov*).

PTsKh **=iβV*.

| Darg. **=iββIa-* small: Ak. *=iβ^aIaIn-si*; Chir. *=ubβIani-ze*.

| Lezg. **muq:IV-* (**miq:I^wV-*) small: Arch. *muqlu*.

Isolated in Archi, but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Not very widespread, but the comparison seems phonetically and semantically reliable.

**=HimqV* to divide: Nakh. **=ēq-*; Av.-And. **=iq:(Vn)-*; Darg. **b-aIHVnV*; Lezg. **?iq:Ia-*; W.-Cauc. **nəq:^wa* (~ -q^w-).

| Nakh. **=ēq-* to divide: Chech. *=ēq-*; Ing. *=eq-*; Bacb. *=eq-*.

Although in Chech. and Ing. the stem *=ēq-* is both terminative and durative, the Bacbi data show that originally it was only terminative: Bacbi has term. *=eq-* opposed to dur. *?aq-* 'to divide' (< PN **?āq-*).

A common Nakh derivative is **d-āqa* 'part, piece' > Chech. *dāqa*, Ing. *daqa*, Bacb. *daq / dāq*.

| Av.-And. **=iq:(Vn)-* to divide: Akhv. *=iq:-*; Cham. *=iq:-*; Tind. *=iq:ĩ-*; Kar. *=eq:-*; God. *=eq:ĩh-*.

Besides Tind. and God., nasal conjugation is attested also in Kar. Anch. *=ĩq:-* (*n-iq:-*). There are two derivatives from this root: PA **=iq:in(V)* 'half' (> Akhv. *meq:e-da*, *miq:e-s:i*, Cham. Gig. *beq:ina*, Tind. *beq:ana-s:a*, Kar. *req:en-ler*, *req:ema*, Anch. *niq:o*) and **r=iq:irV* 'part', reflected in Akhv. *req:er*, Ratl. *riq:eri* (= PN **d-āqa*).

| Darg. **b-aIHVnV* half: Chir. *baI^sne*.

| Lezg. **?iq:Ia-* to divide: Bud. *e=q-*; Arch. *qIa-*.

It is hard to separate the Bud. and Arch. forms, although the correspondence is not quite regular: the Archi morphonology shows that Archi has a tense q:I (cf. e. g. 3d cl. *ba-q:Ia-s*), going back to PL **q:I* - which should be reflected in Bud. as -q-.

Therefore either there is a misspelling in the Archi recordings, or there occurred an irregular development in Budukh.

| W.-Cauc. **nəqːʷa* (~ -*qʷ*-) half: Ad. *nəqːʷa*; Kab. *nəqːʷa*.

PAK **nəqːʷa*. The inner morphological analysis proposed by Shagirov (1, 286: *nə* = -*na* in **śa-ná* 'one third', **p̃la-ná* 'one fourth' etc., -*qːʷa* - component meaning 'not quite, a little') is very dubious.

[] A common NC root; WC languages have preserved only an old derivate **nəqːʷa* (< **məqːa*), corresponding to PA **b=iqːin(V)* 'half', PD **b-aIHVN* id.

*=*HimsV* to look: Nakh. **habs-*; Av.-And. **k-us-*; Tsez. *=*iz(:)ʷ-* (~ -*i*-).

| Nakh. **habs-* to look (plur.): Chech. *hows-*; Bacb. *haps-*.

Vowel length unclear. Cf. also dur. **hēbs-* > Chech. *hīs-*, Bacb. *heps-*. The Bacbi meaning is cited according to Matsiyev and Desheriyev; Kadagidze gives the meaning 'send' (a mistake?).

| Av.-And. **k-us-* to search: And. *k-us-d-*.

Attested only in And., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *=*iz(:)ʷ-* (~ -*i*-) 1 to look 2 to search: Tsez. =*ezʷ-* 1; Gin. =*ez-* 1; Bezht. =*iz-* 2 (*Tlad.*).

PTsKh *=*izʷ-* (~ -*i*-, -*Ũ*-). Cf. also Bezht. Khosh. =*iz-* 'to search'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is characteristic for the Western area (PN, PA, PTs).

*=*HimxwV* to learn, teach: Nakh. **hēx-*; Av.-And. *=*iλʷ(Vn)-* (~ -*λʷ*-); Lak. *l-ax:i-*; Lezg. **iλ:a-*.

| Nakh. **hēx-* teach: Chech. *hēx-*; Ing. *heχ-*.

| Av.-And. *=*iλʷ(Vn)-* (~ -*λʷ*-) 1 to understand 2 to know: Av. *λa-* 2; Chad. *ta-* 2; Cham. =*uλVn-* 1; Tind. =*uλi-* 1.

Avaro-Andian languages reveal (as in many other cases) a vacillation between -*n*- and -*r*-conjugations.

| Lak. *l-ax:i-* learn, study.

G.pr. *l-a=x:u-nu*. Cf. Khosr. *laxːʷi-n* id.

| Lezg. **iλ:a-* learn, study: Arch. *λ:a-*.

Isolated in Arch., but with good external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**HinV-* self, reflexive pronoun (obl. base): Av.-And. **in-*; Tsez. **hin-*; Khin. *hāh-* / *hāhin-*.

| Av.-And. **in-* (one)self: Chad. *ji*; And. *en-*; Akhv. *i-*; Cham. *in-* / *i-*; Tind. *e-a*, *i-*.

The stem is sometimes used as direct (Av. Chad. *ji*, cf. obl. *jine-*), Tind. *e-a* (obl. *i-* / *i-*), but most usually as the oblique stem for PA **zi-* q.v.

| Tsez. **hin-* (one)self: Tsez. *ne-*; Inkh. *i-*; Bezht. *hin-* / *hon-*.

Originally the oblique base, cf. Tsez. dir. *zo* - obl. *ne-s-* (1st cl.) / *ne-λ-* (2d cl.), Bezht. *Tlad. zu* - *hin-/hon-* (same opposition); in Inkhokvari it has passed also to the direct base (*i-so* 1st cl., *iλe* 2d-5th cl.).

| Khin. *hāh-* / *hāhin-* (one)self.

Cf. nom. *hāhu* (1st cl.), *hāhā* (2-4th cl.), obl. base *hāhin-*.

[] A common Av.-And.-Tsezian morpheme, with only sporadic parallels from other languages. Besides Khinalug, possible traces of this root can be perhaps found in Arch. *inz* 'self' (where -*n*- is absolutely superfluous in the reflex of **zi* q.v. - thus it may be an old compound of **HinV-* + **zi*). If this morpheme is not an Av.-And.-Tsez. innovation, it must have played the role of the oblique base of one of the PEC reflexive pronouns (see **zi* and **z(u)*).

*=*HiqE* to rise, grow: Av.-And. *=*oq:-* (~ -*a*-); Tsez. *=*iχ:-*; Lak. *bulχ-t:ul-*; Darg. *=*uq-*; Lezg. **iχ:a-*; W.-Cauc. **q:la* (~ **q̃la*).

| Av.-And. *=*oq:-* (~ -*a*-) 1 to stand up 2 to rise, grow 3 to raise: Av. =*aq:n-* 1; Chad. *ta=oqn-* 1; Akhv. *aq:-* (*Tseg.*) 3; Cham. *eq:n-* 2; Kar. =*aq:-* 2.

Cf. also Av. =*aq:-ár-* 'to stand up (frequently)'. The -*n*-conjugation in some dialects is probably secondary.

| Tsez. **iχ:-* tall, high, large: Tsez. =*iχ-iju*; Inkh. =*iχu*.

PTsKh *=*iχ(ij)u*. Tsez. -*i*- is probably assimilated < *=*eχ-iju* (the normal correspondence for Inkh. *i* is Tsez. *e*).

| Lak. *bulχ-t:ul-* high, tall.

Cf. Khosr. *bulχIt:ul-s:a* id. (*b-* is a historical prefix). Perhaps an etymological doublet of this root (reflecting old interdialectal influence) is the verb =*ulqa-n* 'to be high, good (of crops)' (cf. the meanings in Darg. dialects).

| Darg. *=*uq-* to grow: Ak. =*uq-es*.

Cf. Ur. =*irq-* / =*uq-* 'to be high, good (of crops)'.

| Lezg. **iχ:a-* 1 to stand 2 to stand up: Rut. *χliβl-i=χla-* 1; Arch. *χ:a-* 2.

In Rut. the root is attested only with a complex preverb *χli-βl-* (imposing pharyngealisation on the root consonant).

| W.-Cauc. **q:la* (~ **q̃la*) to raise, to lift: Ad. *ʔa-tə-n*; Kab. *ʔa-tə-n*; Ub. *q̃á-śa-*.

PAK **ʔa-tə-*; Ub. *a-s-q̃á-śa-n*. Both PAK and Ub. reflect compounds with unclear second components. Since, despite Dumézil (1932, 107-108), PAK **t* can not correspond to Ub. *ś*, we have to admit that the meaning 'to lift, raise' is here expressed by the component PAK **ʔa-*, Ub. *q̃a-* < PWC **q̃:la-* (or **q̃la-*), which must be therefore distinguished from the homonymous PWC root for 'hand' (q.v.).

[] Correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems satisfactory in all respects.

*=*HiqV(r)* to pull, take out; to drag, carry: Nakh. *=*āq-* / *=*āqq-*; Av.-And. *=*iq:-*; Lak. *z-il=χ:i-*; Darg. *=*a(r)q:l-*; Lezg. **iqlV(r)-*; Khin. -*q-wi*; W.-Cauc. **q:V* (~ -*q̃*-, *q̃l-*).

| Nakh. *=*āq-* / *=*āqq-* to take away, take out, pull out: Chech. =*āqq-*; Ing. =*āqq-*; Bacb. =*aq-*.

Vowel length is established on basis of forms like Chech. pret. =*āqqi-ra* (Ing. =*āqqā-b*), Ing. pres. =*oqq*.

| Av.-And. *=*iq:-* 1 to take away, take out 2 to pull, drag 3 to bring: Av.

=aq:- 1; Chad. =aq:- 1; And. =iq:- 3; Akhv. =eq:- 1; Cham. =eq:- 2; Tind. =eq:- 2; Kar. =oq:- 1.

Most Andian languages, as well as Avar, reflect stem I $*=iq:-$ (Av. =aq:-); the -o-vocalism in Kar. (cf. also Tok. =uq:-) is not quite clear. Stem II $*q:u-r-$ (with an -r-suffix) is reflected in And. $q:ur-d-$ 'to pull, drag'; cf. also Cham. $q:o-d-$, Gg. $q:u-r-$ id. There are also some reduplicated forms: Av. =aq:- $\acute{a}q:-$, =aq:- $\acute{a}rq:-$ 'to take off, take apart', Chad. =aqaqn- 'to pull, drag', Kar. =erq:eq:- (Tok. =eq:irq:-) id.

In Andian there is an opposition between =iq:- 'to bring' and =eq:- 'to reach' ($*=$ to be brought'); this is probably a splitting of a single original paradigm.

| Lak. $z-il=\chi:i-$ to take away, take apart.

G. pr. $z-il=\chi:u-nu$. Cf. Khosr. $z-i=\chi:li-n$ id. $z-$ is an expressive preverb. Cf. also an expressive reduplication $\chi:ulr\chi:u=an$ 'to pull, drag' (Khosr. $\chi:lur\chi:lu=an$ id.) (an exact match for Av. =aq:arq:- etc.).

| Darg. $*=a(r)q:I-$ take away, carry away: Chir. =arq:I- / =iq:-.

| Lezg. $*iqIV(r)-$ 1 to drag, carry 2 to carry on the back: Tab. $a=qI-$ (imper.) 1; Ag. $q-aq-$ 2; Arch. $\chi Ia-$ 1.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. $q-aqi-$ 'to carry on back'. Tab. and Ag. reflect the Ablaut stem $*qIV(r)-$ (in Ag. - with secondary loss of pharyngealisation in the vicinity of front vowels). There are no parallels in Tsakh. and Shakhdagh, thus it is impossible to establish the presence or absence of $*-r$ -conjugation in PL.

| Khin. =q-wi to take out.

Cf. also $\acute{s}i=q-wi$ 'to choose', $\acute{c}:en=q-wi$ 'to pull, drag' etc.

| W.-Cauc. $*q:V$ ($\sim \acute{q}:-\acute{q}I-$) to pull, drag: Abkh. $\acute{a}-\chi a-ra$; Abaz. $a-q-ra$.

PAT $*qV-$ (cf. also Bzyb. $\acute{a}-\chi a-ra$).

[] Despite the root's somewhat expressive character, correspondences are regular, and the PNC reconstruction seems reliable. Traces of $*-r$ -conjugation can be found in PA (stem II $*q:ur-$), and perhaps also in Darg. (medial -r- which is otherwise unclear) - although the decisive evidence of certain Lezghian languages is missing. See also comments to PEC $*HarqwV$ 'to dig'.

$*=Hiqwa(n)$ to bear, give birth: Av.-And. $*=aqVn$ ($\sim -o,-\chi-$); Lak. $l-al=qa-$; Darg. $*haqVn-$ ($\sim \acute{c}-$); Lezg. $*?i\chi^wa-$; W.-Cauc. $*q:wa$ ($\sim q^w-$).

| Av.-And. $*=aqVn$ ($\sim -o,-\chi-$) to give birth, bear: God. =a $\chi\acute{i}$.

Attested only in God., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. $l-al=qa-$ to be born, arise.

G. pr. $lal=qunu$. Cf. perhaps also $qana-n$ (the durative stem of $xu-n$ 'to be, become').

| Darg. $*haqVn-$ ($\sim \acute{c}-$) to give birth, bear: Chir. $\acute{s}aqIVn-$ / $\acute{s}allq-$.

| Lezg. $*?i\chi^wa-$ to give birth, bear: Lezg. $\chi a-$; Tab. $\chi-$; Ag. $u\chi-$; Rut. $hu=\chi^wa-$; Tsakh. =u $\chi a-$; Kryz. $\chi u j-$; Bud. $\chi o=su$; Ud. $bi\chi-sun$.

Cf. also Lezg. pret. $\chi a-na$, imp. $ru\chi u\chi$ (with reduplication), Ag. Bursh. $ru\chi a-s$, Kryz. dur. $ru\chi-ri$, imp. $s-\acute{a}\chi ir$. Different Ablaut grades are attested: $*?i\chi^wa-$ in Ud. $b-i\chi-$, with loss of $*?i-$ in Lezg. $\chi a-$, Tab. $\chi-uz$ etc.; $*?a\chi^wV-$

in Kryz. $s=\acute{a}\chi i-r$; $*?o\chi^wa-$ (originally probably a plural form - 'to give birth (to many)') in most other forms.

An old derivate $*?i\chi^wa-j > *?i\chi^waj$ (a participial form) is reflected in Ud. $\chi o j$ 'descendants', Lezg. χ^wa , pl. $r-u\chi^wa-jar$ (Khl. χ^wa , $r-u\chi^wa-jar$) 'son'. See Giginayshvili 1977, 127.

| W.-Cauc. $*q:wa$ ($\sim q^w-$) son: Ad. $q:wa$; Kab. $q:wa$; Ub. q^wa .

PAK $*q:wa$; Ub. def. $\acute{a}-q^wa$. Dumézil 1932, 124-125 compares also Abkh. $*\acute{c}wa$ 'man', which we prefer to relate to Ub. b^wa 'self' (see WC $*b^wV$). See Shagirov 1, 231.

[] The nasal conjugation, preserved in PA and PD, was for some unclear reason lost in PL; it is, however, undoubtedly old, cf. also the HU data: Hurr. χan 'to give birth, bear' (compared in Diakonoff-Starostin 1986 with PEC $*GH\acute{o}ni$ 'pregnant', but rather belonging here).

The EC-WC comparison (first proposed by Mészáros 1934, 377) seems quite plausible (however, Megr. $skua$ 'child' has of course nothing to do with it - see Shagirov 1, 231). Bouda's (1950, 294) comparison of the WC forms with Georg. $meq̄wisi$, $moq̄wasi$ 'relative, near one' is much worse both phonetically and semantically. See also Abdokov 1983, 86 (Lezg. χ^wa : WC; we should note, however, that other Lezg. forms cited by Abdokov go back to PEC $*dwir\chi E$ q.v.).

$*=HiqV$ to be hungry; to long, strive: Av.-And. $*=Vq:-$; Tsez. $*=iq-$; Lezg. $*?iq:-$; Khin. =iq-.

| Av.-And. $*=Vq:-$ to be hungry: Av. =aq:-.

| Tsez. $*=iq-$ to be hungry: Gunz. =iq-.

Attested only in Gunzib, but having probable external parallels. Cf. also the derivate: Gunz. $biqa$ 'hunger'.

| Lezg. $*?iq:V-$ 1 to be hungry 2 longing, striving: Ag. $ruq:u-f$ 2 (Mag.); Arch. $iq:Ia-t:u=$ 1.

Loss of pharyngealization in Agul is conditioned by the position of $*-q:$ after a front vowel (Ag. $ruq:u- < *riq:Iu- < *?i-r-q:IV-$, where -r- is an adjectival infix).

| Khin. =iq- to love, want.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

$*=Hiqwa$ ($\sim -q,-o$) waist, middle; back: Nakh. $*juq$; Darg. $*da\chi-$; Lezg. $*jiqI^w$; W.-Cauc. $*baql^wa$.

| Nakh. $*juq$ waist; middle: Chech. juq ; Ing. juq ; Bacb. juq .

Obl. base $*juqa-$ (cf. Chech. $juqa-$, Ing. $juqo$; in Bacb. there is a separate noun $juqa$ 'middle, center', differentiated from juq 'waist'). 4th class in all languages.

| Darg. $*da\chi-$ back: Chir. $da\chi-ne$.

Isolated in Chir., but with reliable external correspondences.

| Lezg. $*jiqI^w$ 1 back 2 waist 3 middle 4 in the middle: Lezg. juq 2,3; Tab. $juqI$ 2; Ag. iqI 3; Rut. $jiqI$ 1; Tsakh. $jiqI$ 1; Kryz. jiq 1,2; Bud. $jiq-i\acute{z}$ 1; Arch. $i\acute{b}I-da$ 4; Ud. $bi\acute{b}I$ / $bi\acute{b}I$ 3.

Cf. also Tab. Kand. jiq , Düb. $jiqi$, Ag. Bursh. $jiqI$, Tp., Burk. ja^2 , Pii.

jiq̄. Obl. base **jiq̄I^wa-*, cf. Lezg. *juq̄^wa-*, Tab. *juq̄I^wa-*, Tsakh. *jiq̄Ia-*. Ud. *biḅI* < **wiq̄I* < **jiq̄I^w*. 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. Cf. also derived adverbs: Tsakh. *jiq̄Ia-l*, Tab. (with reduction) *q̄Ia-la-qI* 'behind' (lit. 'on the back'); Arch. *q̄Ia-na-k* (< **jiq̄I^wa-na-k*) 'inside', Kryz. *jiq̄-iče* id. (perhaps also Ud. *bo-s* < **biḅI-o-s* 'inside').

See Leksika 1971, 126; Talibov 1980, 307.

| W.-Cauc. **baq̄I^wə* place between hips; interval: Ad. *baq̄^w*; Kab. *baq̄^w*.

PAK **baq̄^wə*. Since only the PAK form is available (parallels from other WC languages are not reliable), the reconstruction is rather tentative (an intensive or non-pharyngealised uvular may be reconstructed as well) and based mostly on external evidence.

[] One of the nominal stems with old changing class prefixes. It is rather difficult to make a clear distinction between PNC **=Hīq̄wə* and **=əGwV* (q.v.): these roots are phonetically and semantically close and tend to contaminate. However, it seems probable that the former originally meant 'waist, middle part' while the latter meant 'back'.

**=HirfVr* to change: Av.-And. **=irux-*; Lak. *=aχ:a-na =an*; Lezg. **irχ:lār-*.

| Av.-And. **=irux-* to change: And. *=ers-*; Akhv. *isu-č-*; Cham. *=eh^w-*; Tind. *=eruhl̄-*; Kar. *=erx^w-* (Tok.).

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *=eh-* (pointing unambiguously to PA **-x-*). Akhvakh has an obscure suffix *-č-* (probably reflecting some old compound).

| Lak. *=aχ:a-na =an* to change.

A compound verb with *=aχ:ana-(s:a)*, Khosr. *=aχ^w:a-na-s:a* 'special, different'. The adjective itself is in fact a participle: the original verb is preserved in Lak. with the meaning 'to sell' (**to change*): *=aχ:a-n* (p. pr. *=a=χ:u-nu*).

| Lezg. **irχ:lār-* to change: Tab. *huḷ-uχI-*; Ag. *d-aχu-b aqas*; Rut. *k-irχli ha²as*; Bud. *čorh-/čere=hir-*; Arch. *χ:loro=χ:li-*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *hūχI-*, Ag. Bursh. *ad-iχA-*. The Archi form is a compound of **o=χ:li-* 'to change' with the first part *χ:loro-* (cf. *χ:loro-t:u=* 'strange, different', *χ:loro kes* 'to change') - which itself is derived from the same verbal root: *χ:loro-* reflects the stem **irχ:lār-* (with regular reduction of the first narrow vowel), while *o=χ:li-* reflects an Ablaut grade **orχ:lār-* (cf. the same Ablaut grade in Rut. *-irχli*). The Bud. form contains a preverb *č-*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**HirGwĒ* to steal, conceal: Nakh. **quw*; Av.-And. **=iq̄:-*; Tsez. **=uq̄-* (~ *=oq̄-*); Lak. *=aljq̄i-*; Darg. **=irḅI^w-*; Lezg. **=i(r)q̄^wV-*; W.-Cauc. **G^wV*.

| Nakh. **quw* thief: Chech. *qu*; Ing. *qu*; Bacb. *quw*.

Obl. base **qu-ne-* (cf. Chech. *q̄una-*, Ing. *q̄uno*). A more archaic oblique base had been **qawV-*, whence with suffixation PN **qawV-la*: Chech. *qajla-aχa*, Ing. *qajla-aχa* 'to conceal', and, with an early contraction, PN **qolV* (obl. *q̄alu-*) 'theft' > Chech. *q̄ola*, Ing. *q̄ol* (reflecting the oblique stem; cf. also Cheb. *q̄alu*, Shar., Khild. etc. *q̄olu*), Bacb. *q̄ol* (Matsiyev: *q̄olo*, Desheriyev: *q̄ole*).

| Av.-And. **=iq̄:-* 1 to hide, to conceal 2 to steal: Av. *=iq̄:-* 2; Chad. *=iq̄- 1,2*; And. *=eq̄:as:- 1,2*; Cham. *=eq̄:as:- 1* (Gig.); Tind. *=aq̄:as- 1,2*; Kar. *=eq̄:es:- 2*; God. *=aq̄:as:- 2*.

All Andian languages reflect a stem **=iq̄:-as:-* with an expressive suffix. The Avar parallel for it (with an irregular correspondence in the suffix) is *q̄:osn-* 'to get lost, go astray'.

| Tsez. **=uq̄-* (~ *=oq̄-*) to hide: Tsez. *=uq̄-*; Gin. *=uq̄-*.

PTsKh **=uq̄-*.

| Lak. *=aljq̄i-* to be lost, mistaken, go astray.

G. pr. *=aljq̄unu*.

| Darg. **=irḅI^w-* to deceive: Ak. *=ir^{sw}-* (Ur.).

| Lezg. **=i(r)q̄^wV-* secretly, by stealth: Ud. *muq̄:in*.

A derivate from a former verbal root; attested only in Udi, but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **G^wV* to steal: Abkh. *a-ḅḅ-č-ra*; Abaz. *ḅḅ-č-ra*; Ad. *tḅ-b^wa-n*; Kab. *dḅ-b^wa-n*.

PAT **γḅ-čḅ-* (a compound with an unclear second part); PAK **t:ḅ-b^wa-*. See Rogava 1956, 39, Shagirov 1,154 (despite these authors, Ub. *wəč(ə)-* 'to steal' can hardly be related, for phonetic reasons). The nature of initial **t:ḅ-* in PAK, as well as of **-čḅ* in PAT, is not yet clear.

[] A rather widely spread common NC root; correspondences are regular.

**HirkwĒ* man, person: Nakh. **st-aχ*; Av.-And. **hiq̄^wa*; Tsez. **hiq̄^wə A*, **rik^wə A*; Lak. *-arχ*; W.-Cauc. **k^wa*.

| Nakh. **st-aχ* person, man: Chech. *stag*; Ing. *sag*; Bacb. *stak*.

Obl. base **stake-*, cf. Chech. *stega-*, Ing. *sago*, Bacb. *staki-*. Historically a compound (for the first part cf. PN **ps̄tu* 'bull').

| Av.-And. **hiq̄^wa* man, person: And. *hek^wa*; Akhv. *ek^wa*; Cham. *hek^wa*; Tind. *hek^wa*; Kar. *hek^wa*; Botl. *hek^wa*; Bagv. *hek^wa*; God. *hek^wa*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *ik^wa*, Tlan. *iko*.

| Tsez. **hiq̄^wə A* / **rik^wə A* man, person: Tsez. (*z-eku*); Gin. *rek^we*; Khvarsh. (*zik^wa*); Inkh. *hiko*; Bezht. (*suko*); Gunz. (*suku*).

The PTsKh form **hiq̄^wə* / **rik^wə* is probably a development of the original **hirk^wV* (although phonetically it is an exceptional case). Most Tsezian languages reflect only an old compound **zi-hirk^wV* > PTs **zik^wV* q.v.

| Lak. *-arχ* men, people.

The root is present only in a compound with *čiw-* 'man, male' q.v.

| W.-Cauc. **k^wa* suffix of Nomina Agentis: Ad. *-k^w(a)*; Kab. *-k^wa*; Ub. *-ka*.

PAK **-k^wa*, cf., e.g., Ad. *Laḷa-k^w* 'worker' (*Laḷa-n* 'to work'), Kab. *wəṣā-k^wa* 'poet' (*wəsa* 'poem'). In Ub. cf. e.g. *fawā-ka* 'wrestler' (*fawā* 'wrestle') etc.

[] This root (originally meaning 'person, man') is seldom used independently (only in PA and some Tsezian languages). In EC languages it is most frequently used in a compound with **čwijo* 'man' ('man-person'); in PWC it became a morpheme of Nomina Agentis ('person doing smth.'). The etymology seems phonetically and semantically quite plausible.

***HirgVI** to pour, wash: Av.-And. *q:a(r)-d- (~ -o-); Lezg. *²irg:V(l).
 | Av.-And. *q:a(r)-d- (~ -o-) to weep: Cham. q:a-d-; Tind. q:aj-; Kar. q:a-; God. q:ad-.
 Cf. also Kar. Anch. q:ar- id.
 | Lezg. *²irg:V(l) to wash: Rut. ji=ba-; Tsakh. h-o=bal-; Bud. 'a=rß-.
 [] An And.-Lezg. isogloss; both phonetically and semantically the comparison seems plausible.

***HirgVr** to beat, chop, cut, wound: Nakh. *haq-; Av.-And. *=iq:~ / *q:~ar-; Darg. *=alq~-; Lezg. *²irx:~[a]; W.-Cauc. *t:-ər(ə)q:~a.
 | Nakh. *haq- 1 to chop, to mow, to hew 2 to saw: Chech. haq- 1,2; Ing. haq- 2.
 | Av.-And. *=iq:~ / *q:~ar- to tear off, break off: Av. =iq:-; And. q:ab-d-; Akhv. q:~ar-; Cham. q:a-d-; Tind. q:ab-d-.
 Stem I is reflected in Avar and in And. r-uq:- 'to skin'; stem II *q:~Vr-, besides the forms listed above, also in Av. q:ur- 'to pound, crush'. Cf. also Cham. Gig. q:ab- 'to tear off, break off', Tind. (with reduplication) q:abq:- / q:aq:~ id. (like And. q:ab-d-, Tind. q:ab-d-, reflecting a stem *q:ab- (< *q:~a(r)-). The root should be distinguished from a similar root *=iq:Vn- (q.v.) with a nasal conjugation, although they tend to merge (e.g. in Avar dialects). On the other hand, it seems possible to relate here PA *²oq:- 'to grind' (as an old Ablaut grade): cf. And. iχ~oq:-, Akhv. aq:-, Cham. aq:- (Gig. k-oq:-), Kar. q:or- (Anch. =aq:-). Loss of labialisation may be attributed to early dissimilation after *-o-.

| Darg. *=alq~- 1 to derange, mess up 2 to beat, hit, wound: Ak. =alq~= / =iq~- (Ur.); Chir. =alq-/ =urqI- 2.
 Cf. also the derivate *d-alqi 'wound' (Ak. dalqi, Chir. daqIa, Ur. dalqi) (note, however, that it can also be derived from PD *=alq- / =iq- 'to cut, separate').

| Lezg. *²irx:~[a] 1 to hit, hew, mow 2 to tear (off): Lezg. jaßi- 1; Tab. ç-a=ßI- 2; Ag. ç-irχ~- 2; Rut. keß-i=χ~a- 2; Tsakh. q-o=χ:a- 2.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. ç-a=ßI-, Ag. Tp. çirb~a- 'to tear off'. It is hard to separate the Tab. and Ag. forms with the expressive prefix ç- from Rut. ç-i=χe- 'to tear, break off' (although the correlation between Rut. keß-i=χ~a- and ç-i=χe- is not quite clear).

The root is expressive, but should be distinguished from PL *çiχ:an- 'to scrape, rub' (q.v.), although, of course, some contaminations between them were possible.

| W.-Cauc. *t:-ər(ə)q:~a wound, scar: Ad. tərq:~a; Kab. dərq:~a.

PAK *t:ərq:~á. PAK *q:~ may have several PWC sources (*q~, *q:~, *q~ etc.).

[] Despite the root's expressive meaning, correspondences are regular (except for the Darg. form, where one should rather expect -q:~-) and the reconstruction seems probable. See Abdokov 1983, 136.

***HirχA** to beat, hit, throw: Nakh. *t-ōχ-; Av.-And. *=uχ- (~ -q-); Lak. χ:la-; Darg. *²irχI-; Lezg. *jirχIa-; Khin. t:-äχ-; W.-Cauc. *p(ə)χIa-.

| Nakh. *t-ōχ- to beat, hit: Chech. tōχ-; Ing. toχ-; Bacb. toχ-.

The stem *t-ōχ- is terminative; the durative counterpart *t-e-b-χ- is preserved in Bacb. tēpχ-. An old Ablaut stem *-ārχ- with another preverb (*d-) is probably reflected in Chech. darχ-ō 'wounded (person)' (the semantic correlation 'to hit' - 'to wound' is quite usual in NC languages).

| Av.-And. *=uχ- (~ -q-) to beat, hit: Av. =uχ-.

| Lak. χ:la to break, burst.

Cf. Khosr. χ:la =uk:a-n id.

| Darg. *²irχI- to throw: Chir. irχI-.

With Ablaut cf. also Chir. s-āχI- / s-ārχI- 'to winnow'. An old derivate (suggesting the original meaning 'hit, wound') is PD *χIa-na 'scar' > Ak. haIna.

| Lezg. *jirχIa- to beat, hit: Ag. jarχ-; Rut. =iχIa-; Tsakh. iχIa-.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. jirχa-s, Tp. jirha-s, Rut. dur. =i-riχIa-r. In Rut. and Tsakh. the vowel -i- can either reflect PL *i before a pharyngealized consonant or the Ablaut grade *-i- (in Ag. -a- is a result of assimilation, cf. the more archaic forms in Ag. Bursh. and Tp.).

The root has also a nominal derivate meaning 'wound' (a usual semantic development in NC languages): PL *jirχIa-na (Ag. jarχun, Rut. jixlin, Tsakh. oχIna).

| Khin. t:-äχ- to chop, cut off.

| W.-Cauc. *p(ə)χIa- 1 to throw oneself upon, grab quickly: Ad. pχ~a-n; Kab. pχ~a-n; Ub. pχIa-.

PAK *pχ~a- (with secondary assimilative labialisation); Ub. sə-ßá-pχIa-n "je me jette sur lui". See Shagirov 2, 25.

[] A common NC expressive verb. As with other verbs of "beating", several languages have derivatives meaning "wound" (cf. Chech. darχ-, PD *χIa-na < *(Hir)χIV-nV = PL *jirχIona).

***HirχwV** to play: Av.-And. *=aχ~- (~ -o-); Darg. *=umχI(:)~-; Lezg. *²irχI~a.

| Av.-And. *=aχ~- (~ -o-) to play: Av. ha-; Akhv. =aχ~a-d-; Kar. =ah~-.
 Cf. also Akhv. Tlan. =aχ~a-d-, Ratl. =aχ~a-r-, Kar. Anch. =aχu-l- id.

| Darg. *=umχI(:)~- to play: Ak. =umh~-(Ur.).

| Lezg. *²irχI~a 1 to play 2 dice play 3 laugh, joke: Ag. d-urūχ- 1; Rut. χI~a-n 2; Arch. iχI 3.

Cf. also Ag. Tp. d-urha-s 'to play', Arch. iχI-erkurt:u 'funny' (showing the morphonemic weakness of χI). Rutul reflects a derivate *²irχI~a-n (with reduction of the first weak syllable).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Not clear is the nasal -m- in Darg. (neither Av.-And., nor Lezg. have any trace of a nasal); otherwise correspondences are regular. The vowel in PA probably reflects the Ablaut grade *e (> PA *o).

*HirǰV thick, dense: Av.-And. *č:VrV- (~ č:-); Tsez. *ʔilč-; Darg. *ʔurč:i-; Lezg. *rilč:V-; Khin. biči.

| Av.-And. *č:VrV- (~ č:-) thick: Akhv. č:are-da-.

Attested only in Akhvakh, thus the precise PA reconstruction is uncertain. Historically this is either a metathesis (< *r-Vč:V-), or an adjectival reduction < *-Vč:V-rV.

| Tsez. *ʔič- thick (of round objects): Tsez. =eči-ju / =ʔečču; Gin. ʔečču; Khvarsh. =ičču; Inkh. =ičču.

PTsKh *ʔiči-ju/-nu. Class prefixation is probably secondary.

| Darg. *ʔurč:i- dense: Ak. urzi-b-si.

Cf. also the adverbial form urzi-li.

| Lezg. *rilč:V- thick, dense: Tab. žeri (Khaidakov); Arch. dilča-.

| Khin. biči thick.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The original root structure was *HirǰV, with sporadic metatheses typical for adjectival stems. Most languages do not use class prefixes with this root, so prefixation in some Tsezian languages, as well as Khin. b- is apparently secondary.

*=Hi[š]wVn to extinguish, go out (of light): Av.-And. *=iš:V(n)-; Lak. l-ilš:a-; Darg. *=iš(Vn)-; Lezg. *ʔisʷan- / *ʔisʷar-.

| Av.-And. *=iš:V(n)- to extinguish, go out (of light): Av. s:ʷ-in-; Chad. sen-; Akhv. =is:ʷ-; Cham. =is:ʷ-; Tind. =uš:-; Kar. =eš:ʷā-; God. =iš:ī-.

The correspondence Av. s:(ʷ) : PA *š:(ʷ) is irregular (see below).

| Lak. l-ilš:a- to extinguish, go out (of light).

G. pr. liIs:un. Cf. Khosr. liIs:ʷa-n id.

| Darg. *=iš(Vn)- to extinguish, go out (of light): Chir. =iš- / =ilš-.

| Lezg. *ʔisʷan- / *ʔisʷar- to extinguish, go out (of light): Tab. kʔ-u=sʷ-; Ag. qat-us-; Kryz. w-u=sr-; Bud. e=sn-.

The variation of *-n and *-r-conjugations perhaps reflects two different roots.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root consonant behaves in a somewhat irregular manner: PA, Lak. and PD point to *šw (with tense phonation), but Avar and PL have unexpected hissing reflexes. This, together with the fact of variation between *-n and *-r-conjugation in PL, makes us suspect that contaminations of different roots have taken place. For the hissing *s (Av. s:ʷine, PL *ʔisʷVn-) cf. perhaps PEC *siHwV 'breath, soul' - especially reflexes like Kar. s:uhā- 'to get tired' (the semantic correlation 'breath, breathe' - 'extinguish' is typologically rather common).

*=HiχV to fly: Lak. lil=χ:a-; Darg. *ʔiχl-; Lezg. *ʔiχV.

| Lak. lil=χ:a- fly (v.).

G.pr. lil=χ:u-n. L- is historically a preverb.

| Darg. *ʔiχl- fly (v.): Chir. iχl-.

Isolated in Chir., but with secure external parallels. [The notation χ:l in the printed version of the MSU recordings is rather strange; a misspelling?]

| Lezg. *ʔiχV to fly: Tab. t-irχub; Tsakh. al-iχas.

The verb belongs to the strong class. The Tab. form contains an intensive preverb t-: cf. also Tsakh. hi-t-i-χa-s 'to row'.

In Ag. Bursh. we have alt-χi-s 'to fly' - which is presently easily analysed as preverb alt- + χi- 'to go' (see PL *ʔiχ(:)e-); but since historically these are quite different roots, it is probably a later merger.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

In PN we have *-aχ- 'to fly', which could also reflect this root; however, it has merged completely with *-aχ- 'to go, walk' (< PEC *-ixwV) q.v.

*=Hiǰǰ[m] to twist, bend, wind: Av.-And. *ǰVm- / *-Vǰ-; Tsez. *čič-; Lezg. *ʔiç:a(n); W.-Cauc. *ǰə (~ ǰ-).

| Av.-And. *ǰVm- / *-Vǰ- 1 to twist, wind 2 to wrap: Av. zem- 1; Akhv. =ar-až- 1; Tind. =er-už- 1; Kar. =egʷ-až- 2.

The morphological structure of the stem in Andian languages (components =ar-, =er-, =egʷ-) is not quite clear. Still, the relationship of Av. zem- (stem II) and PA *-Vǰ- (stem I) is very probable. Kar. (Arch., Rach., Anch.) has also a stem zem- 'to wrap', which is most probably borrowed from Avar.

| Tsez. *čič- to plait, wattle: Gunz. čič-.

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *ʔiç:a(n) 1 to bend 2 to wind, reel 3 to wrap 4 wrapped: Tab. =irǰ- 1; Ag. ǰad-iž- 3; Bud. q:-e=ǰn- 1; Arch. ča- 2; Ud. b-ač:u-r 4.

Cf. also Ag. Tp. ʔad-ižan- 'to wrap'. Medial -r- in Tab. is secondary (cf. the changing -r-/0- in Tab. Düb. =irǰ-, plur. d-iǰ-). Languages reveal a variation between -0 and -n-conjugations.

| W.-Cauc. *ǰə (~ ǰ-) to plait, wattle: Kab. zaʔʷə-ǰə-n; Ub. ǰə-.

Ub. a-z-ǰə-n. The Kab. word is formally analyzed as 'to throw (ǰə-) together', but in view of the Ubykh evidence it is rather a trace of an independent verbal root. The correspondence Ub. ǰ : PAK *ǰ can point both to PWC *ǰ and *ǰ.

[] The root obstruent and the vowels in all languages correspond well to each other, but the status of the final nasal is not quite clear (both Av.-And. and Lezghian languages reveal variation between -n and -0-conjugation). Initial laryngeal is suggested by the HU parallel: Hurr. χiz-IV- 'to roll up' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 43).

*=HiñčwV (~-m-, -l-) mane; cock's comb: Av.-And. *ʔančV (~q-, ǰ-, -o-); Tsez. *ʔis:V (~h-, -i-, -š-); Lak. ilč:u.

| Av.-And. *ʔančV (~q-, ǰ-, -o-) mane: Cham. anč (Gig.).

Isolated in Cham. (thus many PA prototypes are possible), but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *ʔis:V (~h-, -i-, -š-) mane; cock's comb: Tsez. ešu; Gin. ešu.

PTsKh *ʔišu (~i-, -~).

| Lak. ilč:u cock's comb.

Cf. also Khosr. hiłč:u id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Since reflexes of the root are known only in four languages, there is some uncertainty about the initial laryngeal and the medial resonant (several alternative reconstructions are possible).

*HišiwV (-tī) side: Av.-And. *ʔisib(V); Tsez. *ʒeblV A; Darg. *š:ali; Lezg. *s:iw.

| Av.-And. *ʔisib(V) 1 side 2 corner: Av. *xibíl* 1; Chad. *šibíl* 2; And. *isibo-l* 1; Akhv. *eše* 1; Cham. *isib* / *esib* 1; Tind. *esaba* 1; Kar. *esebo* 1; Botl. *isib* 1; God. *isib* 1.

Av. paradigm B (*xolbó-l*, *xalbé-l*, Chad. *šolbó-l*, *šalbé-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan., Ratl. *ešeb*. The word for "near" in Cham. is a derivate of this root (*esba-q:e*). Note that the Av. lit. form here reflects *š-, while all other forms reflect *s; variation between *š and *s is typical for reflexes of *š.

| Tsez. *ʒeblV A 1 rib 2 side: Tsez. *žibra* 1; Gin. *žibra* 1; Khvarsh. *žebra* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *žebra* 1; Bezht. *šeblo* 1,2; Gunz. *šeble* 1,2.

PTsKh *ʒebRa, PGB *šeblV.

| Darg. *š:ali side: Ak. *šali*; Chir. *š:ile*.

Cf. also Ur. *šali*, Kub. *š:ale*.

| Lezg. *s:iw 1 mouth 2 edge, end: Lezg. *siw* 1; Tab. *uś* 1; Ag. *stw* 1; Tsakh. *siw* 2; Kryz. *siw* 1; Bud. *siw* 1; Arch. *s:ob* 1,2; Ud. *oIs* 2.

Obl. base *s:wi-, cf. Lezg. *siwi-*, Ag. *siwi-*, Tsakh. *siwi-*. Cf. also (for the reflexes of *s:) Tab. Düb. *uzʷu*, Ag. Bursh. *s:iw*. Tab. and Ud. reflect a metathesised form *ʔis:ʷ (which may be archaic in the light of external evidence). Belongs to the 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. Rutul has not preserved the root independently; but probably a trace of it has stayed in *xe-si-m* (< *xex-si(w)-*) 'face' ('nose'+ 'mouth').

See Leksika 1971, 108; Talibov 1980, 314.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The stem contains an element *-tī (av. *xibi-l*, PTs *ʒeb-lV, PD *š:a-li < *š:aw-li) which is present not in all languages and may be an old suffix. But if it is not, then this is one of several very rare cases of tetrasyllabic roots in PEC. Quite enigmatic is the Lak. form *čul* 'side' (why č-?).

*HkštV dirt: Nakh. *j(h)olk; Av.-And. *kila (~ -o); Lezg. *lak(a).

| Nakh. *j(h)olk sediment after boiling butter: Chech. *jök-aš*; Ing. *lok*.

The Chech. form is a pluralis tantum. The PN -l- must be reconstructed to account for the exceptional correlation Chech. j- : Ing. l-.

| Av.-And. *kila (~ -o) 1 dung 2 dung (of cow) 3 dry dung: And. *čil* 1; Akhv. *kila* 2,3; Cham. *čila* 2,3; Tind. *kila* 3; Kar. *kila* 3; Bagv. *kila* 3 (*Kvan.*); God. *kila* 3.

| Lezg. *lak(a) 1 dung (of neat cattle) 2 dried snot in nose: Lezg. *lak* (*dial.*) 1; Tab. *luk* 2.

The comparison is rather probable; vowels reflect the usual PL Ablaut *a/*o.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except for a metathesis *lak < *kal in Lezg. - usual for the structure *HCVCV).

Abayev (1973, 39) suggests Caucasian origin for Osset. *lāx* / *lāxā* 'faeces'.

*Hi[a]lV breast; back: Av.-And. *haļu (~h-, -o-); Tsez. *HaļV; Lak. *tilik*; Khin. *nākid*; W.-Cauc. *ļā.

| Av.-And. *haļu (~h-, -o-) breast: And. *la-bur*; Cham. *halʷ*; Kar. *halʷu* (*Tok.*).

The And. form is a reduction of the plural *haļa-bur; cf. also And. Gag. *lʷabur*, Zil. *abur*, Rikv. *lʷaur*.

| Tsez. *HaļV (~ -ɔ-) waist: Bezht. *coṭar-aļa-s*.

The Bezht. word is a compound with *coṭaro* 'navel'. In the Tlad. dialect the same word sounds *ciṭiraļas* / *tiṭiraļas* which is a contamination with *tiṭiro* 'belt'. The second component (-aļa-s) is an archaic noun meaning 'back, waist' (although synchronously the word may be analysed as 'situated above the navel' - which is probably a folk etymology).

| Lak. *tilik* back.

| Khin. *nākid* back; waist.

| W.-Cauc. *ļā back: Ad. *čə-b*; Kab. *šə-b*.

PAK *čə (in compounds with *bə 'thick part', *p:q:ə 'bone' > Ad. *čə-pq:* 'waist'). The PAK *čə may go back to PWC *ļ, *ļʷ, *č or *čʷ; we prefer *ļ only on the basis of the external evidence.

[] The root is preserved only in a few EC languages, but appears to be archaic. Correspondences are regular. One phonetic problem, however, is that we should expect *ļ: in PWC before an originally long vowel - this makes the comparison less reliable. The Khin. form can belong here if -id may be considered as a suffix, and *nāk-* < *lāk- (although reasons for *l- > n- are not quite clear).

Abdokov (1983,73) also compares the PAK form with EC; the Bezht. form *ļa* 'behind' which he quotes, may in fact belong here too (although the source of it is unknown to us); however, other forms that are adduced, either do not belong here (as Lezg. *kul*), or are misspelled (as Akhv. *raļ:aļi* - instead of *raq:ʷaļ:i*).

*HlaswA to tremble: Av.-And. *sʷVr-; Darg. *s:Vrs:-; Lezg. *ʔals:a; W.-Cauc. *səsə / *čəsə.

| Av.-And. *sʷVr- 1 to tremble 2 to be afraid, scared: Av. *soró-* 1; Chad. *soró-* 1; And. *sir-d-* 2; Kar. *sor-* 1.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. *ser-ab-* 'to tremble'.

| Darg. *s:Vrs:- to tremble: Ak. *serser-ikəs*.

| Lezg. *ʔals:a 1 to tremble, shake 2 to boil 3 to stir, move: Lezg. *q:-arsa-* 1; Rut. *l-a=rsa-* 2; Kryz. *=äs-* 1; Bud. *h-a=s-* 1; Arch. *=as:a-* 1.

Cf. Arch. dur. *=as:a-r*. Preservation of a medial liquid in Lezg. and Rut. points to *-l- (*-r- would have disappeared in these languages).

| W.-Cauc. *čəsə / *səsə to tremble, shake: Abkh. *a-čas-rá*; Abaz. *čs-ra*; Ad. *səsə-n*; Kab. *səsə-n*.

PAT *čəsə; PAK *səsə. An expressive root with irregular glottalisation in PAT.

[] One of the few verbs with the root structure *HRVCV. Some irregularities (reduplication, sporadic glottalisation in WC) are conditioned by its expressive nature. See Abdokov 1983, 166.

***HiakV** (/ ***HalkV**) lame: Av.-And. ***kirV**-; Lak. **alrč:a**-; Darg. ***hark:a**- (~ **č**-); Lezg. ***läkV**-.

| Av.-And. ***kirV**- 1 lame 2 to limp: Akhv. *kire-da*- 1; Kar. *ker*- 2.
| Lak. **alrč:a**- lame.

Cf. Khosr. **alrč:a-s:a**.

| Darg. ***hark:a**- (~ **č**-) lame: Chir. **čark:a-ze**.

The word may be borrowed from Lak.

| Lezg. ***läkV**- lame: Tab. *liku*; Kryz. *luka*; Arch. *lak:a-t:u*-.

The vowel -u- in Kryz. is unclear.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. There is some variation between the root structures *HRVCV and *HVRCV (which is not unusual in adjectival and verbal roots); otherwise correspondences are regular.

***HiälV** liver: Av.-And. ***riälV**; Lak. **t:ilik**; Darg. ***dulek**; Lezg. ***lääl**.

| Av.-And. ***riälV** liver: Av. *tul*; Chad. *tul*; And. *reliäl:i*; Akhv. *riälēäl:i*; Cham. *jelaäl*; Tind. *relaäl*; Kar. *reälajiäl*; Botl. *rehin*; Bagv. *leleäl*; God. *leliäl*.

Av. paradigm C (*tulä-l*, *tula-l*). We should note that the position of the Avar word is somewhat dubious: it may belong here only if **t** < ***ä** (then it would be a metathesized form of the same root which is reflected in all Andian languages). However, there seems to be (in this particular case) no evidence from Southern Avar dialects for Proto-Avar ***ä** - all dialectal forms seem to point to ***t**. Thus the Avar word is either unrelated, or the dialectal evidence should be explained by borrowing from literary Avar.

As for Andian languages, the simple root ***riälV** is reflected only in Botl. (where *rehin* < ***re?i-n** < ***riäi-n** with a suffixed -n) and Kar. Tok. *rel?i-r* (with suffixed -r). All other forms go back to a compound ***riäl-a-jil:i** (see ***riäl:i** for etymology of the second part). Cf. also Bagv. Tlis. *releäl*, Akhv. Tseg. *riälajiäl:i*, Tlan. *ruälēäl:i*, Ratl. *riälajäl:i*, Cham. Gig. *relaäl* etc.

| Lak. **t:ilik** liver.

4 class. Cf. Khosr. **t:ilik**.

| Darg. ***dulek** liver: Ak. *dulek*; Chir. *dilak*.

Cf. also Kub. *dilik*, Tsud. *dulek* 'liver', Ur. *dulik* 'lung' etc.

| Lezg. ***lääl** liver: Lezg. *leq*; Tab. *lik*; Ag. *lek*; Rut. *laq*; Tsakh. *kil'kam*; Kryz. *lähä-lähkän*; Bud. (*la^əa*)-*leq*.

In Tsakh. the form is reduplicated (under influence of *zilzam* 'spleen' q.v.). In Kryz. there occurred an irregular change ***läqä-n** > *lähkän* under influence of *lähä* 'black' (the form actually means 'black liver', cf. the same combination in Bud.). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. See Bokarev 1961, 60; Leksika 1971, 122; Gineyshvili 1977, 104.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Length of the final vowel is

unclear: the Av. paradigm C and the structure of the root in PA (*RVCV) point to a short vowel; however, Eastern Dagestan forms presuppose a form like ***HiälV**. Metathesized ***HälV** might have also existed (cf. Avar *tul* - if it belongs here, see above), in which case we can also compare Urart. *zel-dä* 'liver' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 48-49).

Abdokov's (1982, 83) attempt to compare this root with WC ***č^wA** 'liver' should be regarded as unsuccessful (for phonetic reasons, and because of a better etymology for the WC form, q.v.).

***HižwV** herd, flock: Nakh. ***ža**; Lezg. ***luč:(a)**.

| Nakh. ***ža** flock (of sheep): Chech. *ža*; Ing. *ža*; Bacb. *že*.

3d class in all languages. The paradigm can be reconstructed as dir. ***ža**, obl. ***že**- (cf. Chech. *ža*, gen. *že-n*, dat. *že-na*, Ing. *ža*, erg. *že-wo*); in Bacb. the oblique base superseded the direct one. Cf. also Lev. *ža*, Akk. *ža*, Khild. *že* id.

| Lezg. ***luč:(a)** 1 flock, shoal 2 herd (of cattle) 3 flock (of sheep): Lezg. *luž* 1; Tab. *liz* 3; Ag. *luž* 2.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *liži*, Kand. *liž* 'flock', Ag. Bursh. *liž*, Burk. *luž* 'herd'. Oblique base unknown (only forms with consonantal obl. base markers are attested).

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss. Acceptable, if we assume a reduction in early PN: ***V(l)ža** > ***ža**.

***HiögVn-** to destroy, break, scatter: Av.-And. ***=iq:Vn-** / ***q:in-**; Lak. **t:iri=χ:il-**; Darg. ***=uqVn-**; Lezg. ***?alχ:Vn-**; Khin. **zä=q-**.

| Av.-And. ***=iq:Vn-** / ***q:in-** to break, be broken: Chad. **=iqn-**; And. **=iq:in-**; Cham. **=aq:n-**; Tind. **q:in-**; Kar. **q:in-** (Tok.).

A typical alternation of stems I (***=iq:Vn-**) and II (***q:in-**); in Cham. cf. also **q:in-** (= **=aq:n-**) 'to break' (**q:in-** is transitive, **=aq:n-** can be both transitive and intransitive). The root should be kept apart from PA ***=iq:V-** / ***q:V-ar-** 'to tear off' (q.v.).

| Lak. **t:iri=χ:il-** to untangle, disentangle; be untangled.

G. pr. **t:iri=χ:ul-nu**.

| Darg. ***=uqVn-** to be separated, separate: Ak. **=uqn-** / **=ulq-(Ur)**.

| Lezg. ***?alχ:Vn-** 1 to scatter, be scattered 2 to disperse: Tab. **k:ar-a=č-** 1; Ag. **d-alχan-** 2 (Bursh.); Arch. **=arχ:in-** 1.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. **d-a=č-** 'to scatter', **al-d-a=č-** 'to disperse'.

| Khin. **zä=q-** to tear, break.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. A rare case of the verbal structure with an initial laryngeal cluster (reflected in Lak. as **t:VrV-**).

***Hiöšwě** hundred: Av.-And. ***bišo-nV**; Lak. **t:urš**; Darg. ***darš**; Lezg. ***wallš**; W.-Cauc. ***š^wV**.

| Av.-And. ***bišo-nV** hundred: Av. *nús-go*; Chad. *nús-gu*; And. *bešono-gu*; Akhv. *bešano-da*; Cham. *behan-na*; Tind. *behan-da*; Kar. *bešan-(da)*; Botl. *bešunu-da*; Bagv. *bešani-da*; God. *bešenu-da*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *bešan-da*, Kar. Tok. *bexan*, Bagv. Tlond. *bešen*. The

Avar form *nus* < *bVns < *bišVnV- (cf. Andian forms). An old Andian loanword is PTsKh *bešon (Tsez., Gin. *bišon*, Khvarsh., Inkh. *bešon*).

[Gunz., Bezht. *çiṭ* 'hundred' is a curious case. It is obviously the result of folk-etymological analysis of Avar *nus* 'hundred' as 'knife' (in Avar there exists a homonymous *nus* 'knife' - of course, quite different etymologically). Since the Gunzib/Bezhta word for 'knife' is *çiṭ*, it obtained the additional meaning 'hundred' under Avar influence.]

| Lak. *t:urš* hundred.

With lax -š, cf. *t:uršul-činmur* 'hundredth'.

| Darg. **darš*: hundred: Ak. *darš*; Chir. *darš*;

Cf. also Ur. *darš* id.

| Lezg. **walš*: hundred: Lezg. *wiš*; Tab. *warž*; Ag. *baIrs*; Rut. *wäš* / *walš*; Tsakh. *walš*; Arch. *baIš*, *baIš:a-tu*; Ud. *bačI*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *warža*, Ag. Bursh., Burk. *waIrs*. The correlation Ag., Tab. -r- : -š- in other languages points to PL *-l- (*-r- would have been preserved in this cluster by all languages).

| W.-Cauc. **s^wV* hundred: Abkh. *s^v-kə*; Abaz. *s^w-kə*; Ad. *śa*; Kab. *śa*; Ub. *s^wa*.

PAT **s^wə* (with a singulative suffix -kə); PAK **śa*.

[] A widely spread common NC root. In PL and PAV.-And. the root has a class prefix *w- (in PAV.-And. it has replaced the original r-: we would expect in PA **rišo-* as a regular reflex of the structure *HRVCV̄); we should stress that in PD and Lak. initial d- and t- are not class prefixes, but regular protheses in this phonetic structure.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 275; Abdokov 1983, 152.

*HluḷĒ arm: Av.-And. **ruḷ*:V; Darg. **dul(V)γ*; Lezg. **ḷ*:ol; Khin. *kil*; W.-Cauc. **bə*ḷa.

| Av.-And. **ruḷ*:V 1 arm 2 shoulder: Av. *ruḷ*;; Cham. *bažuḷ*: *wuḷ*;; Tind. *bažuḷ:a ruḷ:a*; Bagv. *bažu-ruḷ*;

Av. paradigm C (*ruḷ:á-lzul*, *ruḷ:al*). The Andian languages have a compound with **bažu* 'arm' to avoid homonymy with **ruḷ*:V 'yoke' q.v.

| Darg. **dul(V)γ* elbow: Chir. *duluγ*.

Cf. also Kharb. *dulaj-naqI* 'elbow' (*naqI* 'arm, hand').

| Lezg. **ḷ*:ol 1 shoulder-blade 2 foreleg (of animal) 3 arm 4 hip: Lezg. *kul* 1; Tab. *k:ul* 2; Ag. *k:ul* 2 (*K*); Rut. *gil* 2; Tsakh. *giwi* 2; Kryz. *kil* 3; Bud. *kil* 3; Arch. *ḷ*:ol 1,2; Ud. *q:ul* 4.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *k:il* 'shoulder-blade', *k:(i)l-ar* 'back'; Kryz. *kel-kiž*. 'armful', Bud. *kalkiž* 'under one's arm' (originally a subessive form). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. Obl. base **ḷ:ola-* (cf. Lezg. *kula-*, Khl. *k:la-*, Tab. *k:uli-*); the Tsakh. reflex goes back to a suffixed **ḷ:olV-j*.

| Khin. *kil* arm.

| W.-Cauc. **b(ə)ḷa* arm: Ad. *ḡā-bL*; Kab. *bLa*, *ḡa-bLa*.

PAK **bLa* (also in compound with **ḡa* 'hand').

[] In PL and Khin. there occurred a secondary metathesis (we should expect a form like PL **Holḷ*:) - probably to avoid a cluster of two

laterals. Otherwise the correspondences are regular. PWC has a prefixed *b- (as in many other cases). See Abdokov 1983, 81 (where the root is mixed up with **remḷe* 'cubit' q.v.)

*HtuLV sleeve; wing: Av.-And. **k^wo-(l)lV*; Tsez. **ko-LV* (~u-, -L:-); Darg. **dulk:*^wa; Lezg. **loḷ*:(a).

| Av.-And. **k^wo-(l)lV* sleeve: Av. *ku-llel* (*Andal*); And. *k^wo-l*.

An old compound with **k^wo-* 'hand'. Should be kept apart from **k^wo-lalV* 'mitten' q.v. (for phonetic reasons and because of the opposition in And.: *k^wo-l* 'sleeve' - *k^wo-lir* 'mitten').

| Tsez. **ko-LV* (~u-, -L:-) sleeve: Tsez. *kuḷa*; Khvarsh. *kuḷu* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *kulu*.

PTsKh **kuLV*. An old compound with **ku-* (**ko-*) 'hand' (see **k^wirV*).

| Darg. **dulk:*^wa sleeve: Chir. *durk:*^wa.

Cf. also Gapsh. *dulga*, Kait. *durk:a*, Kub. *dak:*^wa (pl. *dulk-me*). Some dialects have strange forms with -ḡ- (Ak., Mek., Kharb. *dulḡa*) which are as yet unexplained.

| Lezg. **loḷ*:(a) 1 wing 2 sleeve: Lezg. *luw* 1; Tab. *luw* 2.

The oblique base in PL was either **loḷ:a-* or **loḷ:ā-*, to judge from Lezg. *luwa-*. Cf. also Tab. Kand. *luγ*, Düb. *luγu* 'sleeve'.

[] Reconstructed for the EC level. The PD (**dulk:*^wa < **duluk:a*) and PL form point to the PEC structure *HRVCV̄; this should have given *HVRCV (in this case, **HulLV*) in Avaro-Ando-Cezian languages. However, the root was preserved only within a compound with **kwil[?]i* 'hand', and the first syllable was reduced both in Avaro-Andian and Cezian languages. In general, the comparison seems quite plausible.

*HḷwərV honeycombs; wax: Nakh. **ulχ*; Tsez. **lorV* B; W.-Cauc. **ḷ^wa*.

| Nakh. **ulχ* honeycombs: Chech. *ulχ*; Ing. *ulχ*.

4th class in both languages. Obl. base **ulχa-* (Chech. *ulχa-*, Ing. *ulχo*), but a trace of the older oblique base **alχV-* is preserved in Chech. plur. *alχaš*. Cf. also Pharch. *urχ* id.

| Tsez. **lorV* B beehive: Tsez. *riḷlo* / *reḷlo*; Bezht. *horo*; Gunz. *horo*.

PGB **horo* (cf. also Khosh. *hōrō*) (< **ḷ-*).

| W.-Cauc. **ḷ^wa* 1 wax 2 honeycombs: Abkh. *a-č^vá* 1; Abaz. *č^wa-ba* 1; Ad. *śafə* 1; Kab. *śax^w* 1; Ub. *c^wa-mḡá* 2.

PAT **c^wa*; PAK **ča-* in compounds: **ča-x^wə* 'wax' (lit. 'white wax'), **ča-k^wá* 'wax waste' (Ad., Kab. *śak^wa*). The correspondence PAT, Ub. *c^w* : PAK **č* points only to **ḷ^w* in PWC.

[] A common NC term. The affricate **ḷ^w* in PWC can be explained if we assume a fusion with a dental prefix (**ḷ^wa* < **T-ḷ^wa*), as in some other similar cases.

*HḷəIV (~ö-) mouth; jaw: Av.-And. **irḷ*:V; Lezg. **ḷ*:al.

| Av.-And. **irḷ*:V jaw: Cham. *erḷ:*^w; Tind. *erḷ:i*; God. *eluḷ:a*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *erḷi*.

| Lezg. **ḷ*:al mouth: Rut. *yal*; Tsakh. *yal*.

4th class in Rut. and Tsakh. Obl. stem * λ :olV- (cf. Rut. *γili*-). Phonetically coincides with PL * λ :al 'bark, shell' (q.v.), although such a semantic shift is hard to explain.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Not very widely spread, but phonetically and semantically quite plausible.

*H λ w $\dot{i}$ mā (~-e) wind, air: Nakh. *m(h)o χ ; Av.-And. *x^wonHi; Lezg. * λ uma (* λ ^wima).

| Nakh. *m(h)o χ wind: Chech. *mo χ* ; Ing. *mu χ* ; Bacb. *mo χ* .

6th class in all languages. Obl. base *ma χ i- (Chech. *me χ a*-, Ing. *mi χ o*, Bacb. *ma χ i*-).

| Av.-And. *x^wonHi 1 smell 2 to smell: And. *šun*- 2; Akhv. *š^wani* 1, *šun*- 2; Cham. *hun*- 2; Tind. *hun*- 2; Kar. *x^wāji* 1; Bagv. *h^wā[?]i* 1; God. *šāji* 1.

The stem serves both as nominal and verbal in Andian languages. Cf. also Bagv. Tlis. *χ^wāji* 'smell', Akhv. Tseg. *š^wan*, Tlan., Ratl. *š^wā* id., Kar. Tok. *x^wāji* / *xōj* 'smell', *xun*- 'to smell', God. Zib. *šāhi* 'smell'.

| Lezg. * λ uma (* λ ^wima) smoke: Lezg. *gum*; Tab. *kum*; Ag. *kum*; Rut. *xum*; Tsakh. *kuma*; Kryz. *firmi*; Bud. *xim*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *gim*, Nüt. *γum*. The Kryz. form represents an original plural building (*firmi* < **fim-ri*). Shakhdagh > Khin. *ximi* 'smoke'.

See Talibov 1960a, 298; Leksika 1971, 197.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (this is a typical example of the *HCVRV structure).

*H λ onũ bottom: Av.-And. *him λ u; Tsez. * $\text{?}\tilde{o}\lambda u$ B; Lak. *čan*; Lezg. * λ an; Khin. *kan-i κ* ; W.-Cauc. * λ V.

| Av.-And. *him λ u bottom: Av. *tinu*; Chad. *tinu*; And. *hilmu*; Akhv. *mi λ i-do*; Cham. *hil^w*; Tind. *hinlu*; Kar. *him[?]u* (Tok.); Bagv. *hil^w*; God. *hinlu*.

Av. paradigm C (*tinā-lzul*, *tinā-bi*; but Chad. A: gen. *tinu-l*). Cf. also Av. Gid. (Gudava) *λino*, And. (Gudava) *hin λ u*, Akhv. Ratl. *mi λ o*, Tseg., Tlan. *mi λ u* (the North. form *mi λ ido* is originally locative), Cham. Gig. *hinnu*, God. Zib. *hilmu*. Akhv. *mi λ o* is an obvious metathesis < * $\text{?}im\lambda o$; in Av. one would rather expect * $\text{?}in\lambda u$ (or **ni λ u*); the form *tinu* is a result of metathesis (or an exceptional preservation of the archaic consonant order).

| Tsez. * $\text{?}\tilde{o}\lambda u$ B bottom: Tsez. *e λ u* / *i λ u*; Gin. *i λ u*; Khvarsh. *i λ u*; Inkh. *e λ u*; Bezht. *ō λ o*; Gunz. *ē λ u*.

PTsKh * $\text{?}\tilde{o}\lambda u$; PGB * $\text{?}\tilde{o}\lambda u$. The reflex * $\tilde{o}$ in PGB is irregular (* $\tilde{o}$ would be expected).

| Lak. *čan* bottom; sole; horseshoe.

| Lezg. * λ an bottom: Lezg. *kan*; Tab. *kan*; Ag. *ken*; Rut. *qan*; Tsakh. *kan*; Kryz. *qān*; Bud. *qan*; Arch. *kan*.

Cf. also Tsakh. Gelm. *qan*. Obl. base * λ ani- (cf. Lezg. *kani*-, Tab. *kana*-, Ag. *keni*-, Rut. *qanā*-, Tsakh. *kani*-). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Leksika 1971, 184; Talibov 1960a, 300; Giginayshvili 1977, 103.

| Khin. *kan-i κ* under.

| W.-Cauc. * λ V 1 bottom, lower part 2 under (preverb): Abkh. *ā-ča* 1; Abaz. *č-^wa* 1; Ad. *ča*- 2; Kab. *ša*- 2; Ub. *-ča* 1.

PAT * $\text{?}cV$ (cf. also Bzyb. *ā-č* 'bottom'); PAK * $\text{?}ca$ -; in Ub. the morpheme is used in compounds: *ba-čā* 'lower part', *ša-čā* 'pillow' (*ša* 'head').

The correspondence PAK * $\text{?}c$: PAT * $\text{?}c$: Ub. *č* points to the PWC lateral * λ . In PAK, however, there exists also a separate root * $\text{?}ca$ 'bottom' (Ad. *ča*, Kab. *ša*) - which can reflect a variant with labialisation * λ^wV (perhaps reflecting an early PWC metathesised variant **Hnō λ ũ*).

[] A widely spread common NC root (there also may have existed a variant **Hnō λ ũ* which can be reflected in some subgroups). The EC-WC comparison see in Abdokov 1983, 97.

*H λ w $\dot{i}$ nV winter; year: Nakh. * $\text{?}a\chi kV$; Av.-And. * λ :inV; Tsez. * λi ; Lak. *k^wi*; Darg. * $\gamma a(ni)$; Khin. *kina-z*; W.-Cauc. * $\lambda^w\tilde{a}$.

| Nakh. * $\text{?}a\chi kV$ summer: Chech. *ā χ kē*; Ing. *a χ ka*; Bacb. *χko*.

Short vowel reconstructed because of reduction in Bacbi. Ing. *a χ ka* = Chech. *ā χ ka* 'in summer' (Chech. *ā χ kē* is a suffixed form).

The meaning "summer" is obviously secondary. The older meaning 'year' is still preserved in the PN compound **stā-χkū* 'last year' > Chech. *sto χ ka*, Ing. *sō χ k*, Bacb. *stā χ kū* (for the etymology of the first part see PEC **šwājV*).

| Av.-And. * λ :inV winter: Av. *λ:in* (*Uslar*); Chad. *λin*; And. *λ:inu*.

Av. paradigm A (*λ:in-dal*; Chad. *λin-dal*, *λina-l*).

| Tsez. * λi year: Tsez. *λalb*; Gin. *λebu*; Khvarsh. *λib*; Inkh. *λib*; Bezht. *λi*; Gunz. *λi*.

PGB * λi . PTsKh * $\lambda i-b(u)$ contains an original plural suffix; it is worth noting that in PTsKh the word is homonymous with **λib(u)* 'leaf' q.v., which probably influenced its vocalism (PTsKh **i* or **ə* should be expected). The same root is present in PTs * $\lambda i-nV$ / * $\text{?}i-\lambda i-nV$ 'winter' (* $\text{?}i$ - is a pronominal element, originally 'this winter' - the whole form is probably an original locative case, preserving the root resonant and meaning 'in winter', '(in) this winter'). Cf. Tsez. *e λ nu*, Gin. *e λ ni*, Khvarsh. *e λ nu*, Inkh. *i λ nu* (PTsKh * $\text{?}i\lambda nV$), Bezht. *λine*, Gunz. *λini* (PGB * λinV) 'winter'. With other suffixation there exists also Bezht. (Tlad., Khosh.) *λi-l-mā* 'in winter'.

| Lak. *k^wi* winter.

Gen. *kin-tni-l*. Cf. Khosr. *k^wi*, *k^win-tni-l* id.

| Darg. * $\gamma a(ni)$ winter: Ak. *jani*; Chir. *γa*.

Cf. also Chir. *γane* 'in winter', Ur. *ini*, Gapsh. *zeni*, Kub. *ga*, *gane* 'winter'.

| Khin. *kina-z* winter.

| W.-Cauc. * $\lambda^w\tilde{a}$ winter: Ad. *čā-māf*; Kab. *šā-māx^wa*.

PAK **čā-māx^wa* (a compound with **max^wa* 'day, time'). Since only AK forms are attested, the WC reconstruction is tentative and oriented by the external evidence (without it one could also reconstruct * $\text{?}c$, * $\text{?}c^w$ or * λ).

[] Correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems quite reliable. The original meaning is certainly 'winter'; the meaning 'summer' in PN comes from the intermediate stage 'year' (cf. the meanings in Tsezian languages).

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241 (for EC). Abdokov (1983, 91) proposes a different comparison for EC: PWC *bžV 'winter, autumn', which seems impossible for phonetic reasons.

*HlünV hem (of a garment): Tsez. *ʔāLV (~h-, -L-); Lak. lan-t:u; Lezg. *λ:en (~g-, -i-, -i-).

| Tsez. *ʔāLV (~h-, -L-) hem (of a garment): Tsez. aλu; Inkh. aInna.

PTsKh *ʔāLV.

| Lak. lan-t:u hem of a kerchief (used by women for wrapping).

| Lezg. *λ:en (~g-, -i-, -i-) front hem of a garment: Lezg. gin.

Attested only in Lezg. (obl. base gini-), but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except for the always suspicious vowel *ü).

*HmičwV green, unripe: Nakh. *nošV / *mošV (~ō-); Av.-And. *=irç:Vn-; Tsez. *ʔičV- / *ničV-.

| Nakh. *nošV / *mošV (~ō-) 1 green, unripe 2 to grow overripe: Chech. noš-dala 2; Ing. moša 1.

The Chech. compound verb means actually "to stop (d-āla) being unripe" = "to grow ripe, overripe"; cf. the equivalent Ing. moš-dala "to become foul, rotten".

| Av.-And. *=irç:Vn- blue: And. =erç:om (Khaidakov).

Attested only in And., with possible external parallels.

| Tsez. *ʔičV- / *ničV- 1 green 2 green, blue: Tsez. ʔečjasi 1; Bezht. ničdiḡ 2; Gunz. ničdu 2.

PGB *nič-.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Andian form can be explained as a metathesis *=irç:Vn- < *-inç:-Vr- (where -inç:- = PTs *ʔič-).

*HmiḥwV smell, odour; cry; an odorous grass: Nakh. *m(h)oh; Av.-And. *ʔimHV; Lezg. *niʔ; W.-Cauc. *mV.

| Nakh. *m(h)oh cry, moan: Chech. moh; Ing. muh.

6th class in both languages. Obl. base *mahe-r- (cf. Chech. māhara-, Ing. maharo).

| Av.-And. *ʔimHV 1 smell 2 mint: Av. mah 1; And. in-c:irṭa 2; Akhv. ʔemu 2; Cham. i-čita (Gig.) 2; Tind. e-čet 2.

Av. mah < *ʔVmh. Conf. also Akhv. Tseg. ʔiju 'mint'. Most Andian forms go back to a compound *ʔim-č:irṭa (etymology of the second part see under PEC *čVrVrV). Av. > Bezht. māh 'smell'.

| Lezg. *niʔ 1 smell 2 mint 3 stink, stench: Lezg. ni (pl. niʔer) 1; Tab. niʔ 1; Ag. niʔ 1 (Tp.); Tsakh. niʔi / nī 2; Kryz. neʔ 3; Bud. neʔ 1.

4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. See Talibov 1980, 272.

| W.-Cauc. *mV smell: Ad. ma; Kab. ma; Ub. mǝ-sǝ.

PAK *ma; Ub. def. ǝ-msa. The Ub. word is a compound with an unclear second component -sa.

[] An interesting common NC root. Phonetically it is one of a few

roots with the structure HRVHV. Semantically it also presents some interesting features. The original meaning was most probably 'smell, odour' with two subsequent semantic developments: a) > 'mint' (as 'odorous grass') and b) > 'expiration, movement of air' > 'cry, moan' (only in Nakh).

Perhaps we should also relate to this root Lak. jaj 'a k. of grass' (нажитник) and Khin. jenje-č 'caraway' (if these forms can be traced to an intermediate structure *HinHV < *HimHV).

The root *HmiḥwV probably served as basis for deriving PEC *miḥwVrV 'a k. of odorous grass' (q.v.), which perhaps in this case should be reconstructed as *HmiḥwV-rV.

See Abdokov 1983, 98 (containing also a suggestion of a possible etymological connection between *HmiḥwV 'smell' and PEC *miḥwVIV 'nose' q.v.).

*HmVGṼ thirst, to be thirsty: Av.-And. *hanq:- / *q:in-; Tsez. *ʔāq-; Lak. malq; Lezg. *muq:V.

| Av.-And. *hanq:- / *q:in- 1 thirst 2 to be thirsty 3 greedy: Av. q:eč 1; And. q:inni-b 3; Akhv. āq:ež- 2; Cham. hākaze 1; Tind. hanq:až- 2; Kar. hanq:ež- 2; Botl. q:in-da- 3; God. q:ini-bu 3.

Most languages reflect stem I *hanq:- (~ -o-) with expressive suffixes *-ž- / *-č- (Av. q:eč, q:ečē-ze is contracted < *HVnq:e-č-; -k- in Cham. is irregular, possibly a misspelling). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. aq:ač-, Kar. Tok. hinq:iš:- (with yet another expressive suffix, probably also present in a reduplicated form: God. q:inq:iš:i 'miser, greedy man').

Stem II *q:in- is reflected in And., Botl. and God. with the meaning 'greedy' (for the semantics cf. Russ. жажда - жадный et al.).

| Tsez. *ʔāq- to be thirsty: Tsez. ač-aqI-; Gunz. āq-.

The Tsez. form contains an expressive prefix.

| Lak. malq thirst.

| Lezg. *muq:V 1 greedy 2 thirsty: Tab. muq:i 1; Ag. muq:u-ruḡ 1; Arch. muq:ǝ-t:u 2.

The printed version of the MSU recordings has Ag. muqrux (opposed to the previous recording muq:urux), which is probably a misspelling. -uḡ is an expressive suffix.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root structures correspond well, but due to metatheses and verbal Ablaut, the vocalism is rather hard to reconstruct.

*HmVrǝ flame, wick: Nakh. *ʔinǝa (~ -č-); Lezg. *murc:(a) (~ -o-); W.-Cauc. *bǝza.

| Nakh. *ʔinǝa (~ -č-) wick: Ing. inza.

Attested only in Ing., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *murc:(a) (~ -o-) flame: Lezg. murz; Tab. murz.

Obl. stem unknown.

| W.-Cauc. *bǝza 1 candle 2 lamp 3 ray 4 light: Abkh. ǝ-čʷǝ-mza 1; Abaz. mǝza 2; Ad. bzaj 3; Kab. bzij 3; Ub. mǝzǝ 2,4.

PAT **məza* (cf. also Bzyb. *á-mza* 'torch'; Abzh. has a compound with *čʷə- 'wax'*); PAK **bzə-jə* (with a pronominal second part, see Shagirov 1,95); Ub. def. *á-mza*.

Shagirov (1,95) explains the root morpheme in PAK **bzə-jə* as 'tongue'; this is, indeed, probable because of the compound identity (Ad. *mašʷa-bzəj* = Abkh. *á-mca-bz* = Ub. *məʒa-bza* 'fire tongue, flame'). Since, however, PAT **məza* and Ub. *məʒa* 'candle, light' certainly constitute a different root (obviously having nothing to do with **bəza* 'tongue'), it seems probable that in PAK the two different PWC roots had merged (phonetically this is quite regular).

[] The EC-WC comparison is quite probable. However, there is one irregularity: in PWC we would expect tense -c:- (because the correlation of root structures - PN *HVRCV : PL *mVRCV points to the original structure with long final vowel, **HmVr3A*).

**Hnəq̄wV* big; old: Nakh. **q̄ani*-; Av.-And. **hink̄a*- (~o); Tsez. **[u]q̄V*; Lezg. **naq̄V*- (~ä-); W.-Cauc. **q̄wV* (~q̄-).

| Nakh. **q̄ani*- old: Chech. *q̄ena*; Ing. *q̄ana*; Bacb. *q̄ajni*.

| Av.-And. **hink̄a*- (~o) big: Av. *kudija-b*; Chad. *kudá-b*; Akhv. *ĩka*; Tind. *hi̇ka-b*; Kar. *hėka-m*.

The Av. form is reduced from **Hiku-da* / **Hiku-dija*- (with a frequent adjectival suffix). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *inka-he-da* 'much', Kar. Arch. *hėka-m*, Tok. *hink̄a-ha-b* 'big'.

| Tsez. **[u]q̄V* 1 big 2 many: Tsez. =*aq̄lu* 2; Khvarsh. =*uq̄*- 1; Inkh. =*uq̄lq̄lu* 1; Bezht. =*uq̄* 1; Gunz. =*iqu* 1.

PTsKh **=uq̄*-; PGB **[u]q̄u* (unclear is the -i- vowel in Gunz.).

| Lezg. **naq̄V*- (~ä-) many: Arch. *na:q̄ukan*.

Isolated in Archi, but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **q̄wV* (~q̄-) to be sufficient, suffice: Ad. *ja-q̄wə*; Kab. *ja-ri-q̄wə*.

PAK **q̄wə*- (with auxiliary prefixes); cf. also Ad., Kab. *ja-q̄wə-ča* 'very, fully'.

[] See Abdokov 1983, 162 (with some confusion of this root and **əq̄wVn* q.v.).

**HnəgV* leg, knee: Tsez. **əgV*; Lak. *č:an*; Darg. **nik:a*; Khin. *ank:*.

| Tsez. **əgV* knee, knee-cap: Bezht. *āga*; Gunz. *āga*.

PGB **əga*.

| Lak. *č:an* foot, leg.

3/4th class.

| Darg. **nik:a* foot, leg; foot bone: Chir. *nik:a*.

Isolated in Chir., but with probable external parallels.

| Khin. *ank:* foot, leg.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although the root is preserved only in five languages (Bezht., Gunz., Lak., Darg. and Khin.), they all belong to different subgroups, and the reconstruction seems quite reliable - both semantically and phonetically (the only irregularity is metathesis in Lak., which is a frequent phenomenon).

**HnəHwV* bee; (honey) > sweet: Av.-And. **HuʷVn*-; Tsez. **nija*- B; Lak. *naj*; Lezg. **meʷV*-IV- (~ -2-).

| Av.-And. **HuʷVn*- sweet, tasty: Av. *huʷina-b*.

Av. > Gin. *huʷinaw* 'sweet'.

| Tsez. **nija*- B sweet: Tsez. *nija-w*; Khvarsh. *ninu* (Radzhibov); Bezht. *nija-ro* (Khosh.); Gunz. *nija-ru* (Gunz.).

PTsKh **n[ə]j*- (with different suffixes); PGB **nija-ru* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *nijä-rö*).

| Lak. *naj* bee.

Cf. Khosr. *naj* id. An old derivative is Lak. *naɦu*- 'tasty' (< 'sweet'). Lak. *naj* > Av. *naj* / *na* 'bee'.

| Lezg. **meʷV*-IV- (~ -2-) sweet: Tab. *meʷli*.

Cf. also Düb. *mailli* id. Attested only in Tab., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. It is hard to establish whether the original meaning was 'bee' (preserved only in Lak.) or 'sweet' (and 'bee' in Lak. metaphorically as 'sweet-maker'). One of the rare cases of the root structure **HRVHV*. In PL (Tab.) *m*- is the result of secondary labialisation (**neHwV*- > **meHwV*-).

**Hnəlq̄wV* herd: Av.-And. **riq̄w*a; Darg. **henq̄*.

| Av.-And. **riq̄w*a 1 herd 2 flock: Akhv. *raq̄w*a (Tlan.) 1; Tind. *riwa* 1; Kar. *riʷw*a-r 2.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *raʷw*a, Ratl. *raq̄w*a 'herd', Kar. Archo. *ruʷw*a-r 'flock'. -1- in the latter form may be an archaic feature (but may also be an innovation).

| Darg. **henq̄* herd: Ak. *henq̄*; Chir. *haq̄*.

Cf. also Ur. *hanq̄* id.

[] An And-Darg. isogloss (PA **ri(l)q̄w*a reflects an intermediate assimilated form like **Hləlq̄wV*).

**Hnəçwē* (/ **çwənHē*) reed, cane: Av.-And. **çwimʷa* (/ -nʷa); Lezg. **naçw*.

| Av.-And. **çwimʷa* reed, cane: Av. *muç:i* / *nuç:i*; And. *ç:uma*; Akhv. *ç:wani*; Cham. *šimi*; Tind. *c:ū*; Kar. *ç:un-di* (pl.); God. *c:uma*.

Av. paradigm B (*muç:i-dul*, *muç:i-bi*). Cf. also And. dial. (Khaidakov) *ç:w*a, Cham. Gig. *ç:ima*. Old Tind. > Inkh. *çūj* 'reed'; Av. > Tsez. *nuçi*, Gin. *niçu* id.

| Lezg. **naçw*a reed, cane: Lezg. *naç*; Tab. *naç* (Khiv.); Ag. *neç*; Rut. *naç*; Tsakh. *naç*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *naçw* (preserving the original labialisation which was lost everywhere else); Tsakh. Gelm. *naça*. The latter form unambiguously points to the PL paradigm **naçw*a, **naçw*ä- (cf. also Rut. *naça*-; Tsakh. Mik. *naç*, *naç*i- is secondary). In Ag. there occurred a regular fronting **a* > *e* before a hissing affricate in a closed syllable. 4th class in Rut., Tsakh.

See Khaidakov 1973, 62.

[] An Av.-And-Lezg. isogloss; well represented in both subgroups and obviously archaic.

*Hniswē cheese, cottage cheese: Av.-And. *ʔinso; Tsez. *ʔ[ē]zu A (~-z:-); Lak. nis; Darg. *nus:i(ja); Lezg. *nis:a(j); W.-Cauc. *(a)šwə.

| Av.-And. *ʔinso curds, cottage cheese: Av. nīsu; Chad. nīšu (*han*); And. iso; Akhv. īša; Cham. isa / īša; Tind. insa; Kar. esa; Botl. īša; Bagv. ʔesa (*Tlis.*); God. isa / īša.

Av. paradigm B-C (gen. nīśu-l/ nīś-dāl). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan., Ratl. īša (the MSU records have īša also in North. Akhv.), Kar. Arch., Rach. ʔesa, Tok. ʔisa.

Avar has a usual metathesis (nisu < *ʔinsu); Av. > Arch. noso (< *niso with regular vowel assimilation) 'curds, cottage cheese'.

| Tsez. *ʔ[ē]zu A (~-z:-) cheese: Tsez. izu; Gin. izu; Khvarsh. īzu (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. ēzu; Bezht. ōzo (*Tlad.*); Gunz. āzu.

PTsKh *ʔēzu; PGB *ʔāzu (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. ozo; Gunz. (G.) ʔzu is probably an incorrect recording). The vowel *-ā- in PGB is irregular.

| Lak. nis cheese.

Gen. nīsi-ral; cf. Khosr. nis, nīsi-ral id.

| Darg. *nus:i(ja) cheese: Ak. nusi; Chir. nīsi:ija.

Cf. also Ur. nusija, Kub. nis:a, Tsud. nus:e id.

| Lezg. *nis:a(j) cheese: Lezg. nīsi / nasu; Tab. nis; Ag. nis; Rut. nīśā; Tsakh. nīśe; Kryz. nīsi (/nīssi); Bud. nusu.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. nīsi, Ag. Bursh. nīsi: (like Tsakh. nīśe, pointing to PL *-s:-). The Kryz form with -ss- is interesting, because Kryz has lost the opposition of tense/weak fricatives; this may be a loanword from Lezg. (before this opposition was lost in Lezg. as well). Most forms reflect a PL suffixed form *nis:aj (or else *nis:ʷāj - to account for vowel labialisation in Lezg. and Bud.); Tab. and Ag. (possibly also Tsakh.), however, reflect a suffixless form *nis:a (cf. also the Ag. obl. stem nīsa-). The word belongs to the 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Бокарев 1961, 59; Leksika 1971, 209; Giginayshvili 1977, 119.

| W.-Cauc. *(a)šwə cheese: Abkh. āśv; Abaz. āśwə.

PAT *āśwə (cf. also Bzyb. āśv).

[] A widely spread common NC root; correspondences are regular.

*HnirkwV a k. of tree: Nakh. *dak(o); Lezg. *ruk(a) (~-o-).

| Nakh. *dak 1 willow 2 a species of willow ("козья верба"): Chech. dak 1; Ing. dak 1; Bacb. dakō 2.

Obl. stem *daku- (cf. Chech. doka-; Ing. obl. dako is a result of vowel levelling; the Bacb. form possibly reflects the old obl. stem). 4th class in Ing., 3d class in Chech., Bacb.

| Lezg. *ruk(a) (~-o-) 1 wood, forest 2 bush: Lezg. ruk 1; Tab. ruk 2; Kryz. ruk 1.

4th class in Kryz. Obl. base unknown (Tab. ruka- is uninformative). A strange form is Tab. Düb. lukar 'bush' (< *ruk-ar (plur.) with dissimilation?).

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss. The root structure *HNVRČV regularly yields PN *RVCV (r- > d-) and PL *RVCV; we do not reconstruct *rHVCV (*rHīkwV) because Nakh does not have any trace of laryngeal.

*HnīxwV palate: Nakh. *naqV (~-a-); Av.-And. *χʷ[i]mV (~-qʷ-); Lak. χ:ini; Darg. *χunuχ (~x,h); Lezg. *χ:in (~-o-).

| Nakh. *naqV (~-ā-) palate; throat, pharynx: Bacb. naq(a).

Isolated in Bacb., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *χʷ[i]mV (~-qʷ-) palate: Cham. χomu (*Gig.*); Tind. χamala; Bagv. hamala.

Tind. and Bagv. have suffixed forms (with *-la). The Av. word for "palate" is χ:ʷenēχ which is a contamination of this root with *χ:ʷ[i]mVχV q.v.

| Lak. χ:ini palate.

| Darg. *χunuχ (~x,h) crop, goitre: Ak. hunuh.

| Lezg. *χ:in (~-o-) 1 palate 2 gum: Tsakh. χin (*Mishl.*) 2; Arch. χ:ono 1.

4th class in both languages.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. There are some irregularities: a) PN has -q- instead of expected *-h- - maybe this can be explained by a contamination with the homonymous *nāqa 'breast' (q.v.) - 'palate' as 'breast of mouth' ? b) PD has *χ instead of expected *χ:. This may be explained by the influence of the phonetically similar PEC root *χhīwīmχV 'cheek' q.v. (note an analogous contamination in Avar; however, note also that this contamination in PD must have taken place rather early, because the reflex of *χhīwīmχV - PD *χIʷaχI - has in PD already acquired the meaning 'buttock').

*HögV to play; to dance; playful, silly: Av.-And. *HVgV-; Lak. uk:a-; Lezg. *ʔak:a-; W.-Cauc. *-gV-.

| Av.-And. *HVgV- playful, silly: Av. hāga-.

| Lak. uk:a- to play.

G. pr. u=k:u-n. Cf. also expressive derivatives: ak:u-zak:u 'a k. of children's play', ak:a (colloq.) 'silly, silly girl'.

| Lezg. *ʔak:a- 1 to play 2 to dance: Rut. =iga- 2; Tsakh. a=ga- 1.

Rutul reflects the Ablaut grade *i.

| W.-Cauc. *-gV- 1 to dance 2 silly, silly person: Abkh. āga 2; Abaz. laga 2; Ad. wəʒə-n 1; Kab. wəʒə-n 1; Ub. wəʒ- 1.

PAK *wəga- (also a noun *wəgə > Ad. wəʒə, Kab. wəʒ 'round dance with singing'); Ub. sə-wəgə-n (qualified as an Adygh loanword in Vogt 1963, but possibly genuine). *wə- is a common WC morpheme with the meaning 'to do, to make (smth.)'; PAT *aga (Abaz. laga is perhaps influenced by ləg 'slave?'). The same root (reduplicated, or at least constituting the first part of a compound) can be found in PAK *gagʷə- 'to play' (Ad. ʒagʷə-n, Kab. ʒagʷə-n), *gāgʷə 'play, feast, wedding' (Ad. ʒagʷ, Kab. ʒagʷ).

The semantic correlation "to dance, play" - "to be silly" recurs in the same root in EC languages as well, thus the relationship between AT and other WC forms seems secure enough.

[] The root seems satisfactory both phonetically and semantically. See Abdokov 1983, 88 (listing only forms with the meaning 'silly, foolish').

*=HōjcwV to untie, unbind: Nakh. *=ast-; Av.-And. *=ajčw-; Lezg. *ʔočw-a (~ -i).

| Nakh. *=ast- to untie, unbind: Chech. =ast-; Ing. =ast-; Bacb. =ast-.

Length of vowel is seen in forms like Chech. =āsti-ra, Ing. =ast, =āsta-b.

| Av.-And. *=ajčw- 1 to untie, unbind 2 to unwind, unreel: Av. =ič- 1,2; Chad. =ič- 1; And. =ajč- 1; Cham. =as- 1,2; Tind. =acw- 2.

Cf. perhaps also Kar. =ič- in a compound verb =ič-anxw- 'to knit' (the second part is PA *=oxwVn- q.v.).

| Lezg. *ʔočw-a (~ -i) to unbind, untie: Tab. d-u=č-; Arch. ol=ša-.

Cf. Arch. dur. =olršu-r.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Note the correspondence of PA *-j- to the PN development *čw > *st. The Nakh languages also have a root *=ēbc- / *=ōbc- 'to knit, plait' (Chech. =ūc-, Bacb. =epc-, term. =opc-) which may reflect the same verbal stem (with the plural infix -b-, which superseded *-j- and prevented the development *-jč- > *-st-). Cf. also HU: Hurr. χuž- 'to bind, to detain', Urart. χuś- 'to annul (services), to stem (water)' (*to untie'), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 40.

*H[o]kV to look, search: Tsez. *hak- (~ h-); Lak. ul=či-; Lezg. *ʔakV- / *ʔokV-.

| Tsez. *hak- (~ h-) to search, to look: Bezht. hāk-il- (Khosh.); Gunz. hak-l-.

PGB *hak-il-.

| Lak. ul=či- to invite.

G. pr. ul=ku-nu.

| Lezg. *ʔakV- / *ʔokV- 1 to look 2 to ask 3 to search 4 to find: Ag. ad-ark- 3; Rut. u=kwa- 2; Tsakh. ā=ke- 4; Kryz. i=k- 4; Arch. sa=k:a- 1.

Cf. also Arch. =irk:u- 'to search'. The PL reconstruction is somewhat difficult, because the root tends to contaminate with other verbal roots: in Archi it has been influenced by ak:u-s 'to see' (see PL *ʔak:wā-), in Agul - by -ark- (used with different preverbs) 'to fall upon, to hit' (see PL *ʔarkir-).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Despite some influence of other verbal roots (see above), the root seems to be independent and the reconstruction looks rather probable. Note that the root has a laryngeal Anlaut and does not have prefixed class markers.

*HōnχwV (~*HōnqwV, -ā-) stomach: Av.-And. *ʔinχw-i-č:il (~qw-); Tsez. *ʔāχ:.

| Av.-And. *ʔinχw-i-č:il (~qw-) stomach: Cham. ūχc:il; Tind. inχw-ič:el.

A compound with an unclear second part *č:ilV (cf. also Cham. L.-Gakv. ūχsil, Gig. ūχcir).

| Tsez. *ʔāχ: 1 belly 2 stomach: Tsez. aχ 1; Gin. aχ 1; Khvarsh. āχ 1;

Inkh. āχ 1; Bezht. āχ 2; Gunz. āχ 1.

PTsKh *ʔāχ, PGB *ʔāχ. This root must be distinguished from Bezht. īōχ 'belly'.

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss, thus the reconstruction is not very certain. The root is to be kept distinct from PEC *jālχV q.v.

*=HōqĒ to do, make; to be, become: Tsez. *=ɔq- B; Darg. *=a(r)q- / *=i(r)q-; Lezg. *ʔaqa-; Khin. qī; W.-Cauc. *qī:a.

| Tsez. *=ɔq- B 1 to become; to be born 2 to grow: Tsez. =oql- 1; Gin. =uq- 1; Khvarsh. eqq- (Radzhibov); Inkh. =eqIw- 1, l-eqw- 2; Bezht. =aq- (Tlad.) 1; Gunz. =ɔq- 1.

PGB *=ɔq- (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. =aq-); PTsKh *-ðq-. The Inkh. parallel is somewhat problematic because of labialised -qw-.

| Darg. *=a(r)q- / *=i(r)q- to do, to make: Chir. =arq- / =irq-.

Cf. also Ur. =alq- / =iq- id. Medial -r- in Chir. is probably secondary (perhaps reflecting the original paradigm *=aq- / *=irq- with infixation).

| Lezg. *ʔaqa- to do, to make: Ag. aq-.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh., Tp. aqa- id. Isolated in Agul, but having probable external parallels.

| Khin. qī to be, to become.

The stem is used as terminative (aorist).

| W.-Cauc. *qī:a 1 to be 2 to have: Abkh. á-qa-la-ra 1; Abaz. a-²a-z-la-ra 1; Ad. -²a- 1,2; Kab. -²a- 1,2; Ub. qa-b- 2.

PAT *²a (used in conjunction with the verbal stem-suffix *-la-); PAK *²a in *ša-²a- 'to be' (Ad. ša²a-, Kab. ša²a- with a locative preverb *šə-), *ja-²a- 'to have' (Ad., Kab. ja²a- with a pronominal preverb *ja-); Ub. a-s-qa-b "je l'ai" (a compound stem qa-bə-; etymology of the second part see under *šV). The correspondence PAT, PAK *²: Ub. q points only to PWC *qī:l.

See Shagirov 1,190; 2, 150 (with literature and with right dismissal of many false etymologies).

[] Trubetzkoy 1930,87 compares WC *qī:a 'to be' with another PEC stem (*ʔikV q.v.), which is impossible for phonetic reasons. The comparison with *=HōqĒ seems quite plausible semantically and phonetically.

A similar root exists in Kartvelian (Georg. qa-w- 'to be, to have'); its comparison with WC see in Charaya 1912, 37, Lomtadze 1956, 225, 228; the nature of its connection with the NC root is yet to be cleared up.

*=HōqV to sink: Av.-And. *=uq:-; Lak. =ulqa-; Lezg. *ʔoq:li-.

| Av.-And. *=uq:- to sink: Av. =uq:-.

| Lak. =ulqa- to sink; to swallow.

G. pr. =ul=qu-n. Cf. Khosr. =ulqa-n id.

| Lezg. *ʔoq:li- to sink; to swallow: Arch. =oq:la-.

Dur. =orq:lu-r. Attested only in Archi, but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although the root is attested only in three languages, correspondences are quite regular and the root seems to be well distinguished from several similar roots (see *HVqVr 'to drink', *HVIGwVl 'to swallow', *=HVqwVn id.).

*=HožÄl to pour, drink; to strain, milk: Av.-And. *č:al- (~o-); Lak. hača-; Darg. *i(r)č:-; Lezg. *oč:an- (~l-); Khin. loži; W.-Cauc. *žV.

| Av.-And. *č:al- (~o-) to milk: Av. =eč:-; Chad. =eç:-; And. =erč:-; Tind. č:al-. The Tind. form reflects stem II (*č:Vl-), while others reflect stem I (*-Vč:(Vl)).

| Lak. hača- to drink.

G.pr. ha=ču-n. Cf. Khosr. halča-n id.

| Darg. *i(r)č:- to drink: Ak. už-es; Chir. =erč:- / =uč:-.

Cf. also Ur. =irž-/ =už:-.

| Lezg. *oč:an- (~l-) to wash: Tab. u=č:-; Ag. ūč:-.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. ²ulč:an-as 'wash', Tp. (Shaum. with a faulty notation) ūčanas id.

| Khin. loži to pour.

| W.-Cauc. *žV 1 to settle down, get filtered 2 to filter, strain: Abkh. a-za-rá l; Abaz. ra-za-ra 2; Ad. zə-n 2; Kab. zə-n 2; Ub. zə 2.

PAT *ža (cf. also Bzyb. a-ža-rá 'to settle down') / *ra-ža- (with a causative prefix and a secondary affricatisation; cf. also Abkh. á-ra-za-ra, Bzyb. á-ra-ža-ra 'to filter, strain'); PAK *zə. See Shagirov 1, 212.

[] Trubetzkoy (1930, 88-89) compares the WC root with other EC material (see *=anzū); the present comparison seems to us preferable, because the WC root contains not a hissing, but a hushing affricate (the correspondence PAK *ž : Ub., PAK *z points only to PWC *ž).

*HpădV (/ *HbătV) a k. of clothes (for legs or feet): Av.-And. *bata / pada(-n); Tsez. *bada; Lak. pat:a; Darg. *pat:a; Lezg. *palt:V / *p:at:V; W.-Cauc. *padə.

| Av.-And. *bata / pada(-n) 1 trousers 2 linen, canvas 3 a knitted sock: Av. hebēt 2; Chad. hebēt l; And. padan 3; Akhv. bata l; Cham. bata l; Tind. bata l; God. barta l.

Av. paradigm B (gen. hebtī-l; Chad. hibti-l, hebtā-l). -r- in God. (as also in Akhv. Ratl. barta) is obviously secondary (a merger with PA *barta 'rag' q.v.).

| Tsez. *bada (wine)skin: Inkh. balda.

The Inkh. form is isolated within Tsez., but having probable external parallels (the meaning "wineskin" < *"sack" < *"cloth").

| Lak. pat:a old clothes.

Cf. also Arak. (Khaidakov 1966) pat:a "trousers".

| Darg. *pat:a trousers ("молния"): Ak. pada.

Not quite clear is the relationship of this root (attested only in Ak.) to common Darg. *t:ap:-ri 'socks, footwear' (Chir. t:ap:re, Ak. dabri etc.) which seems to reflect the plural (and metathesized) form of the same root. Cf. also Lezg. tipri 'shoes' - a form quite isolated in Lezghian and possibly borrowed from Darg.

| Lezg. *palt:V / *p:at:V trousers: Rut. badu; Tsakh. bada; Arch. palt:ə-la.

The Rut. and Tsakh. forms go back to a variant with assimilated *p:-.

| W.-Cauc. *padə socks, stockings: Ad. λa-pad; Kab. λa-pad.

PAK *λa-pādə (*λa "foot"). Ub. λapád "woolen socks" is probably an Ad. loanword (like Abkh. a-klapad).

Shagirov (1977, 251) derives *λapádə from *λapa 'front part of the foot' + *da "to sew" which is quite improbable in view of the external evidence.

[] Despite some assimilations (quite usual for stems with two stops), the correspondences are quite regular and the PNC reconstruction is quite probable. It is interesting to note initial hē- in the Av. form, corresponding to Arch. pharyngealization and speaking in favour of the initial cluster *Hp- in PNC.

Note also Chech. bedar (Cheb. badir) "clothes" which is probably a loan from Western Daghestan languages (loss of *-d- would be regularly expected).

*HpetV (~-ī-) vein, sinew, pipe: Nakh. *ṛip; Av.-And. *pulV; Tsez. *pi A; Lak. p:illu; Darg. *lap.

| Nakh. *ṛip mill kennel: Chech. āpari; Ing. ip.

PN paradigm: *ṛip, *ṛap-ar- (cf. also Ing. erg. aparo); in Chech. the former oblique base became direct (a doublet form apar exists also in Ing.). Chech. 4th class, Ing. 3d class.

| Av.-And. *pulV 1 pipe 2 vein, blood vessel: Akhv. huli 2; Cham. pul 2; Tind. pula 1,2; Kar. pule 2.

| Tsez. *pi A 1 blood vessel 2 pipe, reed-pipe: Tsez. pelu 2; Khvarsh. pili (Radzhibov); Bezht. pi l; Gunz. pə l.

PTsKh *pilV; PGB *pi, obl. *pilV- (cf. Bezht. pili-). For PTs *pilV must be reconstructed as the oblique base (which became direct in Tsez.). The variation in meaning is probably archaic (reflected also in other EC languages).

| Lak. p:illu wooden part of the reed-pipe.

The Bartkh. dialectal form is quoted from Khaidakov 1966.

| Darg. *lap sinew: Ak. lap-ni.

lap-ni is originally a plural form. Cf. also Tsud. lap (pl. lapni) id.

[] Darg. has a metathesized form (*lap instead of *pal). Not clear is the Lak. initial p:- (perhaps, a bad recording of a dialectal form?); p- should be expected. The original meaning of the root must have been "pipe; kennel" - cf. also related HU forms: Hurr. pala, Urart. pīlə "canal" (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 16) - but in several subgroups a semantic shift "pipe" > "blood vessel, sinew" took place.

*Hrājcu wooden plough; mattock: Nakh. *ṛastī(n); Av.-And. *ṛic:i / *ric:i; Lak. qa-ras; Darg. *durac; W.-Cauc. *c:wa.

| Nakh. *ṛastī(n) 1 hoe, mattock 2 instrument for planing wood: Chech. āsta 1,2; Ing. āst 2; Bacb. asfī 2.

4th class in all languages. Cf. also Cheb. āsti, Lev. āsti, Shar. ēsti etc.

| Av.-And. *²irc:i / *²ric:i wooden plough: Akhv. ²erc:e (Tlan.); Cham. rec:i (Gig.); God. rec:i.

The root should be distinguished from *²pirVc:V q.v., although the two roots sometimes merge (cf. in Akhv.: North. Akhv., Tseg. ²ebec:e, Ratl. ²eberc:e).

| Lak. qa-ras wooden plough.

Obl. qurs:u-; cf. also Khosr. qaras, qurs:u- id. The Lak word is probably a compound of qu 'field' + *(HV)ras: (< *Hrājcu) 'plough'.

| Darg. *durac: wooden plough: Ak. duraz; Chir. darac:.

Cf. also Ur. duraz, Kub. dāc, Tsud. durac id. Dargwa is the source for names of 'plough' in several Lezghian languages: Tab., Ag. duruc, Lezg. tūrez (Khl. turaz). A special reflex is found in Tsakhur: Tsakh. wēca, Gelm. wijaca < *²ruraca 'wooden plough'. Since a normal reflex of *Hrājcu in PL would be *rac, this Tsakhur word should be also considered a loan from early Dargwa (before the development (*Hurac: > *rurac:) > *durac:).

| W.-Cauc. *c:wa 1 plough 2 ploughshare 3 to plough: Abkh. á-čv-mat^wa 1; Abaz. č^wa-b^wa-ra 3; Ad. c^wa-bza 2; Kab. vā-bza 2; Ub. c^wa-bzá 2.

The root is used only in compounds. Abkh.: á-čv-mat^wa 'plough' (-mat^wa 'thing'), a-čv-éjxa 'ploughshare' (ájxa 'iron'), a-čv-mā 'ploughhandle' (a-mā 'handle'), a-čv-a-b^wa-ra 'to plough' (lit. 'to pull the plough' = Abaz. č^wa-b^wa-ra id.). Ub.: c^wa-bzá 'ploughshare' (= PAK *c:wa-bzá id.; about the second part see under PWC *pəzá), c^wa-ntá 'furrow left by a plough'. All these data leave no doubt in the existence of a separate PWC root *c:wa 'plough'. Shagirov (1, 104-105) is quite right in distinguishing this root from PWC *c:wa 'ox'; however, his proposal to consider it the same morpheme as *z^wa 'to plough' (q.v.) can not be accepted - all languages clearly distinguish these two roots phonetically.

[] A common NC cultural term. Despite some difficulties (due to occasional contaminations with other roots, see above), the semantic and phonetic unity of all the listed forms seems obvious.

*HraλwE to fall, go down: Av.-And. *λ^wV-b-; Lak. t:iri=x:i-; Darg. *=ax:-/*=alx:-(-i-); Lezg. *²arλi-; W.-Cauc. *λ^wV.

| Av.-And. *λ^wV-b- to fall, scatter: Akhv. lob-ej- (Tlan.).

Attested only in Akhv. (reflecting stem II *λ^wV-), but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. t:iri=x:i- to fall, scatter.

G. pr. t:iri=x:unu.

| Darg. *=ax:-/*=alx:- to lie: Ak. k-alx-es.

Cf. also (with Ablaut) Chir. ke=ix:- / ke=irx:- 'to put', ur=ix:- / ur=irx:- 'to hide, conceal', Ak. =ix-es 'to put', Ur. =ix- / =irx- 'to fall'.

| Lezg. *²arλi- 1 to fall 2 to go down, roll down 3 to get into: Lezg. aw-ax- 2; Tab. a=x- 1; Ag. arx- 3; Tsakh. q:a²-a=xa- 1; Bud. araxa- / a=xu-.

The verb is very productive (used with many preverbs, especially in Tab. and Ag. - cf. Ag. β-arx- 'to lie down, to sleep' etc.), but sometimes tends to contaminate with the roots *²eλe- 'to put' and *²eλ:wi- 'to lie, to put' which

are to be strictly distinguished.

| W.-Cauc. *λ^wV to go down, lower oneself: Ad. ja-xə-; Kab. ja-xə-; Ub. s^wa-.

PAK *ja-xə- (with a pronominal prefix *ja-); Ub. sā-s^wa-n. The Ad. root may be alternatively compared with the Adygh noun *xə 'bottom' q.v. (see Yakovlev 1941, 210), but the latter seems to have a separate EC parallel. Despite Shagirov (1,178), however, Ub. xa 'bottom' can be connected neither with PAK *ja-xə-, nor with PAK *xə 'bottom'.

[] One of the rare verbal roots with the root structure *HRVCV: such a reconstruction is directly suggested by the Lak. reflex t:irix:i-. Other languages have modified the structure of the root (we would expect *dirix:- in PD and *raλi- in PL), having reinterpreted its Anlaut as a morphological prefix. The root demonstrates the verbal Ablaut *a/i. See Trubetzkoy 1922, 240 (and comments on p. 443).

*HrasV reddish, red-haired: Nakh. *hārsi-n; Lezg. *rašV-;

| Nakh. *hārsi-n reddish, red-haired: Chech. hārsa.

Cf. also Lev. hārsi, Cheb. hārsī, (with secondary -c-) Shar. hērcī, It. hērcī.

| Lezg. *rašV- 1 light brown, reddish 2 dark yellow: Lezg. raši 2; Tab. raši 1.

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss.

*Hrēmkwī (~ -ī) manure, faeces; dust: Av.-And. *rVk(°)V; Tsez. *rək^we B; Darg. *dek^w; Lezg. *ruk:.

| Av.-And. *rVk(°)V manure, dung: Av. rak; Chad. rak.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. rakū-l, Chad. rakū-l).

| Tsez. *rək^we B dung, dry dung: Tsez. reku; Gin. loki; Khvarsh. lok^wa (Radzhibov); Inkh. loko; Bezht. jako; Gunz. rōgu (Gunz., Nakh.).

PTsKh *R[ō]k^wa; PGB *rōku. In Gunz. there also is recorded a variant rōgu, suggesting a possibility of nasalisation in PTs.

| Darg. *dek^w 1 manure, faeces 2 dry dung: Ak. dek 1,2; Chir. dek^w 1.

Cf. also Kait. dek 'dung'.

| Lezg. *ruk: 1 dust 2 dust (on the floor) 3 soil 4 earth: Lezg. rug 1-3; Tab. rug 3,4; Ag. rug 1,2; Rut. rug 2; Kryz. rug 1,2; Bud. rug 1,2.

Cf. Lezg. erg. ruk:wa-di (for *-k:). Obl. base *ruk:i- or *ruk:e- (cf. Ag. rugu-). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

A loan from Lezg. (most probably from Agul) is Darg. Chir. ruγ 'dust'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. We have reconstructed the structure *Hrēmkwī, taking into account the relic nasalisation in Gunz.; if it is secondary, a reconstruction *rHēkwī is also possible.

An obvious EC loan is Osset. ryg 'dust' (see Abayev 1973, 444; the suggested Indo-Iranian etymology of the Osset. word is absolutely unsecure).

*Hrēmqī road: Nakh. *nīq; Av.-And. *miq:i; Darg. *dalq; Lezg. *rāqI; Khin. k^war; W.-Cauc. *mō^wa.

| Nakh. *nīq road: Chech. neq; Ing. niq; Bacb. niq.

Obl. base *nāqī- (Chech. nēqa-, whence with vowel levelling the direct base neq; Ing. nāqo, Bacb. naqi-). 6th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *miq:i road: And. miq:i; Akhv. miq:i; Cham. miq;; Tind. miq:i; Kar. miq:e; Botl. miq:i; Bagv. miq;; God. miq:i.

| Darg. *dalq path: Ak. dalq.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. dalq.

| Lezg. *rāqI: road: Lezg. req; Tab. raqI:; Ag. req;; Rut. raqI; Tsakh. jaqI; Arch. deqI; Ud. jaq:.

Cf. also Lezg. erg. reqi, Arch. loc. deqI:u. Obl. base *riqI:i-, cf. Rut. riqI:i- and (with vowel levelling) Lezg. reqi-, Tab. raqI:u-, Ag. raqI:u-, Tsakh. jaqI:i-. 3d class in Rut., Tsakh. and Arch.

See Leksika 1971, 142; Giginayshvili 1977, 109; Talibov 1980, 264.

| Khin. k^war road.

| W.-Cauc. *m^θa road: Abkh. á-m^θa; Abaz. m^θa; Ad. θ^wa-g^w; Kab. θ^wa-g^w; Ub. m^θá.

PAT *m^θa; PAK *θ^wa-g^w (a compound of *θ^wa 'road' + *g^w 'surface, centre < *heart'); Ub. def. á-m^θa.

All attempts to etymologise the AK word from inside (treating *θ^wa as 'dry' [Яковлев 1941, Kuipers 1960] or 'hole' [Абитов 1948]) are unacceptable; see Shagirov 1, 132-133.

[] A typical case of the structure HRVMCŮ (in PN *n- < *m- before a front vowel). The Khin. form raises some problems: it must be a metathesis (k^war < *rak^w; the supposed form *rak^w would be a regular development < *rVq^wV which must be a result of secondary labialisation < *rVm^qV having occurred early in the history of the Khinalug language).

The EC and WC forms were compared in Trombetti 1923, Ломтатидзе 1955, Mészáros 1934, Abdokov 1983. The comparison seems reasonable enough, but we must note that to justify it phonetically we must suppose a metathesis *Hrēm^qi > *Hmēr^qi in early Proto-WC (otherwise *m- would have been lost); it is even possible that the Adygh languages reflect the normal *Hrēm^qi (no nasal is preserved in PAK), while Ub. and PAT reflect the metathesized variant. Labialisation in PWC is probably assimilatory (after a labial consonant); palatalisation is regular.

*HreqwĀ(r) to ask: Av.-And. *q(ʷ)ar- (~ -o-); Lezg. *ʔerχ^wa.

| Av.-And. *q(ʷ)ar- (~ -o-) to ask, pray: Av. har-; Akhv. qor-; Cham. xa-d-; Tind. xē-; Kar. xā-.

Cf. also Kar. Anch. xar-, Tok. hal- 'to ask', Tind. (with reduplication) χuχā- 'to ask strongly', χαχ- 'to beg'.

| Lezg. *ʔerχ^wa 1 to ask 2 to read: Tab. h-erχ- 1; Ag. ruχ- 2.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. ruχa- 'to read' (a secondary merger with ruχa- 'to wail, howl' < PL *raχa-), harχ^wa- 'to ask', Tp. (Shaum.) χur- 'to read'.

[] An Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss (the root should be distinguished from *iχwA 'to ask, search').

*HrəLwĒ a k. of tree: Nakh. *dVHVχk; Av.-And. *rik:(ʷ)V; Darg.

*durk;; Lezg. *raλ:(ʷ); W.-Cauc. *L^wa.

| Nakh. *dVHVχk pine-tree: Ing. diχχk.

Attested only in Ing. (medial -ij- is not quite clear: it probably points to some medial laryngeal), but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *rik:(ʷ)V fir-tree, pine-tree: And. rek:u (Khaidakov).

Attested only in And., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *durk: cone: Ak. durg.

Cf. also Kub. dūk id.

| Lezg. *raλ:(ʷ) timber, ceiling planking: Tsakh. rak.

Obl. base rak:a-/rak:t-. Attested only in Tsakhur, but with probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *L^wa 1 asp 2 ash-tree 3 willow, osier, osier branch: Abkh. á-za 1; Abaz. za-č^wə 2; Ub. z^wa 3.

PAT *za. The correspondence PAT *z : Ub. z^w points only to PWC *L^w.

[] For PEC we may reconstruct variants *HrəLwĒ and *rHəLwĒ (the latter would be better for explaining the PN form and PL *raλ:(ʷ) - not *Harλ:(ʷ) as would be otherwise expected). The EC-WC comparison is phonetically satisfactory, but there are some semantic doubts: in PEC it is obviously some coniferous tree, while in PWC it is a leaf-bearing tree (asp, ash-tree or willow).

*HrəmlV bosom; armful: Av.-And. *ʔinλVr; Tsez. *ʔāλV (~ -λ:-);

Darg. *duk-la.

| Av.-And. *ʔinλVr bosom: And. inλira (Gudava); Akhv. iλari; Tind. inλar; Kar. elemi; Botl. intar-λi; Bagv. ehena-λ:i; God. hinλari.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. inλar, Ratl. inλal, Kar. L.-Enkh. enλer. Kar. elemi is a plural form < *ʔelen-bi < *ʔirλVn-bi; Botl. intar-λi (a locative form) is a dissimilation < *inλar-λi (as suggested by Gudava 1964, III).

Av. λor 'bosom' belongs rather to PEC *xwōlhV q.v. (or at least may represent a merger of the two roots).

| Tsez. *ʔāλV (~ -λ:-) armful: Gin. aλu; Khvarsh. aλe (Radzhibov); Inkh. āλe; Bezht. āλo (Tlad.).

PTsKh *ʔāλV. Cf. also Bezht. Khosh. aλo id.

| Darg. *duk-la bosom, at one's bosom: Ak. dukla.

Ak. dukla can be formally treated as a locative of dukala 'wing; armful' (PD *dukala). For PD two similar forms meaning 'wing' can be reconstructed: *dukala and *dux:ala (q.v.), reflected in different dialects. In PD there must have existed *x:ala 'wing' and *dukala (< *dur(u)ka-la) 'bosom', with a subsequent mixture of reflexes. Cf. also perhaps Chir. dukla-s 'vagina (of an animal)'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In PD we would rather expect a reflex like *duruk-, which was probably contracted after adding a suffix (*durukV-la > *dukV-la).

*HrikwV to bore, dig: Nakh. *ʔāk-; Av.-And. *iχ-; Tsez. *ʔ:-uχ^wB; Lak. t:iriki-; Lezg. *hlirχ^wVr; Khin. li=χ-; W.-Cauc. *bəχə.

| Nakh. *ʔāk- to chisel, hollow: Chech. āg-; Ing. ag-.

| Av.-And. **ik-* to chisel, pick: Av. *ik-*.

| Tsez. **z:uk*- B to beat: Tsez. *zek*-; Gin. *zok*-; Khvarsh. *zik*-; Inkh. *šuk*-; Bezht. *zuk*- (*Tlad*.).

PTsKh **zuk*-; the verb has an expressive prefix **ž-* (for some reason devoiced in Inkh.).

| Lak. *t:iriki-* to bore.

G. pr. *t:iri=ku-nu*.

| Lezg. **hlirk*^w*Vr* 1 to dig 2 to put through, run through: Ag. *ruk*- 1; Tsakh. *h-i=k*^w*ar*- 1; Kryz. **ā=kur*- 2.

The verb belongs to the strong PL conjugation class. Cf. also Ag. Fit. *ruk*-, Tp. *ruk*^w*a*-. A strange form is Tab. Düb. *ji=k*:- 'to dig': it is hard to separate from other listed forms, but *-k:-* is absolutely irregular.

| Khin. *li=k*- to bury up, bury.

| W.-Cauc. **bəkə* to press, scrape, pinch: Abaz. *bək-ra*; Ub. *bəkə*-.
Ub. *a-z-bəkə-n*.

[] A common NC expressive verbal root (with a rare verbal phonetic structure *HRVCV, reflected primarily in Lak.). The WC form has a frequent labial prefix (former class marker).

*Hrimq^w*V* ashes, soot: Lak. *ka*; Lezg. **riql*^w; Khin. *zək*.

| Lak. *ka* soot.

| Lezg. **riql*^w ashes: Lezg. *rūq*; Tab. *ruql*; Ag. *ruql*; Rut. *riql*; Tsakh. *jiql*; Kryz. *rāq*; Bud. *rāq*; Arch. *diql*; Ud. *iq*:-.

For the reflexes of **ql*^w cf. Lezg. Khl. erg. *rūq*^w*edi* (lit. with unification: *rūq*^w*edi*), Tsakh. loc. *jiql*^w*e*, Arch. erg. *diql*^w*i*. Ud. (Nidzh.) has a reflex *zeq*:- (with unclear *ž-*). Obl. base vowel unknown. 3d class in Rut., Tsakh.; 4th class in Kryz., Bud., Arch.

Cf. Bokarev 1961,60; Talibov 1960a,298; Leksika 1971, 173; Giginayshvili 1977, 136.

| Khin. *zək* ashes.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Lak. *ka* (= *k^wa*) is a regular reduction < **mVk^wa* which is a normal structural correspondence for the PL and Khin. forms (the PEC structure *HRVNCV̄). A very similar word is attested in Akhvakh (*raq^wa* 'soot'), but its phonetic structure and the reflex of **q^w* is irregular. Is it possible to think of a loanword (Akhv. < Lezg.)?

*Hrinfi / *Hfirni road, path: Av.-And. **hinu*; Tsez. **hunV* A; Lak. *χ:ullu*; Darg. **x:ini*; Lezg. **riχ*.

| Av.-And. **hinu* 1 road, way 2 gorge, ravine 3 hollow (n.): Av. *nuχ* 1; Chad. *nuh* 1; Akhv. *hinu* 2; God. *hinu-λir* 3.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *nuχ-lūl*; Chad. *nuh-lūl*, *nuhā-l*).

| Tsez. **hunV* A road: Tsez. *huni*; Gin. *hune*; Khvarsh. *huni*; Inkh. *hune*; Bezht. *hino*; Gunz. *huni*.

PTsKh **hunV*, PGB **huni* (with vowel metathesis in Bezht.).

| Lak. *χ:ullu* road.

3d class. Cf. Khosr. *χ:uldu* id. Judging from the external evidence, the form goes back to **χ:un-lu* (with assimilation).

| Darg. **x:ini* road: Ak. *huni*; Chir. *x:une*.

Cf. also Ur., Muir. *huni*, Tsud., Kait. *x:uni*, Kub. *x:une* etc.

| Lezg. **riχ* 1 path 2 road: Tab. *riχ* 1; Kryz. *riχ* 2; Bud. *riχ* 2.

Obl. base unclear. 3d class in Kryz. and Bud.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although all the listed forms surely belong together, reconstruction is very complicated because of the root's unique structure. The cluster with laryngeal is suggested by the PL reflex **r-* (not **j-*) and by frequent metathesis. Still we can not reduce all the variety of reflexes to a single protoform: PL **riχ* and Av. *nuχ* suggest PEC **Hrinfi*; all other forms could go back to a structure like **fini*, but in view of the Lezg. and Av. forms must suggest a more complex source form, **Hfirni*. Which of the two variants is primary is not as yet clear.

*Hrōm^l*ā* door, door-hinge: Av.-And. **miλ*^w*V*; Lak. *niķa*; Lezg. **raλ*^w*a*.

| Av.-And. **miλ*^w*V* 1 door hinge 2 door: Av. *neλ*^w 1; God. *miλ*^w*al* 2 (*Leksika*).

Av. paradigm C or A (pl. *nūλ*^w*-dul*).

| Lak. *niķa* a leathern noose connecting the plough to the yoke.

Lak. **niķ^wa* (**miķ^wa*) > Arch. *muķa* id.

| Lezg. **raλ*^w*a* door: Lezg. *rak*; Tab. *rak*^w*-in*; Ag. *rak*;; Rut. *rak*; Tsakh. *ak*^w*a*; Kryz. *rāk*; Arch. *daλ*^w.

Cf. also Lezg. erg. *rik*^w*-ini*, Khl. *rak*, *rek*^w*-ini*, Rut. obl. *rigi*- (Ikhr. *rik*^w*i*-) - forms demonstrating regular reflexes of PL **λ*;; Tab. *rak*: 'door leaf' (in the sense 'door' a derivate form *rak*^w*-in* is used = Arch. *diλ*^w*-in* 'yard'). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. The oblique base can be reconstructed as **roλ*^w*-ā*-, cf. the archaic obl. form in Kryz: *rika* (coexisting with the more recent *rikā* = Rut. *rigi*-, Ikhr. *rik*^w*i*-); with vowel levelling cf. Ag. *rak*^w*a*-.
See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241; Leksika 1971, 196; Giginayshvili 1977, 110.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The word originally meant 'hinge' (cf. the Lak form), passing to "door-hinge" and "door" in other languages.

Abdokov (1983, 131-132) compares the EC forms with Kab. *-šə* in *wə-šə-n* 'to open, open wide', *x^wa-šə-n* 'to close, shut'. The root is probably connected with Ad. *-čə* in *za-^wə-čə-n*, *q:ə-^wə-čə-n* 'to open (intr.)' and thus allows to reconstruct PAK **čə*-. The phoneme **č* theoretically can go back to PWC lateral **χ^w*, thus allowing for a remote chance of relationship with the EC root; however, it seems much more probable that together with Ub. *čə*- (in *čə-t^w* 'to close', *čə-t^w* 'to open') it goes back to a quite separate WC protoform **čV* 'to open / close'.

*HrVč^ē to weave, plait: Nakh. **ōbc*-; Av.-And. **rVč*-; Lezg. **rVčV*-; W.-Cauc. **čə*-.
| Nakh. **ōbc*- 1 to plait 2 to weave: Chech. *ūc*- 1; Ing. *uc*- 1; Bacb. *opc*- 1,2.

Cf. also dur. **ēbc*- reflected in Bacb. *epc*- id. Medial *-b-* is probably an original "plural aspect" marker.

| Av.-And. **rVč-* to make a warp (for weaving): Av. *reč-*.

| Lezg. **rVčV-* to make a warp (for weaving): Lezg. *ruča-*.

Attested only in Lezg., but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **čə-* to spin (yarn): Ub. *č(ə)-*.

Ub. *a-s-čə-n*. Attested only in Ub., but having probable EC parallels.

[] The verb is not widely represented, but has been preserved in several distant groups; the etymology seems reliable both phonetically and semantically.

**-HrVjśĒ* thick, dense, fat: Nakh. **-arst-*; Av.-And. **-iš-*; Tsez. **as-*; Lezg. **riš-V-*; W.-Cauc. **pəsə* (~ -š-).

| Nakh. **-arst-* to fatten, become fat: Chech. *-arst-*; Ing. *-arst-*; Bacb. *-arst-*.

Chech. pres. *-erst-a*. Cf. also the derivate adjective (participle): Chech. *-ersta-na*, Ing. *-ersta* 'fat'.

| Av.-And. **-iš-*: 1 fat 2 thick: Cham. *-es:a-* 1; Kar. *-es:a-* 1; God. *-iš:i* 2.

| Tsez. **as-*: thick (of flat objects): Tsez. *asju*; Gin. *asšu*; Bezht. *asijo* (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *asšu* (*Gunz.*).

PTsKh **as-iju*; PGB **as-iju* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *asšö*). With reduplication cf. perhaps also PGB **šeše-ru* 'thick (of liquids), dense' (Bezht. *Khosh. šeše-ro*, Tlad. *šeše-rö*, Gunz. *šeše-ru*).

| Lezg. **riš-V-* thick, dense: Rut. *riš-di*; Tsakh. *riš:i-n*.

It is not quite clear, whether we should also compare Arch. *s:elle-t:u-* 'fat' (with an old reduction of Anlaut and suffixed *-IV- < *-iš-V-IV- ?).

| W.-Cauc. **pəsə* (~ -š-) fat, thick: Abkh. *a-psəla*; Abaz. *psəla*.

PAT **pəsə-la* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-psəla*). The word is an instrumental derivative from an unattested noun **pəsə* 'fat' (**pəsə-la* 'with fat').

[] The WC form has a usual labial prefix (a former class marker). Medial *-j- must be reconstructed to account for the development *-š- > *-st- in PN. Vocalic correspondences are not quite clear (due to the -jand to the influence of the initial laryngeal); otherwise correspondences are regular.

**HrVĒV* (~ **Hl-*) span: Av.-And. **riλ:V-b* / **riλ:V-m*; Khin. *ink*.

| Av.-And. **riλ:V-b* / **riλ:V-m* span: Av. *roλ:ó* (*Uslar*); Chad. *roλ:ob*; And. *heλ:im*; Akhv. *reλ:e*; Cham. *jeλ:im*; Tind. *reλ:ab*; Kar. *reλ:ebo*; Bagv. *reλ:em*.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. *reλ:in*. The root denotes (in all languages) the span between the thumb and the little finger. An interesting form is And. *heλ:im*: it may reflect a variant **hirλ:V-m* (going back to a PEC variant **HrVĒV*).

| Khin. *ink* span.

[] An Av.-And.-Khin. isogloss, therefore the PEC vocalism is hard to reconstruct.

**HrVnλV* to beat, to wound; wound: Av.-And. **anλ:a* (~ o); Lak. *ra=xi-*; Lezg. **anλ(:)V* (~ -ä-); W.-Cauc. **raλa* (~ t:-).

| Av.-And. **anλ:a* (~ o) wound: Cham. *āλ:a*; Tind. *anλ:a*; Kar. *anλ:a*; Botl. *anλ:a*; God. *anλ:a*.

| Lak. *ra=xi-* to beat, hit.

| Lezg. **raλ(:)V* (~ -ä-) to beat (smb.): Arch. *dāλ-kes*.

Attested only in Archi, with possible external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **raλa* (~ t:-) to threaten; to shake (fist): Ad. *tāλa-n*; Kab. *dāλa-n*.

PAK **t:ala-*.

[] See Abdokov 1983, 179.

**HrVžV* stack, heap of grass: Darg. **duč-*; Lezg. **rač:(a)*.

| Darg. **duč-*: burden (of grass), heap of grass: Chir. *duč-*.

| Lezg. **rač:(a)* 1 stack 2 winter-stock of grain 3 order, queue: Lezg. *raž* 2; Tab. *raž* 3 (*Khiv*); Rut. *raž* 1 (*Ikhr.*).

Cf. Lezg. erg. *rač:-uni*, Rut. Khniukh. *raž* 'boulder' (< *'heap, stack'). 4th class in Rutul; obl. stem unclear.

[] A Darg.-Lezg. isogloss.

**HšwimV* (~ -ī-, -š-) a k. of foliage tree: Nakh. **m(h)uš*; Darg. **šim* (~ š:-).

| Nakh. **m(h)uš* elm: Chech. *muš*; Ing. *muš*.

Obl. base **m(h)uše-* (Chech. *mūša-*, Ing. *mušo*). 3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing.

| Darg. **šim* (~ š:-) hornbeam: Ak. *sim*.

[] A Nakh-Darg. isogloss. It is interesting to note also an isolated Tsez word *semi* 'acorn' - but the hissing s- is quite irregular.

**HubV* (~ -o-) orphan; step-relation: Nakh. **ba-du* (~ -ā-); Av.-And. **ubV-*; Darg. **up:a-j* (~ -b-); W.-Cauc. **blā*.

| Nakh. **ba-du* (~ -ā-) orphan: Chech. *bo*; Ing. *bo*; Bacb. *badō*.

3d class in all languages. Final *-du is probably an old common NC attributive suffix.

| Av.-And. **ubV-* second cousin: Cham. *uba-b* (*Gig.*).

Attested only in Cham., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. **up:a-j* (~ -b-) step-relative: Ak. *ubaj*.

The word is used in compounds (*ubaj urši* 'step-son', *ubaj rursi* 'step-daughter', *ubaj duduš* 'step-father', *ubaj neš* 'step-mother'). -b- in Ak. certifies the secondary nature of -γ- in Ur. *uγaj-ada* 'step-father', *uγaj-aba* 'step-mother' - which makes Trubetzkoy's (1922, 242) comparison of this word with Av. *w-aλ:a-d* 'father-in-law' improbable (etymology of the latter see under PEC **ŁolV*).

| W.-Cauc. **blā* orphan: Abkh. *ā-jba*; Abaz. *jāba*; Ad. *jāba*; Kab. *jāba*; Ub. *jablā*.

PAT **jāba*; PAK **jābā*. The common PWC form **jā-bla* contains a pronominal prefix **jā-*, but the same root without it is also attested: cf. PAK **sʷəzā-ba* 'widow' (a compound with **sʷəzā* 'woman') > Ad. *sʷəzāb*, Kab. *fəzāba*.

[] Cf. also Hurr. *χu/ob-idi-* 'boy; calf' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 18). The root is not reflected in PL which preserves the medial clusters with resonants best of all; thus it is possible also to reconstruct **HurbV* - a form really close to PIE **orbho-* (but despite Shagirov 1,181-182 the direction of borrowing - from IE or vice versa - is still to be established). The root belongs to a number of stems common to several linguistic families of the ancient Near East: besides IE and NC, cf. also PK **obol-* 'orphan' (Klimov 1965, 149-150).

***HulV** (~ Hwi-, -t-) a k. of bread: Nakh. **ol-ek* (~ fi-); Darg. **hul-ek:a*; Lezg. **ul* (~²wi-, -o-, -l:).

| Nakh. **ol-ek* (~ h-) cake, cookie: Chech. *olg*; Ing. *olg*.

The word contains a common Nakh diminutive suffix.

| Darg. **hul-ek:a* a ring-shaped cake, roll: Ak. *hulega*.

| Lezg. **ul* (~²wi-, -o-, -l:) bread: Tab. *ul*; Ag. **ul* (*Bursh.*).

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *ul* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The initial laryngeal is not quite clear; otherwise the correspondences are regular.

***=HuqVn** (~ -ö-) long, big: Nakh. **=aqqu-n*; Lak. *qun-*; Darg. **=uqlVn-*.

| Nakh. **=aqqu-n* big: Chech. *=oqqa*; Ing. *=oqqa*; Bacb. *=aqqō*.

| Lak. *qun-* big.

Lak. *qun-ma-* 'big' is very close to *quna-* 'big, grown up', but historically this is a secondary rapprochement of two roots (see PEC **=onqV(IV)* 'old').

| Darg. **=uqlVn-* long: Ak. *=uqlalna*; Chir. *=uqluni-ze*.

Cf. also Kait. *=uqlani-l*, Kharb. *uqena* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Gemination in PN is expressive.

***HūqwÄ** to preserve, guard: Tsez. **=ox-* (~ -b:-); Lezg. **oxI^wi*; W.-Cauc. **χI^wV*.

| Tsez. **=ox-* (~ -b:-) to graze, feed: Bezht. *=oß-* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *=oh-*.

PGB **=oß-* (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *=oß-*).

| Lezg. **oxI^wi* to guard, preserve: Lezg. *χü-*; Tab. *u=χI-*; Ag. *uX-*; Rut. *u=χIa-*.

Cf. Lezg. pret. *χ^we-na*. The verb belongs to the weak conjugation class. See Maromarov 1966, 342; Khaidakov 1973, 144.

| W.-Cauc. **χI^wV* 1 to graze (intr.) 2 to graze (trans.): Abkh. *a-h^w-rá* 1; Abaz. *h^w-ra* 1; Ad. *χ^wə-n* 1; Kab. *ba-χ^wə-n* 2; Ub. *χIə* 1.

PAT **h^wə*; PAK **χ^wə*; Ub. *ja-χIə-n* (with secondary loss of labialisation). See Mészáros 1934, 400; Shagirov 1, 312.

[] A reliable common NC verb (it should be distinguished from **hifV* q.v.; some confusion is introduced by the fact that **f* yields a uvular reflex in some languages).

***=HuqÜn** to go, to come: Av.-And. **=uqVn-*; Tsez. **=[ā]q-*; Lak. *=uqa-*; Darg. **=uqlan-*; Lezg. **VqIV(n)-*; W.-Cauc. **q^wa* (~ **qI^wa*).

| Av.-And. **=uqVn-* 1 to come 2 to reach 3 to enter (pl.), to become: Chad. *=á^hn-* 1; And. *=uGVn-* 3; Akhv. *qun-* 2.

Akhv. reflects stem II **qun-*, Av. and And.- stem I **=uqVn* (used in Av. Chad. only in the infinitive and prohibitive forms). Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *=uqū-* 'to reach'.

| Tsez. **=[ā]q-* 1 to come 2 to come, go: Tsez. *=aj-* 1; Gin. *=aq-* 1; Bezht. *=ōq-* 2; Gunz. *=āq-* 1.

PTsKh **=a(̣)q-*, PGB **=[ā]q-*. The vocalism is not quite clear.

| Lak. *=uqa-* to go, walk away; take away.

G. pr. *=u=qun-*. Cf. Khosr. *=uqa-n* id.

| Darg. **=uqlan-* to go: Chir. *=uql-*.

The root is used in Chir. only in imperative. Cf. also Ur. *=uqaIn-* / *=irq(aI)-* 'to go away', Chir. *s-aqI-* 'to come' (used in present and in the prohibitive *ma-saqIu*).

| Lezg. **VqIV(n)-* to return: Arch. *baqIa-*.

The root is attested only in Archi, and has rather an exceptional conjugation there (*baqIá-s*, pres. *baqIá-r*, aor. *boqIó* with a final stress), suggesting that *b-* is a former class prefix, and that the initial vowel of the root is reduced. The -n-conjugation is extremely hypothetical (suggested only by the external data).

| W.-Cauc. **q^wa* (~ **qI^wa*) to walk: Abkh. *a-náq^wa-ra*; Abaz. *náq^wa-ra*.

PAT **nə-q^wa-* (*nə-* is a preverb denoting motion away from the speaker).

[] The original meaning of the root should be probably reconstructed as 'to go, walk (away from the speaker)'. The etymology seems reliable phonetically and semantically.

***=HurqV** to lose, be defeated: Av.-And. **q:V-*; Lak. *qul=qi-*; Darg. **d-urhI-*; Lezg. **orq:le-* (~ -ä).

| Av.-And. **q:V-* to lose, be defeated: Av. *q:e-*; Chad. *q:e-*.

| Lak. *qul=qi-* to become cheaper; be humiliated.

Cf. also the derived adjective *qul=qu-s:a* 'cheap'.

| Darg. **d-urhI-* cheap: Ak. *dur^e-si*.

| Lezg. **orq:le-* (~ -ä) to lose, be defeated: Arch. *o=q:la-*.

A verb with irregular Auslaut alternation (cf. dur. *=orq:li-r*). Attested only in Archi, but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Lak. form is reduplicated.

***=HužVn** to clear up (of weather): Av.-And. **=Vč:Vn-* (~ -č:-); Lezg. **oç:Vn-*.

| Av.-And. **=Vč:Vn-* (~ -č:-) to clear up (of weather): Av. *r-oç:n-*.

| Lezg. **oç:Vn-* 1 to clear up (of weather) 2 clear sky: Arch. *oI=çin-* 1; Ud. *muç:ur* 2.

The Ud. form is a derivate (**w=onç:-Vr*).

[] Cf. also Hurr. *xežmə* 'clear, bright' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 33).

*HVbikV wooden vessel: Nakh. *²abik; Av.-And. *²abikV (~ -o-); Lezg. *p:ik (~ -i-).

| Nakh. *²abik spoon: Chech. ¹ajg; Ing. ¹ag; Bacb. ¹abik.

6th class in all languages. Cf. also Pharch. ¹abək (either reflecting an early assimilation > *²āpik or a loan from Andian languages).

| Av.-And. *²abikV (~ -o-) spoon: Cham. abik / abik^w; Tind. abika.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. abik. Tind. or Cham. > Inkh. abik id.

| Lezg. *p:ik (~ -i-) 1 cylindrical wooden vessel for salt etc. 2 barrel: Lezg. p:ik 1; Kryz. bik 2.

4th class in Kryz.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. It seems possible that the PN form is not genuine, but borrowed from PA (*-i- in PN is not quite regular); however, since the word has a rare structure HVCVCV, and vowel reflexes in such structures are not yet thoroughly studied, the question is still open.

*HVčV ring, bracelet: Nakh. *hoč (~ -3); Tsez. *²ocu; Lezg. *²oç.

| Nakh. *hoč (~ -3) ring, hoop: Chech. hoz.

Attested only in Chech.; Ing. ¹hoz id. is quite a different root (see PEC *GVnVča).

| Tsez. *²ocu ring, hoop; buckle: Khvarsh. ocu (Radzhibov); Inkh. ocu.

PTsKh *²ocu.

| Lezg. *²oç ring stone: Arch. oç.

Attested only in Arch.; homonymy with oç 'fire' is, of course, quite coincidental.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is attested only in three languages (therefore the phonetic side of reconstruction is not very certain); the correspondences are, however, regular and the comparison seems quite reliable.

*HVčwĒ guest: Nakh. *hāša; Av.-And. *č:i²V-; W.-Cauc. *b-ča.

| Nakh. *hāša guest: Chech. hāša; Ing. hāša; Bacb. hās, hāsē.

Obl. base *hāsi- (Chech. hēsa-, Ing. hāso).

| Av.-And. *č:i²V- guest: And. č:e; Akhv. č:e-we; Cham. še-w; Tind. c:ē; Kar. č:ew; God. c:ej.

In some languages a male and female guest are differentiated by class markers (Akhv. č:e-we - č:e-je, Cham. še-w - še-j, Gig. č:e-w - č:e-j).

| W.-Cauc. *b-ča guest: Ad. hāčā; Kab. hāša; Ub. pčā.

PAK *hā-čā. The component *hā- is not clear etymologically (perhaps related to another PEC root for "guest", *χalHV?). Still the relationship between the AK and Ub. words can not be debated, and Trubetzkoy's (1921) hypothesis about PAK *hāčā being borrowed from Iranian *haxay 'friend' is absolutely groundless.

[] The Nakh-WC comparison was proposed by Balkarov (1969), and seems quite probable both semantically and phonetically (despite criticism, and several alternative - rather fantastic - etymologies of the WC forms; see Shagirov 2, 122-123). We should note, however, that within EC the root is reflected only in PN and

PA, which makes the reconstruction of vocalism and the initial laryngeal uncertain. The PWC form has a usual labial prefix, with a regular delabialisation *č^w > *č after it.

*HVIGwV(l) to swallow: Av.-And. *HVrq:-; Darg. *²aH^w-; Lezg. *²Vlq(l):^wVl.

| Av.-And. *HVrq:- to swallow a mouthful (of water): Av. ¹urq:-.

| Darg. *²aH^w- to swallow: Ur. al^{1w}- / i^{1w}-.

Attested only in Ur., thus there are several possibilities of reconstructing the final consonant in PD (*b(l)^w, *č^w, *hl^w).

| Lezg. *²Vlq(l):^wVl to swallow: Kryz. ¹a=bul-; Bud. ¹a=bul-.

A Shakhdagh isogloss (but having possible external parallels).

[] The root is expressive, and similar to several other EC roots (cf. *HVqVr 'to drink', *²=HoqV 'to sink', *²=HVq^wVn 'to swallow'). The Darg. form is somewhat dubious (the PD reconstruction is not certain, and unclear is the loss of *-l-conjugation); still the Avar and Lezghian forms are to be separated from other similar roots.

One can also reconstruct an expressive noun *GHwVlqV 'a gulp, mouthful' - very probably derived from *HVlGwVl, with an expressive suffix *-tV. Cf. PN *qurt / *qort (Chech., Ing. qurd, Bacb. qort, qlort), Lak. qult, Darg. Chir. blurt.

*=HVlk(w)Vn to stick, glue: Av.-And. *-ik-; Lak. lalki-; Darg. *²=alk^wVn.

| Av.-And. *-ik(Vn)- to stick, glue: Av. rekⁿ-; Cham. ke-d-.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. reki-d- id.

| Lak. lalki- to press oneself to.

G. pr. lal=ku-nu.

| Darg. *²=alk^wVn to climb, clamber: Ak. =alk^wVn (Ur.).

Dur. =ilk^w-.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One feels tempted to compare also Lezg. al-ki- 'to stick, glue, adhere', k-iki- id.; but if this is the same verbal root as eki- 'to stick, be stuck', it should be kept separated from *²=HVlk(w)Vn, because the Akht. correspondence (ak:i-) points only to PL *²-χ:-.

*HVlqV to rot: Av.-And. *qV(r)-; Tsez. *qəq- (~ -ə-); Lak. al=ja-; Darg. *²=uq-; Lezg. *²alqIV.

| Av.-And. *qV(r)- to turn sour, coagulate: Tind. ā- / ē-; Kar. er-.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. ¹el- id.

| Tsez. *qəq- (~ -ə-) to rot: Tsez. qliqI-; Gin. qeq-; Bezht. qoq- (Khosh.).

PTsKh *qIəqI-.

| Lak. al=ja- to rot.

G. pr. al=nu. Cf. Khosr. al=ja-n id. The same root (with a preverb l-) is reflected in l-i=ja-n 'to become spoiled' (whence Arch. li-kes id., and possibly also - with a reflex of old pharyngealization and reduplication -

Darg. Chir. *laIw-laIw* = *uχ*- id.).

| Darg. **uq̄*- to be spoiled: Ak. *b=uq̄=bues*.

| Lezg. **alq̄Ia* to turn sour, curdle, coagulate: Rut. *a=rq̄Ia*-; Tsakh. *qli=q̄Ia*-.

Cf. also Rut. *s-i=rq̄Ia*- 'to be spoiled'. Phonetically and semantically similar forms are: Rut. *l-i=q̄a*- 'to ferment (of dough)', Ag. Bursh. *jiq̄^wa*- 'to curdle, coagulate' - but these forms probably had been influenced by a productive PL root **irq̄ar*- 'to reach, to become ready' (q.v.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is not widely represented, thus the reconstruction is somewhat dubious (there is not enough evidence to reconstruct the vowel).

**HVI₃V* to rain: Lak. *laçu*-; Darg. **urc*-.

| Lak. *laçu*- to rain.

G. pr. *la=çu-n*.

| Darg. **urc*- to rain, to snow: Ak. *urz*- (*Ur*).

[] A Lak-Darg. isogloss.

**HVλU* to bear, give birth; to create: Nakh. **q-oll*- (~ -ō-); Av.-And. **iλ*- (~ -λ-); W.-Cauc. **λ^wV*.

| Nakh. **q-oll*- (~ -ō-) 1 to create 2 to allot, provide: Chech. *qoll*- 1; Ing. *qoll*- 1; Bacb. *qoll*- 2.

| Av.-And. **iλ*- (~ -λ-) to bear, give birth: Tind. *iλ*-; Kar. *k-eλ*-.

| W.-Cauc. **λ^wV* 1 to bear, give birth 2 to create: Abkh. *a-ša-ra* 2; Abaz. *q-ša-ra* 1; Ad. *λfa-n* 1; Kab. *λx^wa-n* 1.

PAT **ša* (Abaz. *q-ša-ra* = Abkh. *a-χ-ša-ra* id.; with another preverb cf. Abaz. **an-ša-ra* 'to be born'); PAK **λ(a)-x^wa*- (a compound with **λV* 'kin' in the first part).

See Shagirov 1,254-255.

[] Since the PWC root contains a lateral fricative, the comparison with PN **-oll*- and PA **iλ*- seems quite plausible (note also the precise semantic correspondence). Other attempts of comparison (PAK **λx^wa*- : Lak. *lūḡi xun* 'to breed' /Bouda 1950, 293/, PAK : Lezg. *χu-n* etc. 'to be born' /Balkarov 1964, 100-101/ e. a. - see Shagirov 1, 254-255 with literature) should be abandoned.

**HVnšV* small: Av.-And. **His:inV*-; Tsez. **nuš*-; Lak. *mulrš*-, *mulrš:i*-; Darg. **iš(:)-tV*-; Khin. *mis*.

| Av.-And. **His:inV*- small: Av. **is:ina-b*; Chad. **esina-b*.

| Tsez. **nuš*- small: Bezht. *nūšijə* (*Khosh*).

If Gunz. *īše* 'few, little' is related, we could reconstruct **[i]š*- for PGB (with secondary metathesis of nasalisation in Bezht.); but the vowel correspondences are not clear.

| Lak. *mulrš*-, *mulrš:i*- small.

Khosr. *mulrš-s:a* id.

| Darg. **iš(:)-tV*- small: Ak. **ištāl*.

The stem contains an expressive suffix **-tV*-. Without it cf. perhaps Ak.

**alš-si* 'small, little' (although the initial *š*- is not quite clear).

| Khin. *mis* small.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In Bezht., Lak. and Khin. *nand m*- probably go back to class markers, nasalised due to the influence of the lost Inlaut nasal. In Lak. *-r*- is either a trace of this nasal, or rather a former adjectival suffix (*mulrš:i*- < **mulš:(V)-rV*-). The PEC vocalism is hard to reconstruct.

**HVn(V)lV* stone plate: Tsez. **iλV* (~ i,ə,u,-V-); Khin. *inka*.

| Tsez. **iλV* (~ i,ə,u,-V-) pan: Tsez. **eλu*.

Attested only in Tsez., thus the reconstruction is very tentative.

| Khin. *inka* stone plate.

[] A Tsez.-Khin. isogloss - the reconstruction is therefore very uncertain. We must also note Kryz. *jinkä* 'stone trough', which is quite isolated among Lezghian languages and may be an old loanword from Khinalug.

**HVpitV* tree-fungus: Tsez. **bot-ol* (~ -d-); Lak. *apiṭa*; Lezg. **pit(a)* (~ **p*:-,b-).

| Tsez. **bot-ol* (~ -d-) tree-fungus, tinder: Gunz. *bodol*.

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *apiṭa* mushroom.

| Lezg. **pit(a)* (~ **p*:-,b-) tree-fungus: Tab. *bit* (*Düb*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The correspondence of laryngeal features can be best explained if we assume a glottalized **p* with metathesis of glottalisation in Lak.

A similar root exists in Kartvelian, cf. PK **abed*- 'tinder' (Klimov 1964, 43) and in various IE languages (Germ. **bilt*-, Slav. **bǫdlo*, Lat. *betula*).

**HVqVn*- (~ -m-) to take, snatch: Av.-And. **q:an*- (~ -o-); Tsez. **ēχ*:- (~ -b-); Lezg. **(?)iq:Vn*-; Khin. **aq:in*-.

| Av.-And. **q:an*- (~ -o-) to snatch, take away: Av. *q:ám*-; Akhv. *q:on*-; Cham. *q:an*-; Tind. *q:an*-; Kar. *q:am*-.

| Tsez. **ēχ*:- (~ -b-) 1 to touch 2 to get (somewhere): Bezht. **ēχ*- 1 (*Tlad*.); Gunz. **ēχ*- 2.

PGB **ēχ*- (cf. also Bezht. *Khosh*. **eχ*- 'to touch', **eχ-el*- 'to shut (door, gate)').

| Lezg. **(?)iq:Vn*- to take: Kryz. *q:ä=n*-; Bud. *q:e=n*-.

Both Kryz. and Bud. reflect a form with reduced PL Anlaut (probably **i*-).

| Khin. **aq:in*- to hold, keep, catch.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Perhaps we should reconstruct rather a form like **HVrqVn*- or **HVlqVn*-, to account for **q*: in PL (normally **q* or **χ*: would be expected).

**HVq(w)λ* to crawl: Nakh. **-aq*-; Av.-And. **q:ir*-; W.-Cauc. **χI^wV* (~ **qI^wV*).

| Nakh. **aq-* to crawl: Chech. *t-aq-*; Ing. *t-aq-*; Bacb. *t-aq-*.

Cf. also dur. **t-ēq-* (Chech. *t-ēq-*, Ing. *teq-*, Bacb. *teq-*) id.

| Av.-And. **q:ir-* to crawl: Kar. *q:el-* (Tok.).

Attested only in Kar. (in the Tokita dialect, where *-r regularly gives -l in verbal conjugation).

| W.-Cauc. **χI^wV* (~ **qI^wV*) 1 to crawl 2 to drag: Abkh. *a-h^wa-za-rá* 1; Abaz. *r-h^wh^wa-ra* 2; Ub. *χI^wəχI^w-dá-* 1.

PAK **h^wa* (cf. also Abkh. *a-r-h^wa-za-rá* 'to drag'). Abaz. and Ub. have an expressive reduplication.

[] An expressive root; not very secure because of the scarcity of EC reflexes.

**HṼq^wÄ* pig, swine: Nakh. **haqa*; W.-Cauc. **ql^wa*.

| Nakh. **haqa* pig, swine: Chech. *haqa*; Ing. *haqa*; Bacb. *qa*.

In Bacb. the first weak syllable with a laryngeal was reduced. 4th class in Chech. and Ing., 3d class in Bacb. Cf. also Cheb., Shar., Khild., Lev. *haqa* id.

| W.-Cauc. **qI^wa* pig, swine: Abkh. *a-h^wá*; Abaz. *h^wa*; Ad. *q:^wa*; Kab. *q^wa*; Ub. *χI^wa*.

PAT **h^wa*; PAK **q^wa*.

[] A Nakh-WC isogloss (there are no traces of the root in the languages of Dagestan). Cf. also HU: Hurr. *uḡa* 'pig' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 60).

See Trubetzkoy 1934, 277, Shagirov 1, 237-238, Abdokov 1983, 118 (also listing Akhv. *aχ^wa-λ:i* 'wild': this is certainly wrong, because Akhv. preserves old affricates. Besides, the Akhv. word is most probably a reduction < *awlaχV-λ:i*, cf. Akhv. Tseg. *alaχi-λ:i*, Ratl. *alaḡi-λ:i* and Av. *awlaq:* 'steppe, wild place' - obviously a Turkic loanword).

**HVq^wVr* to drink; to pour, flow: Av.-And. **HVq^wV-*; Lak. *ilq-*; Lezg. **HVq^wVr-*.

| Av.-And. **HVq^wV-* drink: Av. *heq^w:é-*; Chad. *q(Vl)-*.

Isolated in Avar, but with some external parallels.

| Lak. *ilq-* to pour, flow.

The root is used only in compound verbs: *ilqi han* (intr.), *ilqi buḡin* (trans.) etc. Cf. Khosr. *iqli han* id.

| Lezg. **HVq^wVr-* 1 to drink 2 a gulp: Tab. *u=q:-* (Dub.) 1; Rut. *raβIa-* 1; Tsakh. *il'-o=βIa-* 1; Kryz. *q:ir-* 1; Bud. *s-o=βr-* 1; Arch. *huqi* 2; Ud. *uβI-sun* 1.

Cf. also Tsakh. *k-o=βIa-* 'to swallow'. The vocalism is hard to reconstruct (this may be a rare case of *-u- in a verbal stem); pharyngealization in Tsakh. and Rut. is probably secondary (due to the loss of initial laryngeal?).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level (although the vocalism is hard to establish). Cf. also Urart. *χur-* 'to drink', see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 60.

**HVq^wV* down, below: Av.-And. **hoqV-*; Tsez. **qe-*; Lezg. **qa-*.

| Av.-And. **hoqV-* 1 down, below 2 sit 3 floor: Av. *o-dó* 1; Chad. =*a^wun-* 2; And. *hoGu* 1; Akhv. *qo-da* 3.

The root is used as an adverb in Av. (literary Av., where it is provided with a -d- suffix) and And., as a noun in Akhv. ('floor' < *'down, below'), but as a verb 'to sit' in Av. Chad. This development is rather natural, because both Av. *o-dó* and And. *hoGu* are used in compounds for 'to sit' (Av. *o-do č:e-ze*, Chad. =*a^wun-čel-zi* lit. 'to stand below', And. *hoGu w-uk-* liter. 'to be below'). The Av. and Akhv. forms have undergone a reduction: *o-dó*, *qo-da* < **HVq^wV-do*. The same derivate is probably reflected in And. *Gu-di* 'deep' (*'below').

| Tsez. **qIe-* 1 down, below 2 floor: Tsez. *qIi-da* 1; Inkh. *qIe-l* 2; Bezht. *qe-re* 1 (Tlad.); Gunz. *qe-re* 1.

PTsKh **qe-* (with different suffixes); PGB **qe-re*.

| Lezg. **qa-* down, below: Arch. *qa-t:u*.

Attested only in Archi, but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Archi *qa-t:u* is an exact parallel for Av. *o-do-*. The root is not very widely spread, and the first syllable is often reduced (because of suffixes and its adverbial character), so the vocalism is hard to reconstruct.

*=*HVq^wÈ* to rumple, knead: Av.-And. =*ak:^wV(n)* (~ -o-); Tsez. *=*eq^w-* / **qeq^w-*; Lezg. **qāqI^wa* (~ -i); W.-Cauc. **qI^wa*.

| Av.-And. =*ak:^wV(n)* (~ -o-) 1 to rumple, crumple 2 to knead 3 to rub: Av. *k:^wa-* 1; Chad. =*ukékn-* 2; And. *k:^war-d-* 2; Tind. =*ak:^wi-* 2; Kar. *k:^war-* 1,2.

An expressive verbal root. The Chad. reduplication exactly matches lit. Avar =*uk:^wuk:n-* (a reduplicated stem with double class prefixes) 'to become rumpled, crumpled'. Besides the forms cited cf. also Av. =*uk:n-* 'to be rumpled, crumpled', Tind. =*ak:^wa-š:-* 'to rumple', Kar. *k:^war-aš:-*, Archo., Anch. =*ek:^wa-š:-*, Tok. *k:ob-* 'to rumple, to knead'; Akhv. (Tseg.) *ik:^war-* 'to rub', And. *č:an-d-* 'to rub', Cham. *šan-* (Gig. =*aç:a-h-*), Tind. *k:an-* id. As seen from the data, following stems are represented: a) *=*ak:^wVn-* (stem I) / **k:^wan-* > **k:an-* (stem II); b) **k:^wa-r-* / **k:^wa-b-* (also **ik:^wa-r-* in Akhv.); c) *=*Vk:^wa-š:-* / **k:^war-aš:-*.

It is possible that several roots (all with a tense root obstruent *k:* or *k:^w*) are mixed together here, but there is absolutely no possibility to distinguish between them.

| Tsez. *=*eq^w-* / **qeq^w-* 1 to press out 2 to rumple 3 to knead: Tsez. =*iq-ir-* 1, *quq-2*; Khvarsh. *quq-* 2; Bezht. *quq-* 3 (Tlad.).

PTsKh *=*eq^w-*, **qeq^w-* > **quq-*. Cf. perhaps also Bezht. Tlad. *qo-λ-* 'to press' (reflecting an old compound).

| Lezg. **qāqI^wa* (~ -i) to rub; to rumple, crumple: Tsakh. *g-oqIa-*; Arch. =*āqIa-*.

Cf. Arch. dur. =*arqIu-r*. In Tsakh. (Mikik dialect) the MSU recordings distinguish between *g-o=qIa-* 'to rumple; knead' and *g-o=qI^wa-* 'to rub'; it seems probable that these are only transcription differences.

| W.-Cauc. **qI^wa* 1 to tan, rumple, soften (leather) 2 to thresh: Abaz.

h.^wa-ra 1; Ad. *ʔ^wa-n* 2; Kab. *ʔ^wa-n* 2,1.

PAK **ʔ^wa* (the meaning 'to tan, soften' is preserved in Kab. *ʔ^wa-ta-n* and Ad. *s^va-ʔ^wa-ca*, Kab. *fa-ʔ^wa-za* 'implement for softening leather' - see Kuipers 1975, 73).

[] A common NC verb; due to its semantics subject to expressive changes (especially in the Av.-And. area) - but still the reconstruction seems both phonetically and semantically plausible.

**=HVq^wVn* to swallow: Av.-And. **=ik:^wVn*; Lezg. **ʔeqI^wV(n)*.

| Av.-And. **=ik:^wVn* to swallow: Av. *k:^win-*; Chad. *ken-*; And. *=ik:un-*; Akhv. *ik:-* (Tseg.); Cham. *=ik:^wVn-*; Tind. *=uk:^wi-*; Kar. *=erk:^wan-*; God. *=uk:^wi-*.

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *ink:-*, Cham. Gig. *=ikVn-*.

| Lezg. **ʔeqI^wV(n)* 1 to swallow 2 to suck: Lezg. *t-üqün-* 1; Tab. *t-u=qI-* 1; Tsakh. *o=qIa-* 2.

Lezg. and Tab. have an expressive dental preverb. Loss of -n-conjugation in Tsakh. is not clear; it may be caused by an influence of other similar roots (cf. e.g. Tsakh. *-o=ɬI-* 'to drink, swallow' (with different preverbs)). We may note that an similar influence occurred in Tab. Düb. - we have there *qlut-u=qI-* 'to swallow', opposed to Tab. Kand., lit. *qlut-u=qI-* and obviously influenced by *u=q:-* 'to drink' (see **HVq^wVr*).

[] An Av.-And-Lezg. isogloss. In Lezghian languages the root tends to contaminate with the reflexes of **HVq^wVr* 'to drink' and **=Hoq^wV* 'to sink' (q.v.).

**HVq^wV* strange, foreign: Av.-And. **hiq^wV* (~ h-); Tsez. **ʔaqV-*.

| Av.-And. **hiq^wV* (~ h-) strange, foreign: Cham. *heku*.

Attested only in Cham., but having a probable Tsez. parallel.

| Tsez. **ʔaqV-* strange, foreign: Tsez. *aqli=*.

Attested only in Tsez., with probable Andian parallels.

[] An And.-Tsez. isogloss.

**HVrēcV* copper: Av.-And. **ho(r)ço* (~ a); Tsez. **hirç*.

| Av.-And. **ho(r)ço* (~ a,-ç-) copper: Akhv. *haça*.

Attested only in Akhv., with possible Tsez. parallels.

| Tsez. **hirç* 1 copper 2 brass: Tsez. *hiroç* 1; Khvarsh. *heroç* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *hiroç* 2.

PTsKh **hiroç*.

[] An And.-Tsez. isogloss. Phonetically very close is Lak. *haraçi* 'a middle-sized earthenware vessel' - but it can belong here only if the original Lak. meaning was "copper vessel".

**HVrsA* to cut; knife: Nakh. **ʔurs*; Av.-And. **ʔisir*; Lak. *his*; W.-Cauc. **b-sV* (/ **b-zV*).

| Nakh. **ʔurs* knife: Chech. *urs*; Ing. *urs*.

Cf. also Shar., Khild. etc. *urs* id. 3d class in both languages. The Ablaut stem **ʔarsV-* is preserved in Chech. plur. *arsa-š*.

| Av.-And. **ʔisir* scissors: And. *isir*.

Attested only in And., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *his* to cut, clip, trim.

Cf. *his dan* id., *hisi-lu* 'scissors'; Khosr. *hilsilu* 'scissors'.

| W.-Cauc. **b-sV* (/ **b-zV*) to cut, cut out: Abkh. *a-sa-rá*; Abaz. *sa-ra*; Ad. *bza-n*; Kab. *bza-n*; Ub. *bza-*.

PAT **sa-* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-sa-rá*); PAK **bza-*. As pointed out by Shagirov (1,96) Ub. *bza-* may be borrowed from Ad. In that case it would be possible to compare instead Ub. *s^wa-* (*a-s-s^wa-n*) 'to cut, clip', reconstructing PWC **(b)-sV* (with secondary labialisation in Ubykh).

[] PWC has a frequent labial prefix (reflecting a class marker). In EC languages the verbal root was completely lost, having merged with another root, PNC **-Vrs^wE* (q.v.). On some traces of this root in PL see ibid. See Abdokov 1983, 166.

**HVr^wχE* shed, stall: Av.-And. **ʔiχ:i-l* (~ ʔ-,q-); Tsez. **həb(:)u* (~ e-,i-); Lezg. **ʔa(r)χ(:)-* (~ ʔ^w-); W.-Cauc. **χ^(w)a*.

| Av.-And. **ʔiχ:i-l* (~ ʔ-,q-) shed, hayloft: Cham. *eχ:il*; Tind. *eχ:al*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *eχ:il*.

| Tsez. **həb(:)u* (~ e-,i-) shed: Tsez. *hiβu*; Gin. *heβu*.

PTsKh **həβu*.

| Lezg. **ʔa(r)χ(:)-* (~ ʔ^w-) ruin(s): Bud. *ʔaχu*.

Attested only in Bud., but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **χ^(w)a* stall: Ub. *χa*.

Isolated in Ub., but having possible EC parallels.

[] Although not very widely spread (which is the reason for uncertainty in vocalic reconstruction), the etymology seems phonetically and semantically quite plausible. The medial resonant -r- is reconstructed because of the correspondence PA **-χ:-* : PTs **b:* (without the resonant we would expect **-χ-* in PA); unfortunately, languages which could have preserved the -r-, have not preserved the root.

**HVr^wχ^wV* (/ **rV^wχ^wV*) belt: Av.-And. **riž^wa* (~ -o); Tsez. **ʔašu-nV* (~ -š:-).

| Av.-And. **riž^wa* (~ -o) sash, girdle: Av. *rižu*; Tind. *riž^wa*; Kar. *riž^wa* (Anch.).

Av. paradigm A (*rižu-dul*, *riža-bi*). Tind. > Inkh. *riž^wa*, Khvarsh. *rižo* id.

| Tsez. **ʔašu-nV* (~ -š:-) belt: Tsez. *ašuni*; Gin. *ašune* / *ašuni*; Khvarsh. *rižo-ašu-χ* (Radzhibov).

PTsKh **ʔašu-* (with different suffixes).

[] An Av.-And-Tsez. isogloss; not very secure, because of the unclear metathesis.

**=HVw^wχ^wĀn* to sleep: Nakh. **nħāp*; Av.-And. **χ^w:in-*; Tsez. **=iχ^w-* / **χ^wV-*; Lak. *maχ*; Darg. **muyēr*; Lezg. **nāwχ*; W.-Cauc. **χ^w:A*.

| Nakh. **nħāp* sleep (n.): Chech. *nab*; Ing. *nab*; Bacb. *n^oap*.

For long **-ā-* cf. Chech. obl. stem *nābara-*; cf. also Chech. dial. *n^oāb*.

4th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. **λ*:in- to sleep: Av. *λ*:iz-; Chad. *λ*it-; And. *λ*:ixon-; Akhv. *λ*:unu-; Cham. *λ*:ixā-; Tind. *λ*:exī-; Kar. *λ*:ihan-.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *λ*:ajā-, Tlan. *λ*:ajn-, Ratl. *λ*:ixā-. The basic root is **λ*:in- (preserved as such only in Akhv.) with different (expressive) suffixes: **λ*:in-*z*-, **λ*:in-*t*-, **λ*:in-*χ*-.

Cf. also the derivate Av. *móλ*:u (paradigm C: *maλ*:i-l, *máλ*:a-bi), PA **móλ*:u > And. *móλ*:i, Akhv. *miλ*:e, Cham. *maλ*:, Tind., Kar., Botl. *maλ*:u, Bagv. *maλ*:w 'sleep, dream'.

| Tsez. **īλ*- / **λ*V- 1 to sleep 2 dream: Tsez. *móλ*u 2; Gin. *móλ*u 2; Khvarsh. *λ*e-s- 1, *muλ*u 2; Inkh. *móλ*u 2; Bezht. *maλ*o 2; Gunz. =*īλ*- 1, *móλ*u 2.

The original verbal root is preserved only in Khvarsh. (within a former compound with a reduction of the initial vowel) and in Gunz. Much wider spread is the deverbative **móλ*u A 'dream' (PTsKh **móλ*u, PGB **móλ*u).

| Lak. *mak* sleep, dream.

4th class.

| Darg. **muγer* dream: Ak. *mu[?]er*; Chir. *majar*.

Cf. also Ur. *mu[?]eri* id.

| Lezg. **nāwλ* dream: Tab. *niwλ*; Ag. *niλ* (*Bursh.*); Rut. *naq*; Tsakh. *naλ*; Kryz. *neq-ir*; Bud. *neq-ir*; Arch. *nabk*; Ud. *nep*:-.

Obl. stem **niwλ*a- (cf. Tab. *niwλ*u-, Rut. *naq*a- /with vowel levelling/, Tsakh. *niλ*i-). 4th class in all class distinguishing languages.

Cf. Leksika 1971, 148; Giginayshvili 1977, 135; Talibov 1980, 272.

| W.-Cauc. **λ*:wA sleep: Abkh. *á-c[?]a*; Abaz. *č^wa*; Ad. *čaja*; Kab. *zej*; Ub. *c^wa*.

PAT **c^wa* (also a verb: Abkh. *á-c[?]a-ra*, Abaz. *č^wa-ra*). PAK **č:ə-já* (etymology of -*ja* see under **ja*; also a verb: Ad. *čaja-n*, Kab. *zejə-n*). Ub. def. *a-c^wá* (also a verb: 1 p. *sə-c^wá-n*).

[] The verbal stem as such is reflected only in Av.-And.-Tsezian and WC languages. In most EC languages much more widely spread is the nominal derivate **nhewλ*u 'sleep' (a rather unique case of **n*-prefix; perhaps it is actually **nhewλ*u with early dissimilation?), with either long or short first vowel (long **ē* is reflected in PN, short **e* - in other languages). Note a unique reflex **-wλ*- > **-p*- in PN, and the irregular development of **λ* in a tense word > **λ* in PL. The latter phenomenon is explained obviously by the influence of another NC root, **hemλ*V 'dream' q.v.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241.

*HV_λwV (~ -q-) good: Lak. *χ:uj*-; Lezg. *HV_χ:wV.

| Lak. *χ:uj*- good.

| Lezg. *HV_χ:wV 1 good 2 kind 3 handsome: Ag. *beχ:er* 3 (*Bursh.*); Rut. *hiχ-di* 1; Arch. *buxI:a* 2.

There is not enough evidence to reconstruct the vocalism and the initial laryngeal (probably explaining the excessive pharyngealization in Arch.).

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss.

*HV₃Vw- to itch, to hurt: Nakh. **ab3*- (~ -č-); Av.-And. **ab*-

(~ -o-); Lak. *č:u*-.

| Nakh. **ab3*- (~ -č-) to sting, burn (of pain, wound): Chech. *owz*-; Ing. *owz*-.

Cf. also dur. **eb3*- (Chech. *iz*-, Ing. *ijz*-).

| Av.-And. **ab*- (~ -o-) to hurt, be in pain: Cham. *zaj*- / *zā*-; Tind. *zē*-; God. *zab*-.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *zab*- id.

| Lak. *č:u*- to itch.

Cf. also *č:uč:i* 'itch, rash'; Khosr. *č:wu-n*, imper. *č:wuč:wu* 'to itch'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive root; some languages have reflexes of a similar root with a hissing consonant: cf. Chech. *zuz* (*zūza*-) 'itch, rash', Av. *zu-n*- / *zun-t*- 'to have a shooting pain'; Ud. *zizi* 'ache, pain'; Khin. *izā-qi* 'to itch'.

*HV₃wE apple: Nakh. **a3*; W.-Cauc. **ž^wa*.

| Nakh. **a3* apple: Chech. *az*; Ing. *az*.

Obl. base **a3e*- 'apple' (Chech. *ēza*-), **a3u*- 'apple-tree' (Chech. *ōza*-). 6th class in Chech., 5th class in Ing. Cf. also Akk. *a3*, Ing. (in Imnaishvili's notation) *a3*.

| W.-Cauc. **ž^wa* 1 pear 2 wild apple-tree: Ad. *q:wə-zə* 1; Kab. *q^wə-z* 1; Ub. *mIa-s^wə* 2.

PAK **q^wə-zə* (on the first part see under **q^wa*). Despite Vogt, Ub. *mIa-s^wə* for obvious semantic reasons can not be a diminutive from *mIa* 'apple'. More probably, the association with the diminutive -*s^wə* is secondary (although it could have been the reason for irregular devoicing **ž^wa* > *s^wə*). An indirect proof that this was the case is Georg. *mažalo* 'wild apple-tree', which could have been borrowed from a language like Proto-Ubykh (before the devoicing).

[] An exclusive Nakh-WC isogloss, thus there is not enough information to reconstruct laryngeals and vocalism.

*HwēlčE quail; hen: Av.-And. **win[?]inčV*; Tsez. **ōcu* / **ō[?]ōcu*; Lezg. *Hwēlč(a) (~ w-,r-); W.-Cauc. **ača* (~ č:-).

| Av.-And. **win[?]inčV* hen: And. *ū[?]ecu*; Cham. *ūča*; Tind. *ōča*; Kar. *u[?]uča*; Bagv. *u[?]uča*; God. *o[?]oča*.

Irregular is -c- in And. (-č- would be expected). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *oča*, U.-Gakv. *ū[?]ača*, Kar. Tok. *ji[?]aču*.

| Tsez. **ōcu* / **ō[?]ōcu* hen: Tsez. *onoču*; Gin. *o[?]ocu*; Khvarsh. *ōču*; Inkh. *ōču*.

PTsKh **ōču* / **ō[?]ōču*.

| Lezg. *Hwēlč(a) (~ w-,r-) hen: Lezg. *werč*.

The Lezg. form is isolated among Lezg. languages; therefore the protoform can be reconstructed with a labialized initial laryngeal or with w-, with medial *-r- or -l-. We must also note the similarity of Lezg. *werč* with Osset. *wārcc* 'quail' which has a good Iranian etymology (Iran. **vartika*, cf. Old Indian *vartaka* 'quail'); thus a possibility of Iranian loan must also be considered (although such a semantic difference is strange in a loan).

| W.-Cauc. **ača* (~ č:-) quail: Abkh. *áča*; Abaz. *ača*.

PAT *ača (Abkh. sing. ačá-k / áčá-k).

[] In PA and some Tsezian languages the stem is expressively reduplicated (an analogous reduplication could have also resulted in the preservation of the first syllable in PAT). Otherwise the correspondences are regular. A semantic shift "quail" > "hen" seems plausible (if we deal with a genuine root).

*HwīqV day: Nakh. *ʔūqV; Av.-And. *q:ʔiʔV; Tsez. *qu (~ *qo); Lak. qini; Lezg. *jiq; Khin. qā.

| Nakh. *ʔūqV morning twilight: Chech. ʔūqē; Ing. ʔūjē.

4th class in both languages. The Chech. and Ing. forms contain a *-jV-suffix (with another suffixation cf. Chech. ʔūqā-na 'before dawn').

| Av.-And. *q:ʔiʔV day: Av. q:o; Chad. qo; Kar. q:ʔoj / q:oj.

Av. paradigm A (q:o-l / q:oji-l, q:oja-l, Chad. qó-dul, qója-l). The Kar. form is from the Anch. dialect. Cf. also Av. zá-q:a, Chad. é-qā-d 'today'.

| Tsez. *qu (~ *qo) today: Tsez. za-qIu-λ; Gin. zi-qu; Khvarsh. ze-qu-λ (Radzhibov); Inkh. je-qu-λ.

PTsKh *qu (present only in compounds meaning 'today').

| Lak. qini day.

Cf. Khosr. qini id.; ha-qinu, Khosr. halqinu 'today'.

| Lezg. *jiq: day: Lezg. juḅ; Tab. jiḅ; Ag. jaḅ; Rut. jiḅ; Tsakh. jiḅ; Kryz. jiḅ; Bud. jiḅ; Arch. iq; Ud. ḅi.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. jiḅ, Tab. Düb. jiq:i, Ag. Bursh. jaḅ, Burk. jaḅ etc. 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. Obl. base *jiq:a- (cf. Lezg. jiq:a-, Khl. jiq:a-, Tab. jiḅa-, Rut. jiḅa-, Tsakh. jiḅi-, Kryz. jiḅa-). The Ud. form ḅi is either metathesized or reflects the PL adverbial *q:i (see below).

Lezghian languages reflect also the adverbial form *q:i / *q:ä 'by day; today': Lezg. q:e, Tab. ḅi, Rut. ḅi-ḅa, Tsakh. ḅi-na, Kryz. q:e, Bud. q:e, Ud. ḅe 'today', Arch. qi 'by day'.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 82; Leksika 1971, 183; Giginayshvili 1977, 85; Talibov 1980, 303.

| Khin. qā day.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Part of the forms reflect an adverbial PEC formation *Hwīqī-(nV) > *Hwqī(nV) 'by day, today'. The problem of correlation of PEC *HwīqV 'day' and PNC *wirəqā 'sun' (q.v.) is still open (the derivational pattern is not clear).

*HwVʔV plain, meadow: Nakh. *ʔeʔ; Lezg. *ʔiʔ (~ -i-, -u-).

| Nakh. *ʔeʔ (~ -ē-) plain, platform: Bacb. eʔ.

Plur. aʔi-s.

| Lezg. *ʔiʔ (~ -i-, -u-) meadow, field: Rut. ʔIuʔI (Ikhr.).

Cf. also Luch. ʔIur (< *ʔIuʔ-Vr) id. Attested only in Rut., with a possible Nakh parallel.

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss. A derivate *HwVʔV-rV (= Rut. ʔIur, see above) is possibly reflected in Hurr. awarə 'field, open space, steppe' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 65).

*HwVnV shadow: Nakh. *ʔen; Av.-And. *hihʔVm.

| Nakh. *ʔen shadow: Chech. ʔin-daḅ; Ing. ʔi, ʔin-darḅa; Bacb. ē.

3d class in all languages. Imnaishvili gives also for Chech. a variant ʔī, and for Bacb. - ʔē (if the Bacbi form is ē, as written down by Matsiyev and Kadagidze, then the correspondence is irregular: Bacbi should preserve ʔ- < *ʔ-). For the second part of the compound Chech. ʔin-daḅ, Ing. ʔin-darḅa see under PEC *-HiGĀ.

| Av.-And. *hihʔVm 1 shadow, coolness 2 cool: Akhv. hūhū 1; Kar. hohimo-b 2.

A reduplicated stem. Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. hohom-λer, Tlan. huhun-λiler 'shadow, coolness', Kar. Tok. hohumu-b 'cool'. Perhaps we should reconstruct also a non-reduplicated *-ihʔV(n)- and compare Av. raʔad 'shadow' (< *r-iʔa(n)-d).

[] A Nakh-And. isogloss - therefore the reconstruction of both initial laryngeal and vocalism is rather vague. It is interesting to note Osset. awwon 'shadow', Balk. awana id. (see Abayev 1958, 87 - without any clear Iranian etymology). A more recent loan from Nakh is Osset. ändärg 'silhouette' (the Iranian etymology in Abayev 1958, 156 < *ham-tanḅra-ka- is also not convincing).

*HwVrdV a k. of grass: Av.-And. *ʔidi-rV; Lak. urt:u; Darg. *hurt:a.

| Av.-And. *ʔidi-rV young grass: Akhv. ʔidira.

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. ʔeder id. Attested only in Akhv., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. urt:u grass.

| Darg. *hurt:a henbane: Ak. horda.

[] Although the root is not widely attested (therefore vocalic reconstruction is difficult), its EC antiquity seems probable.

*HxəṃV leather strip, rope, string: Nakh. *m(h)əχV (~ -s-, -ā-); Av.-And. *ʔinlo (~ -l-); Tsez. *ʔōl B (~ -l-); Lak. xumū; W.-Cauc. *xa.

| Nakh. *m(h)əχV (~ -s-, -ā-) leather strip to be cut in threads; harness thread: Chech. mēχa.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *ʔinlo (~ -l-) 1 broad leather strip 2 leather rope: And. ilo-b 1; Cham. ṽla 1; Tind. ila 2; Kar. ila-bo 2 (L-Enkh.).

In Cham. the root means 'leather rope for fastening hay' (cf. also Cham. Gig. ila-b 'leather rope'); in Tind. - 'leather rope for donkey-tethering'.

| Tsez. *ʔōl B (~ -l-) 1 leather rope 2 leather strip: Tsez. oλ (Radzhibov); Khvarsh. ṽl (Radzhibov); Inkh. ēl 2; Bezht. ḅl 1.

PTsKh *ʔōl.

| Lak. xumū rope, string.

| W.-Cauc. *xa 1 thread (in spindle, skein) 2 scrap of thread; fibre: Abkh. a-χá 1; Abaz. χa-c 2.

Cf. also Abkh. Bzyb. a-xá. In Abaz. - a compound with the singulative stem -c(ə).

[] Correspondences are regular; a typical case of the HCVCV structure.

*Hχūnē an intoxicating liquor: Nakh. *niχa; Lak. han; Lezg. *χlana.
 | Nakh. *niχa a sour fermented drink, home-brewed beer: Chech. niχa; Ing. niχ.
 3d class in Chech., 5th class in Ing.
 | Lak. han alcoholic drink (vodka, wine, bouza).
 Cf. Khosr. haln id.
 | Lezg. *χlana an intoxicating liquor: Rut. χlan; Tsakh. wiχlana.
 Cf. also Tsakh. Gelm. wiχlina, (Tsakh.) wuχlana. 4th class in Rut. and Tsakh.
 The Tsakh. word contains a prefix wu-, probably < *ru- (or *ur(V)-).
 [] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*Hžēmī (~ -ū) butter, curds: Nakh. *maç-ru; Tsez. *cin (~ -i);
 Lezg. *č:ālm; Khin. mic.
 | Nakh. *maç-ru whey, buttermilk: Chech. morza; Ing. morz; Bacb. maçrō.
 Cf. also Chech. Cheb. marzu, Khild. morzū, It. morzu, Shar. morzo, Ing. (Imnaishvili) mworc:. 3d class in all languages.
 | Tsez. *cin (~ -i-) curds: Gin. cen.
 Attested only in Gin., with possible external parallels.
 | Lezg. *č:ālm butter: Lezg. čem; Tab. čim; Ag. č:alm; Rut. čam (Khnov.); Kryz. čem; Ud. č:āin.
 Cf. also Lezg. Khl. č:em, Tab. Düb. žalm, Ag. Burk. č:alm, Fit. č:em. Obl. base *č:āImi- (cf. Lezg. Khl. č:emi-, Ag. č:alma-). 4th class in Kryz. See Khaidakov 1973, 251; Talibov 1980, 271.
 | Khin. mic butter, oil.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PN and PL forms correspond well to each other; the Gin. and Khin. forms, however, raise some doubts (the Gin. form has irregular vocalism and final -n; in Khin. one would rather expect a form like *čim).

*-i?wV to say: Av.-And. *?Vb-; Lak. tu-; Darg. *?V-; Lezg. *?i?I?i-; Khin. li (?).

| Av.-And. *?Vb- say: Av. ābi-ze; Chad. min-.

In Av. Chad. the verb has passed into -n-conjugation (min- < *(a)bi-n-). The root is isolated in Av., but has reliable external parallels.

| Lak. tu- to say.

Lak. tu-n possibly goes back to prefixed *d- + a laryngeal root (cf. analogous forms in Lezghian languages).

| Darg. *?V- to say: Ak. es; Chir. ī (inf.).

Cf. also Ur. ?- (pret. i-ra, a-di) id., Chir. aor. i-b, inf. ī.

| Lezg. *?i?I?i- say: Lezg. luhu-; Tab. p-; Ag. p-; Tsakh. ihe-; Kryz. lip-; Bud. ju?-; Arch. bo-; Ud. pe-sun.

In Tab., Ag., Kryz., Arch. and Ud. we witness a case of interaction between the root laryngeal (normally reflected as -h-) and the class infix -b- (PL *p:). Cf. the paradigm in Kryz. (inf. lipi-ž < *l-i-b-?I?i-, dur. lu-ri, prohib. m-u?u), Bud. (ju?u, jipə-ži), Arch. (bo-s < *?i-p:-?I?i-s, dur. wa-r < *?i?I?a-r without the class infix). In Lezg. and Kryz. there is a *l- preverb; other languages reflect a prefixless form.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 88; Giginayshvili 1977, 138; Talibov 1980, 277.

| Khin. li say.

Etymology unclear: it could be li < *l-(V)H-i with epenthesis of the laryngeals (with l- as preverb - like in some Lezg. languages). In this case the form could be traced back to PEC *-i?wV.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of the verbs with laryngeal root-consonant.

*-i?wVI to feed on, to eat; to bite: Nakh. *q-añ-; Av.-And. *r-VHVn-; Tsez. *heIn- / *hell-; Lezg. *?i?āI-.

| Nakh. *q-añ- to bite: Bacb. q-añ-ar.

Attested only in Bacb. (with the preverb q-), but having probable external parallels. With another preverb, *l-, cf. Bacb. lah-ar 'to eat (together with smth.)' (term.), leh-ar id. (dur.).

| Av.-And. *r-VHVn- 1 to feed on (smth.) 2 fat: Av. rehn- 1; Chad. reh 2.

The Chad. form is a verbal derivative (with loss of *-Vn); cf. also Av. lit. rehen 'nutritiousness', rehen bugeb 'nutritious, nourishing'.

| Tsez. *heIn- / *hell- to bite: Tsez. han-; Gin. hil-; Khvarsh. han-.

PTsKh *heIn- / *hell- (with expressive vowel length in Khvarsh.).

| Lezg. *?i?āI- 1 to eat 2 to get hungry: Lezg. tu-n (masd.) 1; Tab. ip- 1; Ag. ſu- 1; Rut. -ile- 1; Kryz. ſul- 1; Bud. s-o?ul- 1; Arch. lah-bos 2.

Complicated reflexes in modern languages are due to combinations of class infixes with the Inlaut laryngeal: cf. Tab. ipu-b (*?i-b?-) / ipu-b

(*[?]i-d-[?]-); Lezg. praet. *tu-na* (*[?]i-d-[?]u-na) as opposed to the infinitive *ne-z* (*[?]in-Vs: < *[?]i[?]([?])l-Vs:). The root-final *-l- is well preserved in Rut., Kryz., Bud.; cf. also Ag. Bursh. *ʔuʔal-as*. On the other hand, the Rut. terminative form *li-[?]i-r* and the Arch. *lah-* reflect the metathesized variant *li[?]w-ä-.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*=içV (~ -ä-) to sell, distribute: Av.-And. *=iç-; Tsez. *=içs-; Darg. *=iç-; Khin. če=k^wi.

| Av.-And. *=iç- 1 to sell 2 to give: Av. =iç- 1; Chad. =içn- 1; Cham. ič- 1,2; Kar. =iç- 1.

-n-conjugation in Av. Chad. is not clear.

| Tsez. *=içs- to sell: Tsez. =is- (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. =is- (*Tlad.*); Gunz. =içs-.

PGB *=içs- (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. =is-).

| Darg. *=iç- to sell: Ak. =irc-; Chir. =iç- / =irc-.

Cf. also Ur. =iç-/=irc- id.

| Khin. če=k^wi to sell.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except for the nasalisation in PTs, which must be secondary - as well as the -n-conjugation in some Avar dialects).

*=içV(w) to hit, break, wound: Nakh. *čabu (~ -w-); Tsez. *=içs^w-; Lak. =içs^w-; Darg. *š:alw (~ š-).

| Nakh. *čabu (~ -w-) wound: Chech. čow; Ing. čow.

Cf. also Chech. (in Uslar's notation) čauw id. 4th class in both languages. Obl. base *čabu-ne- (~ -w-), cf. Chech. čewna-, Ing. čowno.

| Tsez. *=içs^w- to break, be broken: Tsez. =ešu-l- (*Radzhibov*); Khvarsh. k-ušej-l- (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. =içs- (*Tlad.*); Gunz. =içs-.

PTsKh *=içs^w-; PGB *=içs- (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. =içs-, and causative counterparts: Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. =içs-el-, Gunz. =içs-k- 'to break').

| Lak. =içs^w- to hit; to wound.

G. pr. =içs^w:u-nu. Cf. Khosr. =içs^w:u-n id., and the prefixless stem š:u-n (Khosr. š:u-n) 'to hit, touch, push'. An old derivate is š:awu, Khosr. š:abu 'wound' (> Arch. š:albi 'wound', š:alban as 'to wound').

| Darg. *š:alw (~ š-) wall-eye: Ak. šalw.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The verbal root is preserved only in PTs and Lak.; PN and PD reflect only the derivate *çV-uV 'wound' (= Lak. š:awu).

*=içÄ to give, compensate; to put: Av.-And. *=iç-; Lezg. *[?]iça-; W.-Cauc. *çV.

| Av.-And. *=iç- to compensate, reimburse: Av. =eç-; Tind. heç-.

Tind. h- is probably secondary (an automatic Anlaut in a classless conjugation).

| Lezg. *[?]iça- give: Lezg. c:e (?) (*imp.*); Ag. ça-; Rut. dur. =w-ilça-r; Kryz. dur. w-içint; Bud. ju=ç-.

The Lezg. form is not clear (why c: instead of ç?). In Kryz. the verb is -n-conjugated, but other languages have no traces of -n-.

| W.-Cauc. *çV to lay eggs: Abkh. a-ça-ra; Abaz. ça-ra; Ad. ça-çə-n; Kab. ça-çə-n.

PAT *ça (cf. also Bzyb forms recorded by Marr: á-d-ça-ra 'to heap, put on top', á-c-ça-ra 'to add'); PAK *ka-çə- (*ka 'egg'). The original meaning of the root is 'to put' (or 'to give'): cf. with other preverbs: Abkh. á-k^w-ça-ra, Abaz. (jə)-k^w-ça-ra 'to put'; PAK *na-ça- 'to put an eye [= Russ. положить глаз] > to envy, to aspire' (Ad., Kab. naça-n).

AK *naça- > Ub. naçə- 'to wait, hope'.

[] Correspondences are regular, and the comparison seems phonetically and semantically plausible. Cf. perhaps also Khin. ši-ç- 'to write' ('to put down', cf. an analogous derivation in several Lezghian languages: Lezg. k-xi-, Ag. k-ix-, Rut. k-i-xe- 'to write' from PL *[?]eλe- 'to put').

*=içwÄr to melt, thaw: Av.-And. *=iç-; Lak. =a=ça- / =a=çi-; Darg. *=aç-; Lezg. *jiç^war-; W.-Cauc. *(b)z^wə.

| Av.-And. *=iç- to melt: Cham. =iç-; Tind. =iç-; Kar. =iç-.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. =izn- id. (with secondary -n-conjugation).

| Lak. =a=ça- / =a=çi- to melt, thaw.

Cf. Khosr. =a=ça-n id.

| Darg. *=aç- to melt, thaw: Chir. =aç- / =iç-.

Cf. also Ur., Kub. =aç- / =iç- id.

| Lezg. *jiç^war- to melt, thaw: Lezg. çura-; Tab. je=ç-; Ag. iç^w-; Rut. =iça-; Kryz. ju=çur-; Arch. ça-.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. ji=ç-, Ag. Bursh. içi-, Lezg. el-eç- 'to grow languid' (a derived verb with loss of the -r-conjugation), Lezg. Nüt. küre-z 'to thaw, melt' (this form, together with Ag. iç^w-, points unambiguously to PL *ç^w). Tense -ç- in some Archi forms (aor. bo-ç:o etc.) is rather strange: either a misspelling, or an expressive strengthening (all other languages point only to PL lax *ç^w).

See Bokarev 1961, 70; Leksika 1971, 264; Giginayshvili 1977, 101; Talibov 1980, 296.

| W.-Cauc. *(b)z^wə to melt, thaw: Ad. z^wə-n; Kab. və-n; Ub. bž(ə)-.

PAK *z^wə-; Ub. sə-bžə-n. Initial b- in Ub. is an old prefix; bžə < *bz^wə < *bz^wə (with a regular dissimilative delabialisation after b-).

[] A reliable common NC root. Somewhat problematic is the relationship of PN *=aš- 'to melt, to thaw' (Chech., Ing., Bacb. =aš-): if it is cognate (which is not very certain), we should reconstruct PNC *=içwÄr; see also PEC *=isVn-. Perhaps related is Urart. ç-i- 'to flow, to rain' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 44) - although semantically not very secure.

*=içwË to come; to return: Nakh. *=erç-; Av.-And. *=Vç^wV-; Tsez. *=iç-; Lak. =u=ça-; Darg. *=aç-; Lezg. *[?]iç^wä-; Khin. -çi-; W.-Cauc. *žə.

| Nakh. *=erç- to turn, return: Chech. =erz-; Bacb. =erç-.

| Av.-And. * $\text{V}\check{\text{V}}$ - 1 to come 2 to walk, flow: Av. $\text{-a}\check{\text{c}}\text{-in-}$ 1; Chad. $\text{-a}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ 1; Cham. $\check{\text{V}}\text{-}$ (*Gad.*) 2.

Cf. also Av. $\text{-or}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ 'run out, break out'. The Cham. root is attested only in the *Gad.* expression $\check{\text{V}}\text{-a-r-da ide}$ 'walks, flows'. Av. $\text{-a}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$, Av. $\text{-or}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ and Cham. $\check{\text{V}}\text{-a-}$ reflect different Ablaut grades; the evidence is not enough to securely reconstruct the root vowel. The -n- conjugation in Av. is obviously secondary (cf. its absence in Chad.).

| Tsez. $\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ to get into, sit in: Bezht. $\text{t-i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ (*Tlad.*); Gunz. $\text{g-i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$.

Cf. also Gunz. $\text{t-i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ "go down (of the sun)". PGB $\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ (with different preverbs).

| Lak. $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-a-}$ to go down.

G. pr. $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-u-n}$. Cf. Khosr. $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-a-n}$ ($\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-undi}$) 'to come, arrive' (приезжать' as opposed to $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-a-n}$, $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-undi}$ 'приходить' q.v.), to put in'.

| Darg. $\text{*a}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ to go down: Ak. $\text{ka-a}\check{\text{c}}\text{-es}$.

| Lezg. $\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}\check{\text{a}}$ - 1 to come in, enter 2 to come out 3 to come down: Lezg. $\text{eq-i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ 2; Tab. $\text{u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ 1; Ag. $\text{u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ 1; Rut. $\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{c}}\text{-a-}$ 1; Tsakh. $\text{ik-e}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ 1; Kryz. $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ 2; Bud. $\text{*a}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ 1,3; Arch. $\check{\text{c}}\text{-u-}$ 1; Ud. b-aj- 1.

PL Ablaut $\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}\check{\text{a}}$ - / $\text{*a}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}\check{\text{a}}$ -. The first variant is reflected in Tab., Ag., Arch. ($\check{\text{c}}\text{-u-}$ < $\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-u-}$), cf. also Rut. $\text{k-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-es/k-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-a-s}$ 'to begin'; the second variant - in Lezg., Rut. ($\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{c}}\text{-a-s}$), Tsakh., Kryz., Bud. and Ud. (with regular loss of $\text{-}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$), cf. also Arch. $\text{a}\check{\text{c}}\text{-a-s}$ (dur. $\text{-ar}\check{\text{c}}\text{-u-r}$) 'to hide'. The verb belongs to the strong conjugation and is used in all languages mostly in conjunction with locative preverbs.

See Giginayshvili 1977, 82.

| Khin. $\text{-}\check{\text{c}}\text{-i-}$ to come in.

Used only with preverbs ($\text{al-}\check{\text{c}}\text{-bi}$, $\text{a-}\check{\text{c}}\text{-bi}$, $\text{tal-}\check{\text{c}}\text{-bi}$ etc.).

| W.-Cauc. $\text{*}\check{\text{z}}\text{-}$ 1 (to move) back 2 to return: Ad. $\text{-}\check{\text{z}}\text{-}$ 1; Kab. $\text{-}\check{\text{z}}\text{-}$ 1; Ub. $\text{j}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{z}}\text{-}$ 2.

PAK $\text{*}\check{\text{z}}\text{-}$ (the morpheme is treated as a "suffix of reverse action", see Shagirov 2, 76, and is used in compounds with other verbal roots); Ub. $\text{s}\check{\text{a}}\text{-j-}\check{\text{z}}\text{-n}$ (another Ub. compound with the same root is $\text{la}\check{\text{q}}\text{-a-}\check{\text{z}}\text{-}$, $\text{s}\check{\text{a}}\text{-la}\check{\text{q}}\text{-a-}\check{\text{z}}\text{-}$ "to go after smb." ($\text{la}\check{\text{q}}\text{-a-}$ 'trace')).

[] The EC-WC comparison belongs to Trubetzkoy (1930, 278). Except for the loss of labialisation (which sometimes happens in verbal WC roots - possibly because of interaction with class prefixes) correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems plausible. Some forms (Av. $\text{or}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$, PN $\text{*er}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$) reflect a variant with infix (probably durative) *r- ; one can also compare Urart. $\text{er}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ 'to return' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 45).

$\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-w}\check{\text{E}}\text{I}$ to count; to understand: Nakh. $\text{*e}\check{\text{s}}\text{-}$; Av.-And. $\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-Vn-}$ / $\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-Vn-}$; Lak. $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-i-}$; Darg. $\text{*il}\check{\text{c}}\text{-Vn}$ / $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$; W.-Cauc. $\text{*p-}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}\check{\text{a}}$.

| Nakh. $\text{*e}\check{\text{s}}\text{-}$ 1 to read 2 to learn, study 3 to obey, be obedient: Chech. $\text{-e}\check{\text{s}}\text{-}$ 1,2; Ing. $\text{-e}\check{\text{s}}\text{-}$ 1; Bacb. $\text{-e}\check{\text{s}}\text{-}$ 3.

| Av.-And. $\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-Vn-}$ / $\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-Vn-}$ 1 to understand 2 to count: Av. $\text{-i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ 1; Chad. $\text{-i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ 1; And. $\text{-i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-Vn-}$ 1; Cham. $\text{-a}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{V}}\text{-}$ 2; Tind. $\text{-ic-}\check{\text{r}}\text{-}$ 2; Kar. $\text{-i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-Vn-}$ 2; Botl. $\text{-i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-Vn-}$ 2; God. $\text{-ic-}\check{\text{Vn-}}$ 2.

The root reveals a variation between $\text{*}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ and $\text{*}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ (typical for reflexes of

$\text{*}\check{\text{c}}\text{-w}$ in tense words). The Av. verb was borrowed in Cham. ($\text{b-i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-la}$ 'to understand') and Bezht. (*Tlad.* $\text{bi}\check{\text{c}}\text{-i aq-}$, Khosh. $\text{bi}\check{\text{c}}\text{-i aq-}$).

It is probable that the common Av.-And. stem $\text{*}\check{\text{c}}\text{-al-}$ (~ -o-) "to read" is actually stem II of the same root: cf. Av. $\check{\text{c}}\text{-al-}$ (Chad. $\check{\text{c}}\text{-al-}$), Cham. $\check{\text{s}}\text{-al-id-}$ (*Gig. cal-id-*), Tind. c-al-ij- .

| Lak. $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-i-}$ to understand.

G. pr. $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-u-nu}$. Cf. Khosr. $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-i-n}$ id. The same root is most probably reflected in the durative stem $\check{\text{c}}\text{-ala-n}$ 'to see' (with Anlaut reduction, opposed to the reductionless durative $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-la-n}$ 'to understand').

| Darg. $\text{*il}\check{\text{c}}\text{-Vn}$ / $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ to read: Ak. $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-es}$.

Cf. also Ur. $\text{-il}\check{\text{c}}\text{-Vn-}$ / $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ id.

| W.-Cauc. $\text{*p-}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}\check{\text{a}}$ to count: Ad. $\text{p}\check{\text{c}}\text{-n}$; Kab. $\text{b}\check{\text{z}}\text{-n}$.

PAK $\text{*p}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}\check{\text{a}}$ (presupposing PWC $\text{*}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}\check{\text{a}}$ - or $\text{*}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}$).

[] The EC-WC comparison belongs to Shagirov (1,87) and seems quite probable.

$\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-w}\check{\text{E}}\text{n}$ (~ $\text{-}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}$) to cleave, cut, incise: Av.-And. $\text{*}\check{\text{c}}\text{-Vn-}$; Tsez. $\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-w-}$; W.-Cauc. $\text{*}\check{\text{c}}\text{-V}$.

| Av.-And. $\text{*}\check{\text{c}}\text{-Vn-}$ 1 to flay, strip 3 to cleave: Akhv. $\check{\text{c}}\text{-ab-}$ 2; Cham. $\check{\text{c}}\text{-un-al-}$ 3.

The Akhv. form is probably denasalized < $\text{*}\check{\text{c}}\text{-am-}$ < $\text{*}\check{\text{c}}\text{-an-}$. It is necessary to keep this root (with labialised $\text{*}\check{\text{c}}\text{-w}$) apart from PA $\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ / $\text{*}\check{\text{c}}\text{-in-}$ 'to kill; break, split' q.v., although they are close semantically and phonetically and could have partially merged in some languages (it concerns, in particular, the Av. form $\check{\text{c}}\text{-a-}$ 'to kill' which is probably a contamination of these two roots).

| Tsez. $\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-w-}$ to cut, chop: Tsez. $\text{-e}\check{\text{c}}\text{-w-}$; Gin. $\text{-o}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$; Khvarsh. $\text{-i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$; Inkh. $\text{-i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$; Bezht. $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ (*Tlad.*); Gunz. $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$.

PTsKh $\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-w-}$; PGB $\text{*u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$).

| W.-Cauc. $\text{*}\check{\text{c}}\text{-V}$ to cut, to incise: Ad. $\text{w}\check{\text{a}}\text{-p}\check{\text{c}}\text{-a-ta-n}$; Kab. $\text{w}\check{\text{a}}\text{-p}\check{\text{c}}\text{-a-ta-n}$; Ub. $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$.

PAK $\text{*w}\check{\text{a}}\text{-p}\check{\text{c}}\text{-a-ta-}$; there are also other compounds like $\text{*p}\check{\text{a}}\text{-w}\check{\text{a}}\text{-p}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ (Ad. $\text{p}\check{\text{a}}\text{w}\check{\text{a}}\text{p}\check{\text{c}}\text{-n}$, Kab. $\text{p}\check{\text{a}}\text{w}\check{\text{a}}\text{p}\check{\text{c}}\text{-n}$) 'to cut off'. Ub. $\text{a-s-q}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{c}}\text{-n}$ ($\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}$ < $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}$, preverb meaning 'hand').

Despite Shagirov 2, 53 PAK $\text{*p}\check{\text{c}}\text{-a-}$ / $\text{*p}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ 'to cut, incise' should be kept apart from the homonymous $\text{*p}\check{\text{c}}\text{-a-}$ 'to weed', which has its own etymology (q.v.). We should note that the semantic development 'to cut' > 'to weed', proposed by Shagirov, is highly unlikely (the basic idea of weeding is doing it by hand, not by knife or any other instrument).

[] The etymology seems satisfactory, although it is sometimes hard to distinguish between the reflexes of this root and PNC $\text{*}\check{\text{a}}\text{-n}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}\check{\text{E}}$ 'to crush, break' q.v.

$\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-w}\check{\text{V}}\text{(r)}$ (~ $\text{-}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$) to run: Av.-And. $\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-w}\check{\text{V}}\text{(r)}$; Tsez. $\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$.

| Av.-And. $\text{*i}\check{\text{c}}\text{-w}\check{\text{V}}\text{(r)}$ to run (away): And. $\text{-u}\check{\text{c}}\text{-in-}$; Cham. $\text{-u}\check{\text{s}}\text{-}$; Tind. $\check{\text{c}}\text{-w}\check{\text{e}}\text{-}$; Kar. $\check{\text{c}}\text{-w}\check{\text{ar-}}$; God. $\check{\text{c}}\text{-ar-}$.

Cf. also And. $\check{\text{c}}\text{-ar-d-}$ 'to glide', Kar. Tok. $\check{\text{c}}\text{-ol-}$ 'to run away'. All languages except Andian and Cham. (U.-Gakv.) reflect stem II $\text{*}\check{\text{c}}\text{-w}\check{\text{V}}\text{-}$ (cf. also

Cham. Gig. *çar-* id.).

The Andian -n-conjugation may be explained by a contamination with another PA verb, reflected in Cham. Gig. =u $\check{c}$ ā- 'to fly'.

| Tsez. *i $\check{c}$ - to run: Gunz. =i $\check{c}$ -.

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable Andian parallels.

[] An And-Tsez. isogloss.

*-ifV to sift: Lak. =ihi-; Lezg. *s:iλ:~; W.-Cauc. *x~V.

| Lak. =ihi- to filter.

G. pr. =i=hu-nu.

| Lezg. *s:iλ:~V- 1 to sift 2 sieve: Lezg. *saf* 2; Tab. *sif* 2; Ag. *zu-r-fi-* 1; Rut. *six* 2; Tsakh. *wex:~a* 2.

The verb is preserved only in Agul/Burshag dialect; the noun 'sieve' in Agul is a later derivate (Rich. *sirfel*, Bursh., Burk. *zerfel*, Fit. *zarfil*). All other languages (except Tsakhur) have preserved only the PL derivate *s:iλ:~ 'sieve' (besides the forms listed cf. also Lezg. Khl. *sef*, Akht. *sef*, Tab. Düb. *sif:i*, Khür. *s:if:*, Rut. Khniukh *suf*, Ams. *sūx*). Most languages reflect the form with an old preverb *s:-; the only exception is Tsakh. *w-ex:~a* (< *w-äλ:~aj with another prefix and Ablaut), pointing to an original verbal root *?iλ:~V (/ *?äλ:~V) 'to sift'.

See Talibov 1980, 314.

| W.-Cauc. *x~V to sift: Abkh. *a-χ~r-á*; Abaz. *χ~ra*; Kab. *wə-x~a-nšə-n*; Ub. -xa-.

PAT *x~ə; Ub. 1st p. *a-sə-xa-n*. The Kab. form is a compound verb (*wə-x~a-n* 'sifting' + *šə-n* 'to do'). In PAK cf. also *x~ə-zə 'to press (as orange)', reflected in Kab. *x~əzə-n*, Ad. *fəzə-n*.

[] One of the rare (mostly verbal) roots containing the hypothetical labial fricative *f.

*-igwV $\frac{1}{2}$ to lose, get lost; steal: Av.-And. *golV (~ -a-); Tsez. *g~Vl-; Lezg. *?ik:~äl-; Khin. *dugun-*.

| Av.-And. *golV (~ -a-) thief: Tind. *gala*; God. *gali*.

| Tsez. *g~Vl- thief: Gunz. *guhlaq*.

The Gunz. word is probably a compound < *gul-hVq (for the second part cf. Tsez., Gin. =uq- 'to hide').

| Lezg. *?ik:~äl- 1 to lose 2 to get lost 3 hidden, secret: Tab. *d-u=g-* 1,2; Ag. *gul-* 1,2; Rut. *s-u=ga-* 2; Tsakh. *a=g~al-* 2; Kryz. *gul jeriž* 1; Bud. *ä=gül-* 1,2; Arch. *guli-t:u=* 3.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *d-u=g-* 'to lose, get lost'; Ag. Bursh. *gulan-* id. With a prefixed *t:-, besides Tab., cf. Rut. *d-agul ha?a-s* 'to steal', Tsakh. *d-ugul xes* 'to hide'. Archi and Kryz reflect only a deverbal (participial) form (in Kryz - as part of a compound verb); most languages reflect the Ablaut grade *i, but grade *ä is reflected in Tsakh. and Bud. (in Tsakhur there still is a live alternation: *a=g~al-* in term., *i=g~al-* in dur.).

| Khin. *dugun-* to lose.

Cf. also *dugun-qi*, -*xi* 'to be lost, get lost'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular

(in Khin. d- is a former preverb, while -n probably reflects the original *-l-conjugation). Ando-Tsezian forms (as well as some Lezghian) reflect a prefixless form with loss of *?i- in an unstressed first syllable.

*-ig(w)Vr to bend, fold: Av.-And. *gur-; Tsez. *?ugVr- (~o-, -l-); Lak. =a $\check{c}$:a- / =a $\check{c}$:i-; Darg. *ark:~ / *r-urk:-; Lezg. *?ik:~ar-; W.-Cauc. *gV (~ *g~).

| Av.-And. *gur- (/ *g~il-) 1 to wrap, fold 2 to bend: Av. *gur-* 1; And. *gel-d-* 2; Cham. *gur-id-* 1; Tind. *gur-ij-* 1; Kar. *gur-* 2.

Andian forms (except Andian proper) can also be borrowed from Avar. Av. > Arch. *guri* as 'to wrap, swaddle'.

| Tsez. *?ugVr- (~o-, -l-) humpbacked: Gin. *ugliš*.

Isolated in Gin., but having probable external parallels (the Gin. form should be kept distinct from Inkh. =u $\check{c}$ ale 'curved, humpbacked', see under PEC *-V $\check{c}$ Vl).

| Lak. =a $\check{c}$:a- / =a $\check{c}$:i- to bend, become curved.

G. pr. =a=k:u-nu; Khosr. =a $\check{c}$:a-n, aor. =a=k:un-di. Cf. also =a=k:u-s:a, Khosr. =a=k:u-s:a 'curved, hooked'.

| Darg. *ark:~ / *r-urk:- to wrap: Ak. =arg~ / rurg-.

The form is cited from the Ur. dialect (in Uslar's recording).

| Lezg. *?ik:~ar- 1 to bend 2 hooked, curved, bent: Arch. *g~a-s* 1; Ud. *k:ori* 2.

The -r-conjugation is regularly lost in Archi, but is preserved in the derived Udi adjective. Cf. also Arch. *gu-t:u-* 'hooked, curved'.

| W.-Cauc. *gV (~ *g~) to twist, spin (thread): Ad. *žə-n*, *žə-n*; Kab. *žə-n*, *žə-n*;

PAK *gə- (trans.), *ga- (intrans.).

[] Semantically the EC-WC parallel seems satisfactory ('bend' <-> 'twist, spin'); not quite clear is the reason for loss of labialisation in PWC.

*-iGwÄr dry, to dry: Nakh. *a $\check{q}$ -; Av.-And. *-i $\check{q}$:~V-; Tsez. *qoqV- A; Lak. *qə-q*; Darg. *er $\check{b}$ ~V-; Lezg. *?i $\check{q}$:~ar-; Khin. *qi*; W.-Cauc. *b~V.

| Nakh. *a $\check{q}$ - dry: Chech. =e $\check{q}$ a; Ing. =e $\check{q}$ a; Bacb. =a $\check{q}$ l.

PN *-a $\check{q}$ -i(n) 'dry' is derived from the verbal base *-a $\check{q}$ - 'to dry, to get dry' (cf. Chech. =a $\check{q}$ - $\bar{o}$ tr., =a $\check{q}$ a-dala intr., Bacb. =a $\check{q}$ -dar tr.).

| Av.-And. *-i $\check{q}$:~V- dry: Av. =a $\check{q}$:~arab; Chad. =u $\check{q}$ ara-b; And. =e $\check{q}$:u-b; Akhv. =u $\check{q}$:ada; Cham. =e $\check{q}$:u-b; Tind. =e $\check{q}$:u-b; Kar. =e $\check{q}$:u-b; God. =e $\check{q}$:u $\check{q}$:i-b.

The word for 'dry' is a participle of the verbal root *-i $\check{q}$:~V- 'to dry (up)', cf. Av. =a $\check{q}$:~a-, Akhv. =u $\check{q}$: $\bar{o}$ -, Kar. =e $\check{q}$:~a-, Botl. =e $\check{q}$:~-, Tind. =e $\check{q}$:~-, =e $\check{q}$:u $\check{q}$:~-, God. =e $\check{q}$:u $\check{q}$:~-, Cham. =e $\check{q}$:u $\check{q}$:~ (the last three forms are reduplicated).

| Tsez. *qoqV- A dry: Tsez. *quqqäsi*; Gin. *quges*; Khvarsh. *quqqa* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *quqqu*; Bezht. *qoqoro*; Gunz. *qoqoru*.

The word is actually a gerund of the verb *qoqV- A 'to dry up, get dry', cf. Tsez. *quqa* id. PTsKh *quqV-, PGB *qoqo-.

| Lak. *qə-q* dry.

Cf. the verbal stem *q̄a-q̄a-* (p.pr. *q̄a-q̄u-*) 'to get dry'.

| Darg. **erδ*^WV- dry: Ak. =*erub-si*; Chir. =*erδub-ze*.

Cf. also Kharb., Tsud. =*erδub-se*. This adjective is derived from the verb **erδ*^W- 'to dry' (Ak. =*ur-es*, Ur. =*ir*^W-/-*ur*^W-, Chir. =*erδ*-/-*urδ*^W-).

| Lezg. **iq*^War- dry: Lezg. *q̄uraj*; Tab. *q:uru*; Ag. *ruq:uf*; Rut. *q:urud*; Tsakh. *q:urna*; Bud. *q:uru*; Arch. *q̄ure*; Ud. *q:ari*.

All forms are in fact verbal adjectives. The verbal forms are widely preserved: Lezg. *q̄ura-z* (praet. *q̄ura-na*) 'to dry', Tab. *u-r-q:u-z* 'to get stale', Ag. *ruq:^Wa-s* (Bursh. *urq:^Wa-s*) 'to dry', Arch. *q̄ura-s* (imper. *q̄uraq:a*)/ *q̄^Wa-s* id. The Rut. and Bud. form may have been influenced by Turkic (cf. Azer. *Guru* 'dry'), but there is no doubt in the authenticity of this root in PL.

Cf. Bokarev 1961, 64; Giginayshvili 1977, 108.

| Khin. *q̄i* dry, to dry (out).

| W.-Cauc. **δ*^WV to dry out, get dry: Abkh. *a-^Wa-rá*; Abaz. *^Wa-ra*; Ad. *δ^Wδ-n*; Kab. *δ^Wδ-n*; Ub. *δ^Wδ*.

PAT **^Wa-*, PAK **δ^Wδ-*. Not quite clear is the loss of labialization in Ub. The root serves also as a basis for the adjective 'dry' in all languages: Abkh. *a-^Wá*, Abaz. *já-r-^Wu*, Ad. *δ^Wδ-*ba**, Kab. *δ^Wδ-r*, Ub. *δ-*q̄a**.

[] A very stable common NC root; reflected in most languages as both a verbal and adjectival stem. Cf. also the nominal derivate **r-iGwV* / **GwVrV* 'draught' (PD **deδ*^W > Ak. *deδ*, Chir. *deδ*^W, Ur. *diw*, PTs > Gunz. (Nakh.) *qor*). Note a frequent use of the reduplicated stem **GwiGwVr-* (in PA, PTs, Lak.). See Abdokov 1983, 144-145.

**-ikĀr* to take with, provide: Darg. **-irk-* / *-uk-*; Lezg. **i[k]*ar; W.-Cauc. **k:a* (~ *g-*).

| Darg. **-irk-* / *-uk-* to take with, provide: Chir. =*erk-* / *-uk-*.

Cf. also Kub. =*uk-* (= *uč-ij*) id.

| Lezg. **i[k]*ar to take with, provide, deliver: Rut. *gi-rga-*; Arch. *kar-*.

The verb has an archaic paradigm (**ikar-* > Arch. *kar-*; the Ablaut grade **okār* > Arch. dur. *orki-r*, term. *oka*, Rut. =*i-ga-* in *q-i-ga-* 'to bring, to lead, deliver'; reduplicated stem **kor(V)ka-* > Arch. imper. *karaka*, Rut. *gi-rga-*). Because of a precise parallelism between the Archi and Rutul alternating stems and a precise semantic match, the relationship of the Archi and Rutul forms is beyond doubt - despite an irregular consonantal correspondence. Cf. perhaps also Tsakh. =*ik:e-s* (pres. with reduplication =*ikek-a*) 'to take away, carry away': here =*k:* obviously does not reflect a PL lateral, but is an expressive gemination of =*k-*. An analogous expressive reduplication could be responsible for the exceptional development **k* > *g* in Rutul.

| W.-Cauc. **k:a* (~ *g-*) to bring, carry: Abkh. *a-ga-rá*; Abaz. *ga-ra*.

PAT **ga*.

[] The EC-WC seems plausible phonetically and semantically (although the root is not very widely represented).

**-ikwV* to burn, set on fire: Nakh. **-āk-*; Av.-And. **-ik^WVn-* / **k^WVn-*; Tsez. **-ek^W-* B; Lak. *ki-a-*; Darg. **-ik^W-*; Lezg. **i^Wka-*.

| Nakh. **-āk-* to burn: Chech. =*āg-*; Ing. =*og-*; Bacb. *ak-dar*.

| Av.-And. **-ik^WVn-* / **k^WVn-* 1 to burn (intr.), to catch fire 2 to set on fire: Av. *rekn-* 1; Chad. *reke-* 2; Akhv. *kon-* 2; God. *kan-aχ:i* 1.

Av. reflects stem I (with a demorphologized class prefix); Andian languages reflect stem II.

| Tsez. **-ek^W-* B to burn: Tsez. =*ik^W-*; Gin. =*ek^W-*; Khvarsh. =*ak^W-*; Inkh. =*ok^W-*; Bezht. =*ek-*; Gunz. =*ekek-*.

PTsKh **-ak^W-*, PGB **-ek-*. The Gunz. form contains a causative suffix (cf. also =*ek-* 'to burn (intr.)', =*ek-eru* 'hot'). In other languages it is both transitive and intransitive.

| Lak. *ki-a-* to catch fire.

G. pr. *ki-nu*. Cf. Khosr. *kija-* id.; also, with reduplication, Lak. =*aj-kiki-n* 'to catch fire, start burning'. A derived adjective is Lak. *kiri-s:a*, Khosr. *kiri-s:a* 'hot'.

| Darg. **-ik^W-* to set on fire: Chir. =*ik^W-*/=*irk^W-*.

| Lezg. **i^Wka-* set fire, burn: Lezg. *k-āk-an-*; Rut. *l-ik^Wa-s*; Tsakh. *q-oka-s*; Bud. *^Wunku*; Arch. *k^Wa-s*.

The -n-conjugation in Bud. (cf. dur. *^Wakunzi*) is probably secondary; otherwise the correspondences are quite regular (note that Tsakh. reflects the **-ā-* Ablaut grade: =*oka-* < **-āk^Wa-*). A derived adjective is Rut. *b-ik-er-di* 'hot'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Nasal conjugation in Av.-And. is probably secondary (although one should, perhaps, note some traces of it also in Lezghian).

**-ilcV* to praise: Nakh. **χ-asť* (~ *-ā-*, -st-); Av.-And. **-ic-*; Tsez. **-is-*;

Lezg. **ilc:a*.

| Nakh. **χ-asť* (~ *-ā-*, -st-) to praise: Chech. *χast-ō*.

Cf. also dur. *χest-ō* id.

| Av.-And. **-ic-* to praise: Av. =*ec-*; Chad. =*ec-*; And. =*ec:-iq:-*; Akhv. =*ec:-*; Cham. =*ecuc-*; Tind. =*ec:ic:ĩ-*; Kar. =*ec:-*.

Tind. and Cham. reflect a reduplicated form, And. - a compound with a not quite clear second component. Av. > Bezht. *becci* =*ow-* 'to praise'.

| Tsez. **-ĩs-* to pray: Tsez. =*es-ur-* (*Radzhibov*); Khvarsh. *is-aχ-* (*Radzhibov*); Gunz. =*ĩz-al-*.

PTsKh **-is-*.

| Lezg. **ilc:a* to praise: Rut. =*irza-*; Arch. *ca-*.

PL **-l-* is suggested by Rut. =*r-* (**-r-* would have disappeared in Rutul).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**-i[l]čwĒ* to roast, fry, dry: Av.-And. **-uč-*; Tsez. **-uč-* (~ -o-);

Lak. *laču-*; Darg. **-irč-* / *-uč-*; W.-Cauc. **bčV*.

| Av.-And. **-uč-* to dry: Av. =*uč-*.

| Tsez. **-uč-* (~ -o-) to singe: Tsez. *h-uč-ir-*; Khvarsh. *χ-uč-* (*Radzhibov*).

PTsKh **-uč-* (with different preverbs).

| Lak. *laçu-* to catch fire.
G. pr. *la-çu-n*.
| Darg. **irç-* / *=uç-* to roast, fry: Ak. *-irç-* / *=uç-* (Ur.).
| W.-Cauc. **bžV* 1 to fry 2 to burn, smart: Abkh. *a-ž-rá* 1; Abaz. *ž-ra* 1; Ad. *ja-bža-n* 2; Kab. *ja-bža-n* 2.

PAT **žə*; PAK **bža-* (cf. also **Lə-bža-* 'to fry (a meat-dish)' > Ad. *Lə-bža-n*, Kab. *Lə-bža-n*). See Shagirov 1, 91, Kuipers 1975, 39, 46).

[] The etymology seems plausible both phonetically and semantically. Not quite clear is the status of medial *-l-* (the reconstruction depends on whether we regard the Lak. *l-* and Darg. *-r-* as historical affixes or as a part of the root).

**-ilkwVn* to recite, talk (> to write): Tsez. **ek-* (~ *-ē-*); Darg. **-VlkVn-*; Lezg. **ilk'an*; Khin. *liku-*.

| Tsez. **ek-* (~ *-ē-*) to speak, say: Bezht. *-ek-* (*Khosh*).

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. **-VlkVn-* to write: Chir. *-elkVn-* / *luk-*.

Cf. also Ur. *-ilkVn-* / *luk-* id.

| Lezg. **ilk'an* 1 to speak, talk 2 to write 3 speaking, telling: Lezg. *lukün-* 1; Tab. *-ik-* 2; Ag. *likan-* 2 (*Bursh.*); Tsakh. *o-kan-* 2; Ud. *uk:al* 3.

See Leksika 1971, 261; Khaidakov 1973, 134.

| Khin. *liku-* to learn; to read; to sing.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is spread mostly in the Eastern Daghestan area.

**-ilqVn* to work: Lak. *-uqa-n*; Darg. **luqVn-*; Lezg. **ilχan*.

| Lak. *-uqa-n* to plough.

G. pr. *-u-qu-n*.

| Darg. **luqVn-* to work: Chir. *luq-*.

| Lezg. **ilχan* to work: Tab. *li-χ-*; Ag. *lux-*; Arch. *irχ'in-*.

Cf. also Ag. *Bursh.*, Tp. *liχan-* 'to work', and the derivatives: Tab. *laχlin*, Ag. *Bursh. lexen* 'work', Rut. *luxun* 'collective work (while building a house)'. Here we must also relate Lezg. *k'a-lax-* 'to work', Rut. *g'a-lax* 'work' (although the prefixation is not clear). The Archi form has a secondary labialisation (inf. *irχ'mus* < **irχn-bos* with assimilation); however, tense *-χ:-* in durative forms (like *-irχ'in*) must be secondary, because all other languages and the external evidence point certainly to weak PL **-χ-*.

See Leksika 1971, 147; Khaidakov 1973, 137.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The verb is attested only in the Eastern Daghestan area.

**-ilqwV* to run: Av.-And. **qVl-* (~ *χ-*); Tsez. **ox:-*; Lak. *li-qa-*; Darg. **-uqVn-*; Lezg. **iχ(:)a* (~ *-i*); W.-Cauc. **q:lV*.

| Av.-And. **qVl-* (~ *χ-*) to trot, to run: Av. *hel-*.

Av. > And. *hel-lu* id.

| Tsez. **ox:-* to run: Tsez. *-ox-*; Gin. *-ox-*; Khvarsh. *oxχ-* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *χir=aχ-*.

PTsKh **-ox-*. The Bezht. form is a compound (lit. 'to run down').

| Lak. *li-qa-* to run away.

G. pr. *li-qu-n*. Cf. Khosr. *li-qa-n* id.

| Darg. **-uqVn-* to run away: Chir. *sa=uq-* / *sa=ulq-*.

Cf. also Chir. *duç=uq-* / *duç=ulq-* to run, Ur. *-uqVn-* / *-ulq-* id. In Ur. the same verbal root means also 'to descend'; the semantic development here is not quite clear, and one wonders whether it is not a result of a contamination with some other root (for external parallels cf. perhaps Arch. *-aχ:la-s*, *-arχ:lu-r* 'to descend').

| Lezg. **iχ(:)a* (~ *-i*) 1 to run 2 to run away: Rut. *-aχa-* 1; Tsakh. *h-i=χ'a-* 2.

Rut. *-aχa-* reflects the PL grade **-āχ(:)a-* (with *-ā-* > *-a-* before a uvular).

| W.-Cauc. **q:lV* to run: Abkh. *á-^h-ra*; Abaz. *^h-ra*; Ub. *qla-*.

PAT **^hə*; Ub. *sə-qlá-n* (with secondary delabialisation).

[] The etymology is satisfactory both phonetically and semantically.

**-ilqwV-* (/ **-ilχwV-*) to die (plur. subject), die out: Av.-And. **-iq^w-*; Tsez. **-iχ^w-*; Darg. **-ilχ^w-* / **-ulχ-*; Lezg. **iχ^we*.

| Av.-And. **-iq^w-* to die: Av. *χ^we-*; Chad. *h^w(Vl)-*; Akhv. *-uq-* (*Gudava*).

The Akhv. word (*-uq-*, Tseg. *-uχ-*) is attested only in *Gudava* 1964, 98; since the common verb for "die" in Akhv. is *-iχ-* q.v., we may assume that the root *-uq-* has here some specific meaning (most probably - 'to die out (plur.)' which it means in other Dagestan languages).

Akhv. *-uq-* reflects PA **-iq^w-* (stem 1), while Av. *χ^we-* goes back to **q^wV-* (stem 2).

| Tsez. **-iχ^w-* to die: Tsez. *-eχ^w-*; Gin. *-uh-*; Khvarsh. *-ih-*; Inkh. *-uh-*; Bezht. *-uβ-*; Gunz. *-uh-*.

PTsKh **-iχ^w-* (~ *-i-*), PGB **-uβ-*. Cf. also the PTs causative ('to kill') **-iχ^w-Vl-* (Tsez. *-eχur-*, Gin. *-uher-*, Bezht. *-uβol-*, Gunz. *-uhl-*).

| Darg. **-ilχ^w-* / **-ulχ-* to slaughter: Chir. *-elχ^w-* / *luχ-*.

Cf. also Ur. *-ilh^w-* / *-ulh-* id.

| Lezg. **iχ^we* to die (pl.): Tab. *jix-*; Arch. *χ^wi-*.

Cf. also Arch. dur. *χ^wal*, imp. *χ^wirχi-r*. The Arch. *-l* in durative goes back to **-r* under influence of the medial **-l-* which had itself dropped out later (reconstruction of the root-final **-l* is not probable in this case, because one would expect its shift to *-n* in Arch.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. As well as its transitive counterpart (**-ilqwV* / **-ilχwV* 'to slaughter' q.v.), the root demonstrates a non-standard variation of **q/*χ* (the latter is reflected in Darg. and PTs, the former - in PA; the PL form may reflect either variant).

**-ilqwV-* (/ **-ilχwV-*) to kill, slaughter: Av.-And. **-iq^w-*; Tsez. **-iχ^w-*; A; Lak. *-ix:a-*; Darg. **-Vlx^w-* / **-ulχ-*; W.-Cauc. **ql^wa*.

| Av.-And. **-iq^w-* to slaughter: Av. *q^we-*; Chad. *q^w(el)-*; And. *-iq:-*; Akhv. *-iq:-ur-*; Cham. *-uq:-*; Tind. *-uq:-*; Kar. *-iq:-*; Botl. *-eq:-*;

Bagv. =iq:-; God. =eq:-.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. =eq:-, Akhv. Tlan., Ratl. =uq:- etc.

| Tsez. *=iχ:- A to slaughter: Tsez. =eχ-ad- (Radzhibov); Gin. =eχ:-; Khvarsh. =iχ-ad-; Inkh. =uχ-ad-; Bezht. =ūχ- (Tlad.); Gunz. =ūχ-.

PTsKh *=iχ:-; PGB *=ūχ- (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. =uχ-).

| Lak. =iχ:- slaughter.

G.pr. =iχ:-u-n. Cf. Khosr. =iχ:-a-n id.

| Darg. *=Vlχ:-/*=ulχ:- 1 die out 2 kill: Ak. alχe-s l; Chir. =elχ:-/*=ulχ:-.

Cf. also Ur. =alχ(n)-/ulχ- 'die out'.

| W.-Cauc. *qI^wa dead body: Abaz. q^wa-di; Ad. hāda; Kab. hāda.

Abaz. q^wadi and PAK *hādā reflect a common WC compound *qI^wa-dV (with *dV 'die' q.v. in the second part). The Ubykh counterpart would be a morpheme like χ^wa-, which is not attested. However, Ub. has dā-wā- 'to die' with the morpheme -wa- of unclear origin. Since Ub. w can go back to PWC *bI^w, it is probable that Ub. dā-wā- is a result of secondary assimilation: dāwā- < *dā-bI^wa- < *dā-qI^wa-, containing the same morphemes as Abaz. q^wadi and PAK *hādā.

The original meaning of the morpheme *qI^wa (which occurs only within compounds) was probably 'to be killed, slaughtered' (cf. the external evidence).

[] The "tense" stem *-ilq^wV- (/ *-ilχ^wV) is usually transitive ('to kill (plur. obj.), to slaughter') and opposed to the "lax" intransitive stem *-ilq^wV- (/ *-ilχ^wV) 'to die (plur. subj.), to die out'. This semantic opposition is rather obscured in Dargwa dialects, where the meanings are sometimes reversed, and sometimes organized in another way (e.g. in Chirag: -elχ:- 'to kill' vs. -elχ:- 'to slaughter'), probably because of the intermixture of the two stems. WC languages have preserved only the "tense" stem, used only within compounds, thus it is difficult to formulate the precise meaning of the morpheme in PWC.

In both cases Av.-And. languages (and WC, although here only one variant of the stem was preserved) reflect affricates, while other languages reflect fricatives; a situation which is quite unique and does not occur elsewhere.

*=ilq^wV to dance: Av.-And. *r-iq^wV-n (~ -χ^w-); Darg. *-ulq-; Lezg. *?ilq^we.

| Av.-And. *r-iq^wV-n (~ -χ^w-) dance: Cham. woχū.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. ruχun id. Attested only in Cham., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *-ulq- to dance: Ak. ulq-es.

Cf. also PD *d-elq^w 'dance' > Ak., Chir. delq.

| Lezg. *?ilq^we 1 to dance 2 dance: Tab. jalq^wa-n 2; Ag. luq-as l; Rut. h-ulq^wa-s l; Arch. qe-bus l.

The irregular q- in Archi can be explained by a contamination with another PL root, *?irq^wā- 'to roll, turn round' (q.v.). The common PL derivate *j-ilq^wV-n 'dance', beside Tab. jalq^wan (Kand. jarq^wan, Düb. jalqan), is reflected also in Ag. luqum (Burk. liquan) id.

See Khaidakov 1973, 142.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although superficially the Darg. and Lezg. forms look quite alike, the correspondence between them is irregular. There are two possible explanations:

a) the original form was *-ilq^wV (which should have yielded PD *-ilq^w- or *-ulq:-, and PA *-i(r)q:-), but in PD and PA there occurred a contamination with PEC *=ilq^wA 'to run' - q.v. This hypothesis is possible, but not very likely, because we have to suppose an independent contamination in two branches (PA and PD);

b) the original form was *-ilq^wV, which regularly yielded PA *-iq^w- and PD *-ulq:-; in PL we should expect *?ilχ^we-, but this form was avoided because of its homonymy with *?ilχ^we- 'to die' (q.v.). For this reason the expected change *q^w > *χ^w did not happen. This explanation seems more probable, because it involves irregularity only in one branch (PL).

*=ilq^wV(t) to bend: Av.-And. *q:ul-; Tsez. *-ūq-; Lezg. *?i(l)q^wVI-; W.-Cauc. *qI^wV.

| Av.-And. *q:ul- to bend, incline: Av. q:ul-; And. q:ul-un-; Cham. q:ul-id-; Tind. q:ul-ij-.

| Tsez. *-ūq- to bend: Bezht. =ūq- (Tlad.); Gunz. =ūq-.

PGB *=ūq- (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. =ūq-).

| Lezg. *?i(l)q^wVI- to bend: Bud. w-e=qI-.

Attested only in Bud., but having probable external parallels. Cf. also Bud. waqali 'bent, curved'.

| W.-Cauc. *qI^wV 1 to bend 2 hooked, curved: Abkh. a-χ^wa-ra l; Abaz. q^wa-ra l; Ad. q:^wā-śa 2; Kab. q:^wā-nśa 2; Ub. qI^wā- l.

PAT *q^wa-; PAK *q:^wa-(n)čā (a compound with *čV 'bend', see Shagirov 1, 230); Ub. a-qI^wā-n. The root can be also reduplicated: PAT *q^waq^wa 'hooked, curved' (Abkh. ā-χ^waχ^wa, Abaz. q^waq^wa); Ub. qI^wāqI^wā- (sā-qI^wāqI^wā-n) 'to squat, huddle up'.

The comparison of PAT *q^wa- and PAK *q:^wa- belongs to Abdokov (1973,55), and is certainly better than Klimov's (1967, 306) comparison of PAT *q^wa- with PAK *wā-x^wa- 'to bend' (absolutely impossible phonetically). Abdokov adds also Ub. q^warṭa- (sā-q^warṭa-n) 'to bend, be(come) crooked', but for phonetic reasons it seems better to choose Ub. qI^wā- 'to bend' (thus following Shagirov 1,230). [Shagirov compares also Abkh. a-r-q^w-ra 'to bend (trans.)', Abaz. čā-na-r-q^w-ra 'to bend', but this is a misunderstanding: the root here is PAT *q^wā 'to lower, go down', and the meaning 'bend' is metaphorical (applied to fortune, circumstances and the like).]

Besides PWC *qI^wV- the WC languages also reflect a phonetically close variant: *qI^wV-, present in a compound *qI^wV-rI^wV / *qI^wV-nI^wV: Ub. q^warṭa- (see above), PAK *?wanṭa- / *?arṭa- (Ad. ?wanṭa-, Shaps. ?arṭa- 'to bend, crook', Kab. ?anṭa- 'to twist').

[] The etymology seems both phonetically and semantically quite plausible.

*=ilq^wVn to stick into; to sew: Av.-And. *-iq^w-(Vn)/*q^w-(Vn)in-; Tsez. *=āq^w-; Lezg. *?i(l)q^wVn-; W.-Cauc. *q^wā (~q^wā-).

| Av.-And. $*-i\dot{q}:(Vn)/\dot{q}:(V)in-$ to sew: Av. $-u\dot{q}:-$; Akhv. $\dot{q}:in-$; Tind. $\dot{q}:in-$; Kar. $\dot{q}:ijan-$.

Av. $-u\dot{q}:-$ reflects stem I (although loss of the -n-conjugation is not quite clear), Andian forms - stem II.

| Tsez. $*-a\dot{q}^w-$ to sew: Tsez. $-aqI^w-$; Gin. $-aq^w-$; Khvarsh. $-a\dot{q}^w-$; Inkh. $-a\dot{q}^w-$; Bezht. $-a\dot{q}-$ (*Khosh.*); Gunz. $-a\dot{q}-$.

PTsKh $*-a\dot{q}^w-$; PGB $*-a\dot{q}-$ (cf. also Bezht. *Tlad.* $-a\dot{q}-$).

| Lezg. $*?i(l)\dot{q}^wVn-$ 1 to sew 2 to embroider: Lezg. $\dot{q}-u\dot{q}-$ (*Akht.*) 1; Ag. $d-u\dot{q}-$ 1; Rut. $u=\dot{q}a-$ 2 (*Khniukh.*).

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. $d-u\dot{q}an-as$ 'to sew' (pointing to the PL -n-conjugation). The verbal root has two nominal derivatives:

1) PL $*wil\dot{q}^wina$ / $*lu\dot{q}^wina$: Lezg. $a\dot{q}^wan$ (*Khl.* $\dot{q}un$) 'knitting needle', Ag. $lu\dot{q}um$ 'seam', Rut. $lu\dot{q}un$, Tsakh. $wu\dot{q}una$, Kryz., Bud. $\dot{q}un$ (*Kryz.* and *Bud.* possibly < Lezg.) 'knitting needle'. It is not quite clear whether Tab. $\dot{q}al$ 'knitting needle' should be also related here (perhaps also Ud. *mil* id., if *mil* < $*mi\dot{q}Vl$ < $*wil\dot{q}^wVn$?)

2) PL $*t:il\dot{q}^w(a)$: Tab. $dur\dot{q}-ar$ 'loom', Ag. $du\dot{q}-um$ 'thread' (*Burk.* $di\dot{q}um$). An old Lezghian loan is possibly Khin. *won* 'knitting needle' (< $*\dot{q}^won$? or < $*wo\dot{q}n$, cf. the Shakhdag and Tsakh. forms), although the loss of $*\dot{q}^w$ in Khin. is rather strange.

| W.-Cauc. $*\dot{q}^w\partial$ ($\sim \dot{q}^w\partial$) to prick, stick into: Ad. $-2^w\partial$; Kab. $-2^w\partial$.

PAK $*2^w\partial$ (see Kuipers 1975, 72).

[] It may be hard to separate PL $*wil\dot{q}^wina$ 'knitting needle' from PTs $*bi\dot{q}^wVna$ and PA $*bik:Vn$ id.: the explanation lies in a merger of two phonetically close EC roots - $*-il\dot{q}wVn$ 'to sew' and $*-ikwVn$ 'to spin, to knit' q. v. The common EC derivate $*wikwVnV$ (which should have given $*wik^wVn(a)$ in PL) merged with PL $*wil\dot{q}^wina$ (a derivate from the root $*-il\dot{q}wVn$). The EC-WC comparison see in Abdokov 1983, 162.

$*-ilsVn$ to spin, wind: Nakh. $*list-$ ($\sim -I-, -I-$); Av.-And. $*-Vs:Vn-$; Darg. $*-ils:Vn-$.

| Nakh. $*list-$ ($\sim -I-, -I-$) to wind, reel: Chech. *list-*; Ing. *list-*.

Vowel length not clear.

| Av.-And. $*-Vs:Vn-$ to turn round, return: Av. $-us:-n-$; Chad. $-us-n-$.

| Darg. $*-ils:Vn-$ to spin: Ak. *las-bires*.

Cf. Ur. $-ilsVn-$ / *lus-*. The Ak. form is a compound verb ('to make spinning').

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

$*-il\chi un$ to bind, tie: Av.-And. $*-i\chi Vn$; Tsez. $*t-V\chi-$; Lak. $-a=hi-$; Darg. $*-il\chi Vn-$; W.-Cauc. $*\chi^wa$ ($\sim \chi^w, \chi I^w$).

| Av.-And. $*-i\chi Vn$ 1 to tie, fasten 2 to unharness 3 leather rope: Av. $-uhn-$ 2; Akhv. $i\chi a$ 3; Cham. $-i\chi Vn-$ 1; Tind. $-i\chi i-$ 1.

The Akhv. word (cf. also Tseg., Tlan. *er\chi am* id.) reflects a derivate $*?ir\chi Vn$ ($*?ir\chi Vm$).

| Tsez. $*t-V\chi-$ to harness: Tsez. $t-a\dot{h}-$.

The root is attested only in Tsez. (with a t -preverb), thus the vocalic

reconstruction is uncertain; but it has probable external parallels.

| Lak. $-a=hi-$ to tie, bind, fasten.

G. pr. $-a=hu-nu$ (*Khosr.* $=aI=hi-n$). Cf. also (with a preverb) $t:iri=hi-n$ (g. pr. $t:iri=hu-nu$), *Khosr.* $t:iriI=hi-n$ 'to untie, unbind'.

| Darg. $*-il\chi Vn-$ to bind, to tie: Chir. $-i\chi-$ / $-il\chi-$.

Cf. also Ur. $=ihVn-$ / $=ilh-$ 'to tie, bind'; PD $*d-ir\chi an$ / $*d-ir\chi ala$ 'rope' (*Chir.* *dir\chi ala*, *Kub.* *dir\chi an*).

| W.-Cauc. $*\chi^wa$ ($\sim \chi^w, \chi I^w$) to bind, tie, fasten: Abkh. $a-\dot{c}a-h^wa-ra$; Abaz. $\dot{c}a-h^wa-ra$.

PAT $*h^wa$ (used only with preverbs, cf. also Abkh. $\dot{a}j-la-h^wa-ra$ 'to untie' etc.).

[] Correspondences are regular, and the PNC antiquity of the root seems secure.

$*-i\lambda wVn$ to run: Av.-And. $*\lambda:u-t-$; Lezg. $*?i\lambda:Vn-$.

| Av.-And. $*\lambda:u-t-$ to run (away): Av. $\lambda:ut-$.

| Lezg. $*?i\lambda:Vn-$ to run (away): Tsakh. $a=x^wan-$; Kryz. $\dot{c}a=f-$ / $\dot{c}a=x-$; Bud. $\dot{c}a=x-a-$; Arch. $\lambda:un-$.

The verb is mostly used with preverbs (cf. also Tsakh. $\dot{b}ada=x^wan-$ 'to run', Bud. $\dot{q}:a=x-a-$ 'run away', Kryz. $sa=f-$ / $sa=x-$ 'to jump' etc.). Archi has also a reduplicated stem in $\lambda:em\lambda:in$ (*dur.*).

[] An Av.-Lezg. isogloss; acceptable, if we assume that the Avar word has a suffixed -t- or is an old compound (with a not quite clear second part).

$*-i\lambda iIV$ thin: Av.-And. $*-i\lambda ora$; Lak. $\dot{k}ulla-$; Darg. $*-u\dot{k}ul-$; Lezg. $*\lambda i\dot{l}\dot{a}-$; Khin. *kir*; W.-Cauc. $*\chi^wa$.

| Av.-And. $*-i\lambda ora$ thin: Av. *teréna-b*; Chad. *teréna-b*; And. $=elora$; Akhv. $=a\lambda ara-da$; Cham. $=ela-b$; Tind. $=eral-a-b$; Kar. $=e\lambda ara-b$; Botl. $=e^?era$; Bagv. $=ela-b$; God. $=elera-$.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. $=a\lambda ara-b$, Cham. *Gig.* $=ellara-b$, Kar. *Rach.*, *Anch.* $=e\lambda^?ara-b$, Chab. $=e\lambda ara-b$, Tok. $=il^?ara-b$.

| Lak. $\dot{k}ulla-$ thin.

| Darg. $*-u\dot{k}ul-$ thin: Ak. *b-u\dot{k}ula*; Chir. *u\dot{k}uli-ze*.

Cf. also Ur. *uku-*.

| Lezg. $*\lambda i\dot{l}\dot{a}-$ thin: Lezg. *qeleç*; Tab. *çilli*; Ag. *kille-f*; Rut. *qildi*; Tsakh. *kilwaIn*; Kryz. *qil*; Arch. *kalat:ut*.

Pharyngealization in Tsakh. is secondary (cf. *Gelm.* *qawa-n* without it), possibly expressive.

Cf. *Leksika* 1971, 227; *Gigineyshvili* 1977, 103; *Talibov* 1980, 310.

| Khin. *kir* thin.

Not quite clear is the interrelationship of Khin. *kir* 'thin' and *lok* 'thin, narrow' (perhaps one of them is a loanword?).

| W.-Cauc. $*\chi^wa$ thin: Abkh. $a-\dot{p}\dot{a}$; Abaz. $\dot{c}a$; Ad. $\dot{p}^wa\dot{c}a$; Kab. $\dot{p}\dot{a}s\dot{a}$; Ub. $\dot{p}\dot{c}a$.

PAT $*\dot{c}^wa$ (cf. also Abaz. *Ashkh.* *f\dot{a}*). PAK $*\dot{p}^wa-\dot{c}\dot{a}$. Only the second part of the PAK word corresponds to PAT $*\dot{c}^wa$ and Ub. $\dot{p}\dot{c}a$ (this peculiar correspondence

- note that this is the only word with it, and likewise the only word in PAT with *čʷ and in Abaz. with f ʰ points unambiguously to the PWC lateral *ʃʷ. The first component is not quite clear (perhaps it is PAK *pʷa 'place' - 'having thin places?').

PAK *ča is contained also in *psə-n-čā 'light', *za-n-čā 'straight' (originally 'light and thin', 'straight and thin').

[] A common NC root with regular correspondences. Class prefixation is retained in Andian languages and Darg.; labialisation in PWC is probably also a vestige of class prefixation (*ʃʷa < *w-iʃiV with vocalic assimilation). However, a prefixless variant *ʃiV (reflected in Av., Lak. and PL) may also have existed already in PNC or PEC. The Lak. form has a pharyngealized vowel, which may reflect some lost laryngeal; but since other languages do not reflect it (see above about the secondary nature of pharyngealization in Tsakh.), it is probably new (expressive).

See Abdokov 1983, 141.

*-iLVr to be hot; bitter: Av.-And. *ʃi:ir- / *-u(r)ʃi:-; Lezg. *ʃiʃ:Vr-.

[] Av.-And. *ʃi:ir- / *-u(r)ʃi:- 1 to burn (oneself) 2 to burn, be hot 3 heat: Av. ʃi:er- 1; Cham. -uʃi:- 2; God. b-uʃi:ir 3.

Stem II (*-u(r)ʃi:-), beside Cham., is present also in Av. -orʃi:- 'to burn (oven), roast (grain)'; stem I (*ʃi:ir-) - only in Av. ʃi:er-ize.

The Av. word was borrowed in Arch. ʃi:elr 'be hot', ʃi:elr-t:u-t 'hot' (with expressive pharyngealisation).

Derived from the same root is the Avaro-Andian word for 'bitter': Av. ʃi:ə-ʃa-b (stem I with the adjectival suffix -ʃa- < *-qa-), And. -uʃi:in, Akhv. -oʃi:i-da, Cham. -uʃi:u-, Tind. -uʃi:u-, Kar. Anch. -oʃi:i-ro- (Kar. proper ʃi:uʃa- / ʃi:əʃa- < Av.), Botl. (Leks.) -uʃi:a, Bagv. (Leks.) k-uʃi:u-jra-, God. (Leks.) -uʃi:a.

[] Lezg. *ʃiʃ:Vr- warm: Rut. siʃi-d; Kryz. ʃir.

Probably an original verbal stem (to judge from its morphological structure in Rut.). An old derivate is Rut. ʃirʃim-di 'bitter' (morphologically modified under the influence of ʃirʃim-di 'sour'). Phonetically very close is Tab. Düb. jerʒimi, Kand., lit. izmi 'swift; hard' (< 'hot?').

[] An Av.-And-Lezg. isogloss. Correspondences are regular (on the borrowed character of Arch. ʃi:elr- see above). Both subgroups reflect Ablaut grades *-iLVr and *-oLVr; also characteristic is the semantic derivation 'hot : bitter', both in Av.-And. and in Lezghian.

*-iLV to give: Nakh. *-aʎ-; Av.-And. *-iʃi:-; Tsez. *-iʃi- A; Lak. -ulu-; Darg. *-(i)k:-/*IVk:-; Lezg. *ʃiʃi:-; Khin. -k-ʷi.

[] Nakh. *-aʎ- give: Chech. -al-; Ing. -al-; Bacb. -aʎ-.

Pres./fut. *lo (Chech., Bacb. lo, Ing. lu). Cf. also the Ablaut stem (with a preverb) *t-əʎ- in Chech. təl- 'to pay', Bacb. təl- 'to give'.

[] Av.-And. *-iʃi:- 1 give 2 distribute, give out: Av. ʃi:e- 1; Chad. ʃe- 1; Tind. -iʃi:- 2.

Cf. also Av. (with Ablaut) -iʃi:- 'distribute, share'.

[] Tsez. *-iʃi- A give: Tsez. neʃi-teʃi-; Gin. neʃi-ʃoʃi-; Khvarsh. iʃi-; Inkh. iʃi-ʃi-ʃi-; Bezht. niʃi-; Gunz. niʃi-.

PTsKh *-iʃi- (with preverbs: *n-, *t-, *c-, but also without them in the Ablaut form *ʃiʃi-; forms with *n- mean 'to give (to the 1st p.)', forms with *t- - 'to give (to the 3d p.)'); PGB *n-iʃi-.

[] Lak. -ulu- give.

G.pr. -ullu-nu. Cf. Khosr. -ulu-n, aor. -ul-dun-di.

[] Darg. *-(i)k:-/*IVk:- give: Ak. g- /lug-; Chir. -i(lef)k:-. Cf. also Ur. ɣ-/luɣ- 'give'.

[] Lezg. *ʃiʃi:- give: Lezg. gu-; Tab. t-uw-; Ag. i-; Rut. wi-; Tsakh. hi-le-; Kryz. wu-; Bud. ji-wə- (term.); Arch. ʃo-.

Most forms reflect the basic PL form *ʃiʃi:- note, however, the reflex of an Ablaut grade *ʃoʃa- in Arch. oʃa-s 'sell' and possibly Tab. Düb. d-uwu-s (= Tab. lit. tuwu-z), dur. d-u-l-ɣu-n- 'give'.

See Giginayshvili 1977, 86.

[] Khin. -k-ʷi give.

ʃi- is a widespread Khin. preverb (denoting movement away from the speaker). Cf. also tə-k-ʷi id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The verb usually is used with class prefixes; however, a prefixless stem *ʃiLV- can also be reconstructed (reflected, with loss of the first syllable, in the PN imperative stem *lo, Av. stem II ʃi:e-, PD stem *k:V-). The Ablaut stem *-uLV is reflected in PL *ʃoʃi:-, Lak. -u=lu- and in some Darg. forms (if we reconstruct here *ū, PTs *-iʃi- may also reflect this stem - vs. *-iʃi- < *-iLV). Finally, PN *t-əʎ- reflects another durative Ablaut stem (without secure parallels in other EC languages).

Cf. also Hurr., Urart. ar- 'to give' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 51).

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 242.

*-iLV to put: Nakh. *-āʎ- / -iʎ-; Tsez. *g-ūʎ-; Lezg. *ʃiʃi:-e-.

[] Nakh. *-āʎ- / -iʎ- to become, get: Chech. -al-; Ing. -al-; Bacb. -aʎ-.

A very polysemous root. It is used in all three languages as an auxiliary with the meaning 'to become'; as a separate verb it can mean 'to grow; to shoot; to cross (e.g. a river); to live up to; to go away, out', with more or less the same set of meanings in all Nakh languages. The attested Ablaut grades are *-āʎ- (see above), *-əbʎ- (Chech. -il-, Bacb. -epl- = -ebʎ-), *-oʎ- (Bacb. -oʎ-), *-ā-b-ʎ- (Chech. -owl-). It is also very probable, that the short Ablaut grade *-iʎ- with the preverb *χ- has yielded the common Nakh verb of being, *χiʎ- > Chech., Ing. χil-, Bacb. χiʎ-.

Bacbian in Kadagidze's recordings has a uniform -ʎ-; Desheriyev, however, writes -al- in the meaning 'to become' (Matsiyev writes -aʎ- 'to become', but -al- 'to go away'). The reason for these variations may be contamination with another widely spread common Nakh verb *-ill- / *-əbl- / *-ōl(l) 'to put, to begin/finish etc.' (also very polysemous).

[] Tsez. *gūʎ- to put: Tsez. erʷ-; Gin. gor-; Khvarsh. gil-;

Inkh. *gul-*; Bezht. *g=il-* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *g=al-*.

PTsKh **g^uR-* / **g^uR-* (the reason for loss of *g-* in Tsez. is not clear); PGB **g=al-*. All forms (except Bezht.) are taken from Bok. Tsez. In PGB the verb retains class markers (despite the loss of initial vowel), which interact with the root vowel (**g^ual-* / **gil-* / **gul-*).

| Lezg. **gⁱil^e-* 1 to put 2 to throw 3 to point (to a thief): Lezg. *g-igi-* 3; Tab. *jiw-* 1; Ag. *ije-* (*TP.*) 1; Rut. *-ije-* 2; Tsakh. *a-ya-* 2; Kryz. *ʕ-aj-* 1; Bud. *q:-ij-* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. pret. *g-ige-na*; Kryz. *q:-ij-* 'to cover' (= Bud. *q:-i=j-*), Bud. *e=j-* 'to put (from above)', *ʕ-ä=j-* 'to put inside' (= Kryz. *ʕ-aj-*); Tab. Düb. *jiw-*, dur. *ji-l-γun-* (the original **λ*: > Tab. *-w-* in an intervocalic position before *-u-* /inf. *jiw-uz*, Düb. *jiw-us*/, but is not labialised within the cluster *-ly-*). Not quite clear is the Tsakh. vocalism. The verb belongs to the weak class in PL.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The original meaning must be reconstructed as 'to put', with many secondary semantic developments (especially in Nakh languages). In PTs we would rather expect a **-L:-* - the development of a lateral obstruent to **-l-* in PTs is rather unique and must be explained by dissimilation with the early added **g-*preverb (the lateral fricative lost its usual velar timbre and changed into a resonant).

**-[I]mcÜ* to speak, to tell, to talk: Nakh. **-ēbc-*; Av.-And. **-ocVn-*; Tsez. **-īs:-* / **-īs:-* A; W.-Cauc. **c:w^a*.

| Nakh. **-ēbc-* to tell: Chech. *-īc-*; Ing. *-uwc-*; Bacb. *-epc-*.

The Ing. form *-uwc-* reflects PN **-ēbc-u-* (cf. Chech. pres. *-ūcu*).

| Av.-And. **-ocVn-* to say, tell: Av. *-īc-ine*; And. *-osan-*; Akhv. *-ačunu-*; Cham. *-asn-*; Tind. *-asin-*; Kar. *-asan-*; Botl. *-asā-*; Bagv. *-asā-*; God. *-asī-*.

| Tsez. **-īs:-* / **-īs:-* A to say, speak: Tsez. *-es-*; Gin. *-es-*; Khvarsh. *-is-*; Inkh. *-is-*; Bezht. *nis-*; Gunz. *nis-*.

PTsKh **-is-*, PGB **n-is-* (**-īs-*).

| W.-Cauc. **c:w^a* to talk: Abkh. *a-č^vá-z^va-ra*; Abaz. *č^va-z^va-ra*.

PAT **c:w^a-z^va-* (a compound with PAT **az^va* 'word, speech' q.v.).

[] A common NC verb with good correspondences (except for the first vowel, which is somewhat unclear, probably because of Ablaut correlations).

**-imçVn* (~ **-inçVm*) to wash: Nakh. **-itt-*; Lezg. **ʔic:w^{an}*.

| Nakh. **-itt-* to wash (clothes etc.): Chech. *-itt-*; Ing. *-itt-*; Bacb. *-itt-*.

| Lezg. **ʔic:w^{an}* 1 to pour out 2 to wash: Ag. *ada-jz^w-* 1; Kryz. *zim-* 2; Bud. *s-o-zn-* 2.

Cf. also Ag. *ada-jzun-* 'to pour out', Kryz. dur. (with reduplication) *zizn-*.

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss. PWC **z^wa* 'to wash; to dam' can belong either here (in which case we should reconstruct PNC **-imçÜn*) or to PNC **-HäčwÄ* q.v.

**-imžĖr* to bake, roast: Nakh. **-att-*; Av.-And. **-iz-*; Tsez. **-[i]š-*; Lak. *č:u=č:i-*; Darg. **-erc:-* / **-uc:-*; Lezg. **ʔic:ar-*; W.-Cauc. **z^wa*.

| Nakh. **-att-* to bake, roast: Chech. *-att-*; Ing. *-att-*; Bacb. *-att-*.

Short vowel: cf. Chech. *-ott-u*, *-ett-ira*, Ing. *-ott*, *-etta-*.

| Av.-And. **-iz-* to bake, roast: Av. *-ez-*; Chad. *-ez-*; And. *-ez-*; Akhv. *-iz-*; Cham. *-ez-*; Tind. *-ez-*; Kar. *-ez-*; Botl. *-ez-*; Bagv. *-ez-*; God. *-ez-*.

| Tsez. **-[i]š-* to bake, roast: Tsez. *-eš-ad-* (*Radzhibov*); Gin. *-eš-*; Khvarsh. *iš-an-*; Inkh. *iš-an-*; Bezht. *ziz-äh-*; Gunz. *žəž-*.

PTsKh **-is-*; PGB **z[i]ž-*. The PGB form is reduplicated. Vowel reconstruction not quite certain (Ablaut?).

| Lak. *č:u=č:i-* to burn.

G.pr. *č:u=č:u-nu*. Cf. Khosr. *č:u=č:i-n* id.

| Darg. **-erc:-* / **-uc:-* 1 to bake, roast 2 to roast (grain): Ak. *-erz-es* 1; Chir. *-erc:-* / *-uc:-*.

It seems worthwhile to note also PD **-imč:Vr-* / **-umč:-* 'to warm oneself, warm up' (Ak. *-umž-es*, Ur. *-imžVr-* / *-umž-*) which can reflect a variant of the same EC root with a secondary labialisation (**-imžwĖr*). The non-labialised variant, because of the regular change **ž > *c*:, is in PD confused with the reflex of PEC **-ercÄ* 'to roast (grain)' q.v.

| Lezg. **ʔic:ar-* 1 to bake, roast 2 to boil: Lezg. *č:ra-* 1; Tab. *u=ž-* 1; Ag. *už-* 1; Rut. *žirže-* 1; Tsakh. *k-e=že-* 1; Kryz. *žir-* 2; Arch. *čar-* 1.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *uža-*, Kryz. pres. *žiržir*, imp. *s-äžir*. Some of the forms are reduplicated (cf. Rut., Kryz. pres., Arch. imp. *čarača*).

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 89; Leksika 1971, 247; Giginayshvili 1977, 85.

| W.-Cauc. **z^wa* to roast, bake: Abkh. *a-ž-rá*; Abaz. *ž-ra*; Ad. *ža-n*; Kab. *ža-n*; Ub. *ž^wa-*.

PAT **žə-* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-ž-rá*); PAK **ža-*; Ub. *a-z-z^wá-n*. See Shagirov 1, 200 (with literature).

[] A reliable common NC etymology, first proposed by Balkarov (1964, 100); see also Abdokov 1983, 158-159. An alternative comparison (Charaya 1912, 26) with Georg. *čwa*, Megr. *čwala* 'burn' can not be accepted. Labialisation in PWC is secondary: either due to a lost class prefix, or to the labialising influence of the lost *-m-* (cf. above about the secondary variant **-imžwĖr* in EC).

**-inkwV* (/ *-ikwVn*; ~ *ī*) right, good: Nakh. **dik-/dak-*; Av.-And. **ʔink^wV-* / **k^wVnV-r-*; Tsez. **-igV* (~ *ə*); Darg. **d-uka*; Lezg. **juk:-*.

| Nakh. **dik-/dak-* good: Chech. *dika*; Ing. *dika*; Bacb. *dakī*.

Vocalism unclear: **dik-i(n)* in Chech., Ing. (cf. also Chech. Usl. *dikin*), but **dak-i(n)* in Bacb.

| Av.-And. **ʔink^wV-* / **k^wVnV-r-* right: Av. *k^warána-b*; Chad. *kurána-b*; Kar. *inku-doł:*.

Cf. also Kar. Anch. *inku-baλ:a* id.

| Tsez. **-igV* (~ *ə*) good: Tsez. *-igu*; Gin. *-egi*; Khvarsh. *-agu*; Inkh. *-ogu*.

PTsKh *-ag/u/.

| Darg. *d-uka right: Ak. duka (Kait.).

| Lezg. *juk:i- 1 right 2 good: Rut. jigi-d 1 (Shin); Tsakh. jugna 2.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Seems both semantically ('good' - 'right' is a common correlation) and phonetically reliable. Cf. also Urart. gunə 'right (not left), true' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 32).

The same root is probably represented in PEC *kwVnV 'a conditional particle' > Ud. -gin, Khin. -k:wa, Lak. -kun, Tsez. -kin et al.

*-inkwV to lie, lie down: Tsez. *-ak- (~-ā-); Darg. *?Vk-; Lezg. *?ikwān- (~-l-).

| Tsez. *-āk- lie, lie down: Bezht. -ak-.

Cf. Bezht. Tlad. -āk-.

| Darg. *?Vk- to stay: Ak. k-al-.

| Lezg. *?ikwān- (~-l-) 1 to fall 2 to lie, lie down 3 to stay 4 to throw: Lezg. q:at-k- 2; Ag. ḡ-ulkan- 1; Rut. lukwa- 1,2; Kryz. i=kn- 3; Bud. i=kin- 3; Arch. kam- 4.

In Ag. only the Bursh. form is known. In Shakhdagh the semantics may be modified because of contamination with another root, PL *?argwVn- (/ *?irgVn-) 'to stay'; but cf. the old participial form kin in Kryz. kin xi-jiz 'to fall, be scattered', kin jeriz 'to scatter, pour' (= Arch. kam-mus, dur. kamá-r 'to throw' < *kwañ-). Cf. also preverbal forms in Shakhdagh: Kryz. ḡ=kn- 'to become tired', Bud.: ḡala=kl- 'to drop, drip' (with final -l due to -l- in the preverb).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The vocalic reconstruction is rather tentative: however, it seems probable that PL reflects the Ablaut stage *-inkwV while PTs reflects the Ablaut stage *-ānkV.

*-inkwV (~ -ā-, -ā-) far: Av.-And. *-inkV-; Tsez. *miqV.

| Av.-And. *-inkV- far: Av. rik:a-d; Chad. rikad; Akhv. ṭkara-q:il:i.

In Av. r- is an old class prefix. In Akhv., -k- is probably a misspelling for -k:i-; -q:i and -λ:i are locative morphemes.

| Tsez. *miqV far: Tsez. maqli; Gin. meqi; Khvarsh. mige; Inkh. mige.

PTsKh *mige.

[] An Av.-And-Tsez. isogloss. PTsKh < *b-ṭqV (where b- is a former class prefix).

*-inlwV to love, to want: Nakh. *l-a²-; Av.-And. *-iλ:²-; Lak. č:wa-; Darg. *-ik:-; Lezg. *?iλ:an.

| Nakh. *l-a²- to want, to wish: Chech. la²-; Ing. l-; Bacb. l-a²-.

Historically *l- here is not a prefix, but the root (with reduction < *-i(n)l²-), while *-a²- is a suffix. Therefore the Ing. form l-a (pres. l-ow) which looks as a contraction, may be in fact an archaism (without the laryngeal suffix -a²- present in Chech. and Bacb.).

| Av.-And. *-iλ:²- to love, want, wish: Av. -oλ:²-; Chad. -aλn-; Cham. -oλ:²-id-; Tind. -oλ:²-ij-; God. -uλ:²-.

| Lak. č:wa- to want, wish, love.

Cf. Khosr. č:wa-n id. Cf. also the nominal derivative: Lak. č:a-wu 'love'.

| Darg. *-ik:- to love: Ak. =ig-es; Chir. =ik:ag- / =ik:-.

In Chir. the terminative stem is reduplicated (probably an archaic feature, cf., e.g., the Tsakhur paradigm). A derived noun is Chir. ik:ana 'bride-groom', r-ik:ana 'bride' ('the beloved one'; an exact match is Ag. Bursh. k:ane-f 'bride-groom').

| Lezg. *?iλ:an to love, to want: Lezg. kan xun; Tab. k:un xuz; Ag. k:an xas; Rut. =iga-; Tsakh. =ik:an-; Kryz. =ik-; Bud. ji=k-; Arch. λ:an; Ud. b-uq:-sun (Vart.).

Cf. also Tab. Düb. gun xus. The word belongs to the weak class in PL. In Tsakhur the terminative stem is reduplicated (cf. aor. ik:ijk:in etc.). Rut., Tsakh. and Ud. reflect the Ablaut grade *-o-. Several languages (Lezg., Tab., Ag., Arch.) have a defective paradigm, reflecting only the stem *?iλ:an (with initial reduction), either in a participial or finite (pres. λ:an in Arch.) function.

See Bokarev 1961, 75; Leksika 1971, 253; Giginayshvili 1977, 111.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241. Cf. also Urart. arna, arana 'favour, mercy' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 52).

*-iqār to weave: Av.-And. *qVrV (~ χ²-); Tsez. *χi (~ χ:-); Lak. qa; Darg. *qwalr; Lezg. *?iχar; Khin. qi; W.-Cauc. *χα.

| Av.-And. *qVrV (~ χ²-) carpet (made of goat's wool): Av. xuru (Kuyad.).

| Tsez. *χi (~ χ:-) cloak, felt cloak: Gin. χe.

Cf. perhaps also Inkh. -χe in borto-χe 'rug, door-mat' (the component borto- may represent an Andian loanword meaning 'rag', cf. PA *barta (~ o).

| Lak. qa carpet, rug.

| Darg. *qwalr horse-cloth: Chir. qulr.

A probable loan from Darg. is Tab. Düb. qlur-ar 'pack-saddle', isolated within Lezg. (if it originally meant "horse-cloth").

| Lezg. *?iχar to weave: Lezg. χra-; Tab. u=χ-; Rut. =iχirχa-; Tsakh. q-e=χa-; Kryz. χir-; Bud. s-o=χ-.

The root reveals different Ablaut grades: *?iχar- (Tab. u=χ-uz < *?i-χ(r)-us: with vowel assimilation; Lezg. χra-z, praet. χra-na, Kryz. χir-iž with Anlaut *?i-reduction) / *?oχVr-, sometimes with reduplication *χoχVr- (Lezg. imper. χuruχ, Rut. =i-χirχ-as, Kryz. dur. χiχr-i) / *?āχVr- (Tsakh. q-eχa-s, Kryz. imper. s-āχir). In some languages (Lezg., lit. Tab., Kryz. and Bud.) the root also means 'to knit' - which is a result of contamination with PL *?iχ:ar q.v.

The verb has some nominal derivatives:

a) PL *ruχ(a) > Lezg. ruχ 'carpet, rug', Kryz. ruχ id.;

b) PL *b-ārχa-l(a) (< *b-āχra-l(a)) 'carpet, rug' (Tab. barχal, Ag. barχlal, Fit. barχil; Ag. > Darg. Chir. parχil id.). A variation of the same stem (with initial reduction) may be Rut. Shin. χili 'carpet, rug'.

c) PL *χa-na (< *?i)χar-na) > Tsakh. χana 'loom', Kryz. χānā 'warp'.

See Khaidakov 1973, 143.

| Khin. *qi* to weave.

Term. *qi*, dur. *qli*. Cf. also the derivate *qala* 'loom'.

| W.-Cauc. **χa* 1 to weave 2 to knit: Abkh. *a-ha-ra* 1; Abaz. *-ha-ra* 1; Ad. *χa-n* 2; Kab. *χa-n* 2; Ub. *χa-* 2.

PAT **ha* (in Abaz. the root is used only with preverbs); PAK **χa-* (also **χə-* > Ad., Kab. *χə-n* id.); Ub. *a-s-χá-n*. See Mészáros 1934, 384, Shagirov 2, 109; the alternative comparison of PAK **χə-* with PAT **xaxa-* 'to spin' is unacceptable for phonetic reasons.

[] An important common NC cultural term. The verb is preserved only in WC and in the Eastern Daghestan area (PL, Khin.); Av., Lak., Darg. and PTs have preserved only the reflexes of the nominal derivate **qwVrHV* 'something woven' (probably < **wiqVrHV*). The same derivate (with metathesis) is reflected in PL **ruχ(a)*.

*-*iqwV* to hold, catch: Av.-And. *-*ik*:-; Tsez. *-*ox*:-; Darg. *-*ujk*:-; Lezg. **iqi*:-; W.-Cauc. **q:I^wa* (~ *q^w-*, *q^w-*).

| Av.-And. *-*ik*:- to hold, catch: Av. *k^we-*; Chad. *x^we-*; And. *-ič*:-; Akhv. *-ix*-; Cham. *-ic*-; Tind. *-ix*:-; Kar. *-ik*:-; God. *-ik*:-.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. *-ux-ah-* id. There are two homonyms in PA: *-*ik*:- 'to hold, catch' and *-*ik*:- 'to get into, to happen': as seen from And. and Cham. reflexes (*-ič*:- vs. *-uk*:- and *-uk*- vs. *-ic*-) they were distinguished by the quality of the second vowel (which generally we are still unable to reconstruct).

| Tsez. *-*ox*:- to take, hold, catch: Gin. *-uχ*-; Bezht. *-oχ*- (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *-oχ*-.

PGB *-*oχ*- (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *-oχ*-).

| Darg. *-*ujk*:- to find: Chir. *-ujk*:-.

| Lezg. **iqi*- 1 to find 2 to hold, grab: Tab. *-iq-* 1; Arch. *χo-* 1; Ud. *b-iq*:-*sun* 2.

See Giginayshvili 1977, 98.

| W.-Cauc. **q:I^wa* (~ *q^w-*, *q^w-*) to hold, catch: Ub. *q^wa-*.

Ub. *a-s-q^wá-n*. Isolated in Ubykh, but having probable external parallels.

[] The root may be related to *-*aqwV* 'to fall; get into' (q.v.), which also has an Ablaut grade *-*iqwV* (their opposition in Av.-And. suggests, however, that the two roots had different final vowels). The EC-WC comparison was suggested by Trubetzkoy (1930, 278; see also comments on p. 461).

*-*iqE* to know; to hear: Nakh. **χ-a*?-; Av.-And. *-*iq*-; Tsez. *-*iq*-; Lak. *-aja-*; Darg. *-*aq*- / *-iq*-; W.-Cauc. **q:I^wA*.

| Nakh. **χ-a*?- know: Chech. *χa²a*; Ing. *χa*; Bacb. *χe²ar*.

PN term. **χa*?-, dur. **χe*?- (Bacb. *χe*?-). The **χ-* is an historical preverb.

| Av.-And. *-*iq*- 1 to know 2 to hear: Av. *ra*?- 2; Chad. *ri*?- 2; Akhv. *-eq*- 1; Cham. *i*?- 1; Tind. *-ij*- 1; Kar. *-i*?- 1; Botl. *-eč*- 1; Bagv. *-ij*- 1; God. *-i*?- 1.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. *-i*?-, Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *-a*?- 'know'. In Av. *r-* must be a

historical prefix. In Av. and Akhv. a nominal derivate from this root means 'smth. heard; word, speech': Av. *rá²i* (Chad. *rá²i*), Akhv. *reqi*.

An Ablaut variant of the same root may be PA **haq(Vn)*- 'to see' (if the original meaning is reconstructed as 'to perceive').

| Tsez. *-*iq*- to know: Tsez. *ij*-; Gin. *-uq*-; Khvarsh. *-iq*-; Inkh. *-iqI*-; Bezht. *-iq*-; Gunz. *-iq*-.

PTsKh *-*iq*- (-*il*- in Gin. is secondary), PGB *-*iq*-.

| Lak. *-aja-* hear.

G.pr. *-a-nu*. Cf. Khosr. *baja-n* id.

| Darg. *-*aq*- / *-iq*- to hear: Chir. *ča-aq*- / *-iq*-.

Isolated in Chir., but with secure external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **q:I^wA* 1 to hear 2 to be heard, reach one's ears: Abkh. *ā^w-ra* 2; Abaz. *a²a-ra* 1; Ad. *q^wa-* 2; Kab. *q^wa-* 2; Ub. *q^wa-* 1,2.

PAT *(*a*)^w*A*. In Abaz. a secondary delabialisation (probably under influence of *ha-ra*, *ʔa-ha-ra* 'be heard') had occurred; the original variant is preserved within the compound *zər-ʔa-ra* 'listen' (see under **LA* 'ear'). PAK **q^wa-* (there exists also a "centripetal" form **q^wa-* > Ad., Kab. *q^wa-n*). Ub. 3 sg. *a-q^wá-n*.

The same root is also present in the common WC compound **[A-q:I^wA]*- 'listen' (see under **LA* 'ear').

[] A common NC verb; correspondences are regular. Labialisation in PWC (as in a number of other verbal stems) probably reflects an original class prefix. See Abdokov 1983, 179.

*-*iqwV* to sit; to be: Nakh. **χ-a*?-; Av.-And. *-*ik*:-; Tsez. *-*iq*:- (~ *-i*-); Lak. *-i-ka-*; Lezg. **iq^wa-*.

| Nakh. **χ-a*?- sit (down): Chech. *χa²-*; Bacb. *χa²-*.

PN paradigm: term. **χ-a*?-, dur. **χ-e*?- (Bacb. *χe*?-). An old Ablaut grade **χ-o*?- can be seen in Chech. *χ-o*?-, Bacb. *χ-o*?- 'to fit in (somewhere)' (intr.).

| Av.-And. *-*ik*:- 1 to be 2 to sit: Av. *-úk-n-* 1; Chad. *-o²-n-* 1; And. *-ik*:- 1; Akhv. *-uk*- / *-ik*- 1,2; Cham. *-uk*:- 1; Tind. *-uk*- 1,2; Kar. *-ik*:- 1; Botl. *-uk*- 1; Bagv. *-uk*- 1; God. *-uk*- 1.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. *-uk*-. In some languages (Akhv., Tind.) this root is used for both 'be' and 'sit'. In Avar the verb belongs to the -n-conjugation - which is obviously secondary, although reasons for it are not yet clear. The Av. Chad. aorist stem *-o²-a* certainly corresponds to Av. lit. *-uk-ana*. The glottal stop here is a result of irregular weakening of **-k*- (in a frequently used auxiliary verb). The -n-conjugation in Chad. is seen in the imperative *-ó²un*.

| Tsez. *-*iq*:- (~ *-i*-) to be: Tsez. *z-ow-* (*Radzhibov*); Gin. *z-eq^w-*; Khvarsh. *z-oq^w-*; Bezht. *z-uq*-; Gunz. *z-uq*-.

PTsKh **z-iq*:- (~ *-i*-) (all forms quoted from Balkarov 1964, 101); PGB **z-uq*-. Used with the PTs preverb **z*:-. Cf. also Gunz. *λo-q*-, Bezht. (*Tlad.*, Khosh.) *λär-q*- 'to mount (an animal)' (**λV*- 'up, above').

| Lak. *-i-ka-* to be, to sit.

G.pr. *-i-ku-n*. In the meaning 'to sit' it is mostly used in a compound

s:al-i-ka- (*s:al-* 'on the earth' q.v.).

| Lezg. **iq̣'ä-* 1 to sit 2 to set (caus.): Lezg. *ac-uq̣-* 1; Tab. *uṭ-uq̣-* 2; Ag. *iq̣'a-* 1; Rut. *s-uq̣'a-* 1; Kryz. *äs-qun-* 1; Bud. *a-qVl-* 1; Arch. *oq̣is* 1.

For PL Ablaut grades **iq̣'ä-* / **äq̣'ä-* / **oq̣'ä-* can be reconstructed. Cf. in Archi: *q̣le-q̣'i-* 'sit' (**äq̣'ä-* with reduplication), *o=q̣i-* id. (**oq̣'ä-*); Rut. *s-u-q̣'a-/s-i-q̣'a-* 'sit' (**iq̣'ä-*), but *s-i-q̣la-* 'sit (plur.)' (**oq̣'ä-*). Cf. also Kryz. *q̣o-qun-* 'to sit (on horse-back)'. Unclear are reasons for the -n/-l- conjugation in Kryz. and Bud. Cf. Khaidakov 1973, 140.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. The root was also present in HU, cf. the Hurr. derivative *k/χē-sχə* 'settee, throne' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 59).

*-*irbĒ* to sew: Nakh. **ab-*; Av.-And. **HebV(-rV)*; Lak. *p:a*; Darg. *-*irp:-*; Lezg. **i(r)p:-*; Khin. *p:la*; W.-Cauc. **ḅwV*.

| Nakh. **ab-* to sew: Bacb. **ab-*.

Chech. and Ing. have not preserved the verb, but cf. in Chech. *ew-na*, Ing. *ow* 'seam'. Cf. also the PN derivative **jub* (obl. **abrV-*) 'awl' (Bacb. *jub*, Chech. *jū*, pl. **āraš*, Ing. *juw*, erg. *owro*, pl. *owraš*).

| Av.-And. **HebV* awl: Av. **ēbu*; Chad. **ibur*.

Chad. paradigm A (**iburi-l*, **ibura-l*).

| Lak. *p:a* awl.

Cf. gen. *p:ur-dul* (reflecting the old obl. stem).

| Darg. *-*irp:-* to sew: Ak. *ib-es*.

Cf. Ur. *-*irb-* id. There are also two PD derivatives from this root: PD **durup:* 'awl' (Ak. *durub*, Chir. *durup:*); PD **birep:a* 'needle' (Ak. *bureba*, Chir. *birap:a*).

| Lezg. **i(r)p:-* sewn, to sew: Ud. *eIb*.

Udi is the only Lezghian language that has preserved the old verbal root. All other languages reflect only derivatives: a) PL **rap:/rāp:* 'awl' (Lezg. *rib*, erg. *rip:ini*, Tab. *rib*, Ag. *reb*, Rut. *rab*, Tsakh. *rab*, Kryz. *reb*, Bud. *rāb*, Arch. *dab*); b) PL **wurep:a* (and, with metathesis, **ruwep:a* > **rup:a*) (Tab. *rub*, Ag. *rub*, Rut. *rub*, Tsakh. *wiba/wejba*, Gelm. *wijāba*, Arch. *dub-* in *dub-las* 'to sew'). Cf. Bokarev 1961,61; Leksika 1971,216,202; Giginayshvili 1977, 76.

| Khin. *p:la* awl.

| W.-Cauc. **ḅwV* to sew: Abkh. *á-za-χ-ra*; Abaz. *za-χ-ra*; Ad. *da-n*; Kab. *da-n*; Ub. *-ḍẉa-*.

PAT **ǰa-xə* (cf. also Abkh. Bz. *á-ǰa-x-ra*); PAK **da-* (trans., cf. also **də*-intr. > Ad., Kab. *də-n*). The same root served as a basis for PWC **ḅwV* / **ḅwV-ḅwV* 'awl' > PAT **ǰaǰə* (Abkh. *á-zaǰ*, Bz. *á-ǰaǰ*, Abaz. *zaǰə*), PAK **dədə* (Ad. *dədə*, Kab. *dədə*); Ub. *ḍẉa* 'needle'.

[] The root, originally verbal, has preserved its verbal status only in a few languages (Bacb., Darg., Ud., WC; cf. also Urart. *ab-il-* 'to join' (< 'sew together' ?), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 18). Much more widely spread are old derivatives: **jiburV* in Western EC languages (> PN **jub*, **ab-rV-*; Av. **ēbu*, Chad. **ibur*; Lak. *p:a*, *p:ur-*; Khin. *p:la*), **HrVbV* and **wVreba* in Eastern EC languages

(PL **rap:/rāp:*, **wurep:a*; PD **durup:*, **birep:a*).

Abdokov (1983, 129) compares the EC forms with a PAK root **bə-*, tentatively reconstructed by the author with the meaning 'to pierce, punch a hole', on the basis of complex derivatives like Kab. *pəbə-mbə-n* 'to punch a hole (by a pointed obj.)' [in Карданов 1957 glossed: 'to crush, squeeze through'] and Shaps. *ja-bə-xə-n* 'to fall down (through)'. The morpheme is unclear etymologically (in fact, it may represent the same root as Ad. *bə* 'hole, den' - see Shagirov 1, 102), and the etymology seems dubious.

*-*ircVI* to twirl, turn round: Nakh. **χ-ārc-*; Lezg. **ilcal*.

| Nakh. **χ-ārc-* 1 to turn, overturn (intr.) 2 to change: Chech. *χarc-* 1; Ing. *χarc-* 1; Bacb. *χarc-* 2.

Cf. pres. Chech. *χārca* / *χorcu*, Ing. *χorc* (all pointing to *-ā-). The durative stem **χerc-* is attested in Chech. *χerc-* (pres. *χörču*), Bacb. *χerc-*.

| Lezg. **ilcal* 1 to turn round, to twirl 2 to turn (on an axis): Tab. *il-i-c-* 1; Ag. *ilcan-* (Bursh.) 2; Bud. *w-a-lsal-* 1.

Cf. also Tab. *li-c-* 'to walk around', 'to search', Bud. **a-lsal* id., Ag. Bursh. *al-arcān-* 'to turn round', Bud. *a-lsal-* 'to return' and nominal derivatives: Tab. *b-ilcun-ag* 'whirligig, humming-top'; Ag. Bursh. *alarcni-r*, Fit. *alurcu-t* 'round'; Tab. *bi-licnac* 'beggar', Ag. Bursh. **alcan*, **arucāj* id.

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss.

*-*irGwVr* to freeze, get cold: Av.-And. *-*Vq:-*; Darg. *-*arβIw-*; Lezg.

**irq:e(r)-*.

| Av.-And. *-*Vq:-* get cold, cool: Cham. *-*aq:-*.

Isolated in Cham., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *-*arβIw-* get cold, freeze: Ak. *-*irʕ-*.

Cf. also Ur. *-*aIrʕw-/irʕw-*. The Ak. adjective 'cold' (*b-aIrʕib-si*) is derived from this verb.

See PEC *-*HəχwV* for explanation of the PD pharyngealization in this root.

| Lezg. **irq:e(r)-* to freeze, get cold: Lezg. *req:i-*; Tab. *a-β-*; Ag. *ruβ-*; Rut. *si-βe-*; Tsakh. *q-i-βar-*; Kryz. *s-aβ-*; Bud. *s-arβ-*; Arch. *qe-*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *a-q:-*, Ag. Bursh. *urʕa-*. Bud. and Kryz. reflect the Ablaut grade **ärq:e(r)-* with a regular shift **ä* > **a* before a uvular. The adjective for 'cold' is in some languages derived from this verb, cf. Tab. Kand. *ḡa-ḡu*, Ag. *ruḡu-f*, Kryz. *soḡa(j)*, Bud. *soḡo*. We should also add here (as an old participial structure, with loss of initial vowel), Kryz. *q:aj* 'cold' and Lezg. *q:aj* '(cold) wind'. A derivative from the same root is also Arch. *qo-l* 'ice'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In PL and Cham. there occurred a secondary loss of labialization (before a front vowel?); otherwise the correspondences are regular (pharyngealization in PD is automatic, in the vicinity of a front vowel). A probable HU parallel is Hurr. *e/igi*, *eg-o* 'cold' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 60).

*-irbV to roll, turn round: Av.-And. *-ib- / *b^wir-; Lak. -i=hi-; Darg. *i^hb(-); Lezg. *i^hirq:ä- (~ -b^w-).

| Av.-And. *-ib- / *b^wir- 1 to fly 2 to glide 3 to roll: Chad. -oß- 3; And. *bur-d- 2,3*; Akhv. -ib- 1; Cham. *ðod- 2,3*; Tind. *ðer-d- 3*; Kar. *ðel- (Tok.) 2*.

In Chad. the verb is used in a compound (*s^wér-zi =óß-zi*). Avar and Akhvakh reflect stem I (*-ib^w-; cf. perhaps also Cham. -eß- 'to throw'), other languages - stem II (*b^wir-).

| Lak. -i=hi- to roll, glide; to soar.

Ger. pr. -i-hu-nu. The durative stem is *ha-na-n* (Khosr. *ha-na-n*).

| Darg. *i^hb(-) to spin round, turn round: Chir. *ið-*.

| Lezg. *i^hirq:ä- (~ -b^w-) 1 to turn round 2 to roll 3 to be round: Lezg. *el-q:ew-e-z 1*; Tab. *i-d-irð-uz 2*; Rut. *ruð^wa-s 3*.

The adjective 'round' is formed from this stem in Lezg. (*elq:ewej*) and Rut. (*ruðu-d*). In Lezg. *el-* is a preverb (*el-q:ew-e-z* = Tab. *il-d-irð-uz* id.). In Rut. cf. also the reduplicated stem *ð^wirð^wa-s* 'to walk around; to turn (a wheel)' (with the Ablaut grade *-o-).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In the Western Daghestan area possible derivatives from the same root are Av. (Chad.) *miðir* (*maðrú-l, maðrá-l*) 'a roller (for rolling roofs)', PGB *ðir-*řana* (Gunz. *ðirřana*, Bezht. Khosh. *ðirřina*) id.

*-i(r)kVl to listen; to address, talk: Lak. *uči-*; Darg. *-ikVn- / -ilk-; Lezg. *i(r)ki(r)-; Khin. *k-i*.

| Lak. *uči-* to say.

G.pr. *u=ku-nu*.

| Darg. *-ikVn- / -ilk- to say: Ak. -ikVn- (*Ur.*).

Ur. -ikVn- / -ilk-. The verb is also used as auxiliary (a frequent feature in Daghestan languages, cf. Arch. *bos* 'to say' used in the same way etc.).

| Lezg. *i(r)ki(r)- to hear: Tab. *ji=k- (Düb.)*; Arch. *ko-*.

With only the Arch. and Tab. forms present there is not enough data to establish the resonant structure of the root.

| Khin. *k-i* hear.

Cf. dur. *kl-i*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The conjugation in Darg., and the durative stem *kl-* in Khin. make the reconstruction with final *-l rather probable; unfortunately the root is not reflected in more informative languages like Tsakhur or Shakhdagh.

*-irkVr to break, pick; to crack; to stir: Nakh. *kek-; Av.-And. *-Vk(Vn)-; Lezg. *irkar; W.-Cauc. *ka- (~ -k-).

| Nakh. *kek- to stir, sway: Bacb. *kekad-dar*.

Attested only in Bacb., with probable EC parallels.

| Av.-And. *-Vk(Vn)- 1 to break, break off, hit 2 to touch: Av. -ek- 1; Chad. -ekn- 1; Tind. *ki-d- 2*.

The verb has a not quite clear original meaning (some broad concept of physical contact action), which explains the difference of meaning in Av. and

Tind. Avar represents stem I (*-Vk(Vn)-), Tindi - stem II (*ki(r)-d-).

| Lezg. *irkar 1 to crumble, chop 2 to pick; rub 3 to stir 4 touch: Tab. *u=k- 1*; Ag. *ad-irka- 2 (Bursh.)*; Rut. *h-i=ka- 2*; Tsakh. *i=kar- 3*; Bud. *we=kr- 4*.

Cf. also Tab. *u^t-u=k-* (with an expressive preverb) 'to pick, peck at', Rut. *s-i=ka-* 'to saw'. The verb belongs to the strong verb class.

| W.-Cauc. *ka- (~ -k-) to burst, crack: Ad. *ča-n*; Kab. *ča-n*.

PAK *ka-.

[] A common NC expressive verbal root (sometimes reduplicated). See Abdokov 1983, 157.

*-i(r)ŁwVr to deceive: Nakh. *IV-; Av.-And. *guk:-; Lak. *ç-ik:wi-*; Darg. *-ark:wVr- / *-irk:w-; W.-Cauc. *Ła.

| Nakh. *IV- to deceive: Chech. *lè-dan*.

Attested only in Chech., so the precise PN reconstruction is not clear.

| Av.-And. *guk:- 1 to deceive 2 deception: Av. *guk:- 1*; Kar. *k:uk:- 1*; God. *guk:ĩ 2*.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. *gux-il-* id. All Andian forms may be borrowed from Avar or some Avar dialects (certainly borrowed is Cham. *xux-id-* 'to deceive', because *x* is quite an irregular reflex). The Avar form is reduplicated, and the tense -k:- is probably expressive (we would rather expect a form like *gug- to fit the external evidence).

| Lak. *ç-ik:wi-* to coax, wheedle, cheat.

G. pr. *ç-i=k:u-nu*. The form contains an expressive preverb (*ç-*).

| Darg. *-ark:wVr- / *-irk:w- to deceive: Ak. -irg-es.

Cf. Ur. -arg^wVr- id.

| W.-Cauc. *Ła 1 to deceive 2 to fool 3 to lure, entice: Abkh. *a-ža-rá 1*; Abaz. *ža-ra 1*; Ad. *ða-ʔəŁa-n 2*; Kab. *ða-ʔəŁa-n 3*; Ub. *Ła- 1*.

PAT *Ła. PAK *ʔəŁa- (a compound either with *ʔə 'mouth', or *ʔəa- 'speak', see Shagirov 1,130): the stem is usually used with the causative *ða-*, but cf. the independent usage in Ad. *ʔəŁa* 'silly'. Ub. *a-z-Łá-n* (cf. also *q^wəŁá* 'stupid, silly' = Ad. *ʔəŁa*, but possibly a loanword).

See Dumézil 1932, 126, Климов 1967, 300-301, Abdokov 1973, 79; Shagirov 1, 130.

[] The root structure is best preserved in PD. Avar has reduplicated the root, in PN (Chech.) the initial weak syllable was reduced (*IV- < *-iŁV-). Correspondences between EC languages allow to reconstruct a lateral root consonant *Łw, which corresponds to the lateral in PWC. The only problem is loss of labialisation in PWC (we would rather expect a form like *Ł^wV), which happens also in a number of other verbal roots - perhaps as a result of phonetic interaction with former class markers. See Abdokov 1983, 158.

*-irqVΛ to ripen: Nakh. *-iʔ-; Av.-And. *-iq-; Tsez. *-iq-; Lak. -ija-; Darg. *-iqur-; Lezg. *i(r)q^wV; W.-Cauc. *təb^wa- (~ -G^w-).

| Nakh. *-iʔ- to ripen; to grow: Chech. *q-iʔ-*; Ing. *q-e*.

The root is homonymous with *q-iʔ- 'to have time' (q.v.) - as a result of contamination.

| Av.-And. **-iq-* 1 to ripen 2 ripe: Av. *ʕe-* 1; And. *-iqu-* 2 (*Leksika*); Akhv. *-iq-* 1 (*Ratl.*); Tind. *-ill-* 1, *-illu-* 2; Kar. *-eʔ-* 1; God. *-iʔa-* 2.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *-iʔ-*, Tlan. *-iq-*, Kar. Tok. *-iʕ-* id. The Tindi form with *-ll-* probably reflects a suffixed variant **-iq-Vl-* > **-iʔl-* > *-ill-*. In Avar the root is homonymous with *ʕe-* 'to be enough, sufficient' - which is a secondary merger (see **-əqʷVn* 'to be enough'). The root **-iq-* 'to ripen' should be also distinguished from **-iq-* (/ **-aq-*) 'to reach' (see **-arqVr*), although their reflexes in Av.-And. are very similar and they certainly had influenced each other.

| Tsez. **-iq-* to grow: Bezht. *-iq-* (*Tlad.*).

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *-ija-* to ripen.

G. pr. *-i=nu*. The root is homonymous with *-ija-* 'to reach' (PEC **-arqVr*), as a result of phonetic merger (cf. the same phenomenon in PN).

| Darg. **-iqur-* ripe: Ak. *-iqur-il* (*Kait.*).

Cf. also Tsud. *biqur-se* (an MSU recording, probably with a misspelling instead **biqur-se*). It is very probable that Ak. *b=urqa* 'old' also belongs here (with Ablaut).

| Lezg. **ʔi(r)qʷV* 1 to ripen 2 to be ripe 3 ripe: Tab. *q-u=q-* 1; Rut. *h-i=q-a-* 2; Kryz. *s-u=q-* 1; Arch. *o=q-i-* 1; Ud. *ap:i* / *p:ap:i* 3.

Cf. also Ud. *ap:e-sun* 'to become ripe, boiled', *p:ap:sun* (Vart. *bap:sun*) 'to be in time', Vart. *b-ap:i* (= Nidzh. *p:ap:i*) 'ripe'. The Udi forms clearly point to PL labialised **qʷ* and distinguish this root clearly from PL **ʔirqär* 'to come, reach' (Ud. *ej-sun* / *e-sun*). Medial *-r-* regularly gets lost in verbal roots of all the languages that have preserved PL **ʔi(r)qʷV*.

An old derivate from this root (with reduction of the initial syllable) may be Tab. *qabi* (Düb. *qawi*) 'old' (cf. an analogous development in Dargwa). See Khaidakov 1973, 141.

| W.-Cauc. **ʔəbʷa-* (~ *-Gʷ-*) to ripen: Ad. *ʔəbʷa-n*; Kab. *ʔəbʷa-n*; Ub. *ʔəbʷá-*.

PAK **ʔəbʷa-*.

[] The PWC form must be analysed as consisting of the old class marker **d-* + the root, with subsequent metathesis of glottalisation (**ʔəbʷa-* < **d-əqʷa-*). The EC-WC comparison seems quite plausible phonetically and semantically.

In EC the root interacts actively with **-arqVr* 'to reach' and **-əqʷVn* 'to be enough, sufficient', but there seems to be a good reason for keeping all these three roots apart.

**-irqʷĖ(r)* to split, break: Av.-And. **-iqʷ-* / **qʷ(ar)-*; Darg. **-iqʷ-*; Lezg. **ʔi(r)qʷar-*; Khin. *qʷi*; W.-Cauc. **qʷlʷa*.

| Av.-And. **-iqʷ-* / **qʷ(ar)-* 1 to break (trans.) 2 to break, split (intr.): And. *Gar-d-* 2; Akhv. *-iqʷ-* 1; Kar. *-iʔʷ-* 1.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *-uʔ-*, Tlan., Ratl. *-uq-*, Kar. Tok. *-uʕ-*. Akhv. and Kar. reflect stem I, And. - stem II.

| Darg. **-iqʷ-* to split, break: Ak. *-iqʷ-/iqʷ-* (*Ur.*).

There is also another verb in Ur.: *-irqʷ-* / *-irqʷ-* 'to rip'; it seems most

probable that *-iqʷ-* and *-irqʷ-* represent an originally single paradigm.

| Lezg. **ʔi(r)qʷar-* 1 to tear 2 to break: Rut. *s-u=qʷa-* 1; Tsakh. *ha=qʷar-* 2.

Used only with preverbs (cf. also Rut. *lu=qʷa-*, *guhu=qʷa-* 'to tear out', *kuḅu=qʷa-* 'to tear off' etc.).

| Khin. *qʷi* to break.

qʷi is term.; cf. also dur. *qu-li*.

| W.-Cauc. **qʷlʷa* 1 to stick into, pierce 2 to stick out: Abkh. *á-l-hʷa-ra* 1; Abaz. *ʕa-l-hʷa-ra* 2.

PAT **hʷa* (used only with preverbs). PAT **hʷ* can have several PWC sources, thus the reconstruction of a glottalized affricate is only one of the possibilities.

[] The Av.-And.-Darg. comparison is rather secure, but the WC parallel is uncertain (because of some semantic differences and several possibilities of reconstruction in PWC).

**-irsĖ(l)* to weave: Av.-And. **-irš:-*; Tsez. **-eš:-*; Lak. *š:aš:a-*; Darg. **-Vrš(-)*; Lezg. **ʔiš(-)Vl*; W.-Cauc. **šʷV*.

| Av.-And. **-irš:-* to weave: Av. *-es:-*; Chad. *-es-*; And. *-eš:-*; Akhv. *g-os:-*; Cham. *is:-*; Tind. *iš:-*; Kar. *k-erš:an-*.

| Tsez. **-eš:-* to weave: Tsez. *-iš-*; Khvarsh. *n-iš-* (*Radzhibov*); Gunz. *r=eš-*. PTsKh **-[e]š-*.

| Lak. *š:aš:a-* to weave.

G. pr. *š:aš:u-n*. Cf. Khosr. *š:aš:a-n* id.

| Darg. **-Vrš(-)* to weave: Chir. *-erš-* / *ruš-*.

Cf. Ur. *-irš-* / *-uš-* id. We should expect tense **š:* in PD, thus the notation *-š-* in the MSU Chirag recordings is rather strange; unfortunately, there are no Tsud. or Kub. data available.

| Lezg. **ʔirs(-)Vl* 1 to spin 2 to spin (hemp) 3 make a warp: Lezg. *ruša-* 3; Tab. *wu=š-* 2 (*Khūr.*); Kryz. *šil-* / *šisl-* 1; Bud. *q:u=šr-* 3.

Budukh has *-r-* conjugation probably because of assimilation (**ʔirs(-)Vl* > **ʔirsVr-*); Kryz. *-l* clearly points to PL **-l*. The original **-i-* vowel is preserved in Kryz.; other languages reflect rather the Ablaut grade **ʔors(-)Vl* (cf. also **ʔärs(-)Vl* in Kryz. imper. *s-äšil*).

| W.-Cauc. **šʷV* to weave: Abkh. *a-s-rá*; Abaz. *s-ra*; Ad. *ša-n*; Kab. *ša-n*.

PAT **šə* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-š-rá*); PAK **ša*. The correspondence PAT **š* : PAK **š* points only to PWC **šʷ*.

[] A reliable common NC cultural term (see Trubetzkoy 1930, 279; Abdokov 1983, 159).

**-iršV* (~ *-ä-*) big, large, thick: Av.-And. **-išV-*; Tsez. **-ilžV* (~ *-ž:-*) B; Darg. **-uršu-*.

| Av.-And. **-išV-* 1 big 2 large 3 thick: And. *-iši* 3; Akhv. *-iše-da-be* 2;

Cham. *gošha-b* 1.

The Cham. form goes back to **g^w-išV-* with an obscure (expressive?) prefix; the reflex -šh- is also exceptional (normally **-š-* > Cham. -h-). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. =*ešel-da-b*, Ratl. =*išel-da-b* 'large'; Cham. Gig. =*iši* 'big' (used only in plural).

| Tsez. **iIzV* (~*z:-*) B 1 big 2 many: Tsez. =*elže* 1; Gin. =*elži* 1; Inkh. *ez-za-^{an}* 2; Gunz. =*ize-q* 2.

PTsKh **iIzV*.

| Darg. **uršu-* thick: Chir. =*uršu-ze*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**-irt(w)V* to pester, bother, bore: Nakh. **k-ort-*; Lak. =*uṭi-*; Darg. **-iṭ-* / **-irt-*; Lezg. **irṭe-* (~ *-ṭi-*).

| Nakh. **k-ort-* to pester, bother, bore: Chech. *kord=ō*; Ing. *korda=de*; Bacb. *kort-*.

| Lak. =*uṭi-* to insult, offend.

G. pr. =*u=ṭu-nu*.

| Darg. **-iṭ-* / **-irt-* to be bored, fed up with smth.: Chir. =*iṭ-* / =*irt-*.

| Lezg. **irṭe-* (~ *-ṭi-*) 1 to become astringent 2 to be defeated 3 to win: Lezg. *riṭi-* 1; Ag. *liṭ-* 2,3; Rut. *li=ṭa-* 3.

The original meaning is "to be bothered, fed up" (cf. the external evidence), whence the various meanings in modern languages. Ag. and Rut. have a preverb **l-* (Lezg. *riṭi-* < **irṭe-*, and *r-* is not a prefix).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems plausible.

**-irxwVl* to paint, smear: Nakh. **haχ-*; Av.-And. **-il(Vn)*; Darg. **-V(r)x:-*; Lezg. **irλ:ar*; Khin. *zi=x-*; W.-Cauc. **x^wa*.

| Nakh. **haχ-* to smear, plaster: Chech. *haχ-*; Ing. *haχ-*.

Cf. also Chech. dur. *hēχ-* id.

| Av.-And. **-il(Vn)* 1 to paint 2 to smear: Av. =*elan-* 1; Akhv. =*ilun-* 1; Cham. *la-d-* 2; Tind. =*el-* 2; Kar. =*elan-* 1.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. =*elan-*, Kar. Tok. *lal-* (< **lar-*) 'to paint', Cham. Gig. *lar-* 'to smear', with reduplication Cham. *liṭa-d-* (Gig. *luṭa-b-*) 'to knead (dough)'. PA **-il(Vn)* reflects a root variant with early delabialisation; the same root, but without delabialisation (and with regular development **x:w* > **x*) is probably reflected in Av. =*ox-* 'to smear' (Chad. =*ox-* 'to stick to, glue'), And. =*uš-* 'to smear'.

| Darg. **-V(r)x:-* paint, dye: Ak. *ruxeri*.

The noun is a derivate from the verbal root **-V(r)x:-*, preserved in Kub. =*ēš:-* / *juš:-* 'to paint'.

| Lezg. **irλ:ar* to paint: Tab. *ri=x-*; Ag. *rix-*; Tsakh. *q-i=xar-*; Arch. *λ:u-*, dur. *λ:ar*.

| Khin. *zi=x-* to smear.

| W.-Cauc. **x^wa* to smear: Kab. *šə-x^wa-n*; Ad. *šə-fa-n*.

PAK **šə-x^wa-* (*šə-* is a locative preverb).

[] Correspondences are regular (except for the assimilation **irλ:al* > **irλ:ar*

in PL), and the EC-WC comparison seems quite plausible. See Abdokov 1983, 175.

**-irχwVn* to knit, weave, spin: Nakh. **duher*; Av.-And. **χ:Vn-*; Lak. =*uχ:li-*; Darg. **-imχ:Vr*; Lezg. **irχ:ar* / **irχ:an*.

| Nakh. **duher* loom: Chech. *dūhar*; Ing. *duhar-aš*.

Cited from the Ing.-Chech.-Russ. dictionary. The Ing. form is plur. tantum.

| Av.-And. **χ:Vn-* to spin: Cham. *χ:in-*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *χ:in-*. Attested only in Cham., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. =*uχ:li-* to spin.

| Darg. **-imχ:Vr* to plait, weave: Ak. =*umχ-es*.

Cf. also Ur. =*imχVr* / =*umχ-* id.

| Lezg. **irχ:ar* / **irχ:an* 1 to knit 2 to spin 3 to sew: Tab. *u=š-* (*Dub.*) 1; Ag. *ruχ-* 1; Rut. *χi=rχ^wa-* 1; Tsakh. *ho^o-χar-* 1; Kryz. *ruš-* 3; Bud. *č-uχu-ču* 2; Arch. *χ:em-* 1.

Cf. also Ag. Tp. *r-uša-s* 'to knit' (both in Tpig and in Richa the verb also means 'to weave' - a result of merger with PL **iχar* 'to weave' q.v.). The Archi-n-conjugation points to a PL variant **irχ:an*, which is the most archaic (other languages reflect an assimilated form **irχ:ar*).

A common Lezghian derivate is PL **jaχ:ar(a)* 'loom': Lezg. Khl. *aχ^war-ar*, Ag. *aχ^w-ar* (Bursh. *aχ:ar*, Fit. *aχ^w*), Rut. *jaχ^w*. Cf. perhaps also Lezg. *barb-ar* (Migr. *awab-ar*) 'shredded hemp fibres', which can be also derived from the same root.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for some resonant interaction (PD **-imχ:Vr* < **-irχ:Vn*, variation in PL) correspondences are regular, and the reconstruction seems reliable. Pharyngealization in Lak. may be secondary, but may also reflect some weak initial laryngeal (or laryngeal prefix) in PEC.

**-irχwVr* to rejoice: Av.-And. **-iχ:-*; Tsez. **ḃ:ḃ:ḃ-* (~*ḃ*); Lak. *χ:ari-*; Darg. **χ:ari*.

| Av.-And. **-iχ:-* 1 to rejoice 2 to smile, laugh: Av. =*oχ:-* 1; Cham. =*iχ:-* 1,2; Tind. =*iχ:-* 1,2; Kar. =*eχ:-* 2 (*Tok.*).

| Tsez. **ḃ:ḃ:ḃ-* (~*ḃ*) merry: Tsez. *ḃlaḃu*; Inkh. *ḃuḃu* (*Sanl.*).

PTsKh **ḃliḃu*.

| Lak. *χ:ari-* merry, gay.

Cf. Khosr. *χ:ari-s:a* id. Lak. > Arch. *χ:ara-t:u-* id.

| Darg. **χ:ari* joy: Chir. *χ:are*.

[] We may suppose a borrowing either in Lak. from Darg., or vice versa; still, the Av.-And. parallel makes the PEC reconstruction probable. The PTs form is reduplicated.

**-isVn* to melt, thaw: Lak. =*a-s:a-*; Lezg. **is:Vn*.

| Lak. =*a-s:a-* to thaw, melt.

G. pr. =*a-s:u-nu*. Cf. Khosr. =*a-s:a-n* id.

| Lezg. *[?]is:Vn to melt, thaw: Arch. s:en-.

Attested only in Archi (cf. also the reduplicated durative stem: s:ems:in), with a probable Lak. parallel.

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss. The position of PN *-aš- 'to melt' is uncertain. It does not fit very well into the PNC root *-ičwAr- q.v., but it also does not correspond quite regularly to the Lak. and Lezg. forms with -s:-. Perhaps we should reconstruct *-icwVn (the reflex of *-cw- in PN is actually unknown and could well be -š-). The matter requires further investigation.

*-[i]swV to touch, to take: Av.-And. *-is- (~ -c-); Tsez. *-oz(:)- (~ -ɔ-); Lak. la=su-; Darg. *-as:-; Lezg. *[?]is:a-; W.-Cauc. *sV (~ š-).

| Av.-And. *-is- (~ -c-) 1 to press 2 to move 3 to press oneself (to smth.): And. -is- 3; Cham. -is- 1, -es- 3; God. b-is- 1,2.

| Tsez. *-oz(:)- (~ -ɔ-) 1 to take 2 to take up, to lift (oneself): Tsez. -iz- 2; Gin. -ūz- 1; Khvarsh. -ez- 1; Inkh. -ez- 1.

PTsKh *-ōz-.

| Lak. la=su- to take.

G. pr. la=sun. Cf. Khosr. la=su-n id.

| Darg. *-as:- to take, buy: Chir. -as:- /-is:-.

Cf. also Ur. -as- / -is-, Kub. -as:- /-is:- id.

| Lezg. *[?]is:a- 1 to hold, catch 2 to press 3 to touch 4 take away: Lezg. il-is- 2; Tab. -is- 1,4; Ag. awaj-s:i- 1; Arch. s:a- 3.

The Agul word is from the Burshag dialect.

See Khaidakov 1973, 104.

| W.-Cauc. *sV (~ š-) to touch: Abkh. a-ḱā-s-ra; Abaz. ḡā-s-ra; Ad. na-sā-n; Kab. ja[?]ā-sā-n.

PAT *sā- (used only with preverbs; cf. also Bzyb. a-ḱā-s-ra); PAK *sa- / *sā- (also with preverbs).

See Shakryl 1968, 73, Abdokov 1973, 53, Shagirov 1, 180.

[] The etymology seems satisfactory, although there are some unclear points. Cf. also Urart. ašj- 'to capture' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 36). Perhaps it would be better to reconstruct *-ā- as the main vowel (and to consider *-i- in PL as a later Ablaut grade). Since the meaning 'to touch' occurs in EC languages, the comparison with PWC *sV (*sV) seems plausible, although loss of labialisation in PWC is still to be explained (there are several cases like that among verbal roots).

*-išA to move, come: Av.-And. *š:V-; Lak. -aj-š:u-; Darg. *-aš(:)-; Lezg. *[?]is:ā-; W.-Cauc. *šā (~ š-).

| Av.-And. *š:V- to come, reach: Av. š:we-; Chad. s^we(l)-.

Isolated in Av., but having some probable external parallels.

| Lak. -aj-š:u- retreat, go away.

G. pr. -ajš:u-nu.

| Darg. *-aš(:)- come: Ak. -aš-es.

Cf. Ur. dur. -aš- 'come'. With some preverbs the stem means also 'to go away'.

| Lezg. *[?]is:ā- 1 to be, become 2 to come: Lezg. ze- 1; Tab. š- 1; Ag. ša-w 2 (imp.); Rut. w-išir 1 (term.); Kryz. še-ri 1 (dur.); Bud. 'a-š-ḡar 2; Arch. bat:-eš:a- 1.

In Kryz. the root is used as present durative (še-ri 'is') and in the paradigm of the verbs 'to come', 'to go down' (imper. 'u-šā, pres. 'u-š-ḡā-ri 'come', imper. 'a-š, pres. 'a-š-ḡā-ri 'to go down' = Bud. imper. 'a-š, pres. 'a-š-ḡa-ri 'to come'). In Bud. cf. perhaps also q:i-š- 'to mount (a horse)'. The meanings 'come' and 'become, be' are obviously related.

| W.-Cauc. *šā (~ *š-) 1 to move, pass 2 to come, reach: Abkh. -s(ə)- 1; Abaz. -s(ə)- 1; Ad. na-sā-n 2; Kab. na-sā-n 2.

PAT *šā, attested only with preverbs, cf. Abkh. āja-s-ra 'to pass', a-ḱāl-s-ra 'to pass through, crawl through', a-bžā-s-ra 'to pass by'; Abaz. ḱāl-s-ra, bžā-s-ra id.; Bzyb. ā-š-ḱa-ra 'to move (here), come (here)', a-na-š-ḱa-ra 'to move (there), get away'. PAK *na-sā- 'come, reach (there)', *q:a-sā- (Ad., Kab. q:a-sā-n) 'come, reach (here)'.

We must notice that in PAK probably a contamination of two PWC roots took place: on one hand, PAK *na-sā- and *q:a-sā- are exact formal matches of Bzyb. a-na-š- and ā-š- (see above); on the other hand, semantically they also match perfectly Abkh. a-na-za- 'to reach (there)' and ā-za- 'to reach (here)' (see under PWC *3V). The derived postposition PAK *nasā 'until' is also exactly matching Abkh. -nza and Ub. -ōnza. See Dumézil 1932, 75, 250-251; Shagirov 1, 279-280.

[] One of the common NC verbs of motion. Labialisation in Av. s:we- (reflecting Av.-And. stem II) is probably secondary (< *s:u[?]- ~ *s:o[?]-), since other languages do not reflect it. Cf. perhaps also Urart. aš- 'to flee, to leave' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 38).

*-[i]šwV(n) to take: Av.-And. *š^wVn-; Tsez. *ež(:)- A; Lezg. *[?]is:ā-.

| Av.-And. *š^wVn- 1 to take 2 to gather 3 to choose: Av. -os- 1; Chad. -ošn- 1; Akhv. -ušun- 2,3; Cham. sin- 2,3; Tind. šun- 2.

Tindi and Chamalal demonstrate a rather strange development of PA *š^w- (we would expect h- in Tind. and š- in Cham.); perhaps it has something to do with the fact that Andian languages here reflect stem II *š^wVn- (< *[?]š^wVn- with a reduction of initial vowel). Avar reflects stem I *-Vš^wV(n)-.

| Tsez. *ež(:)- A 1 to carry 2 to lead 3 to take 4 to gain, win: Tsez. -iz- 1,2; Gin. -iz- 4; Bezht. -ež- 1 (Tlad.); Gunz. -ež- 1,3.

PGB *ež- (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. -ež-). PTsKh *ež-.

| Lezg. *[?]is:ā- to take, to buy: Ag. ḡ-uš-; Rut. l-ā-s^wa-; Tsakh. al-iš:e-; Arch. s:u-.

Cf. also Ag. dial. ḡ-uza- (pointing to *-š:-). The verb belongs to the weak class. Rutul reflects the Ablaut grade *-ā- (cf. also the same in the Tsakh. pres. il-eš:e). With other preverbs cf. Rut. lāq-ā-s^wa-, Tsakh. ḡa-s:e- 'to take away', q-i-š:e- 'to plane, hew, skin' (take surface off), qal'k-i-š:e- 'take off (clothes)', Rut. āḡ-ā-s^wa- 'to catch, hold'.

See Leksika 1971, 240; Giginayshvili 1977, 135.

*-itwVr to curdle, turn sour, rot: Nakh. *-at-; Av.-And. *-it- / *t^wir-; Tsez. *tətu; Lak. ta=ta-; Darg. *-ert- (/rut-); Lezg. *it^war-; W.-Cauc. *t^wa.

| Nakh. *-at- to curdle, coagulate: Chech. -at-; Ing. -at-; Bacb. l-at-.

| Av.-And. *-it- / *t^wir- 1 to curdle 2 to turn sour 3 to rot: Av. =et- 1; Chad. =etn- 1; And. =etit- 2; Cham. ta-n- 3; Tind. tor-d- 3; Kar. =etit- 2 (Tok.).

The Av.-Andian languages reflect basically two stems:

1) "stem I" *-it-, sometimes with reduplication *-itit-;

2) "stem II" *t^wir-: besides Tind. tor-d- this stem is also reflected in Av. tur-, And. tur-d-, Kar. tor- 'to rot'.

As seen from external evidence, the root originally ended in -r-; therefore, occasional forms in -n (Av. Chad. =etn-, Cham. tan-) must be secondary.

A derivate from this verbal root is *^onto (~ a) (probably < *^ortV-n with a nasal metathesis and Ablaut): cf. Tind. ata 'sour milk', Bagv. Kvan. anta, Tlond. ata id., Cham. Gig. anta 'sour cream'. Another derivate is reflected in Avar: Av. betá 'sour milk'.

| Tsez. *tətu sour cream: Gin. tetu; Bezht. toto; Gunz. tədu.

PGB *tətu. The word is a derivate from the unattested verb 'to get sour, fermented' (see the external evidence). Another derivate from the same root is PGB *rotV 'dough' > Bezht. Tlad. rōte, Khosh. rōtō, Gunz. rodo (Gin. roto id., to judge from its vocalism, is a loan from some Bezht. dialect).

| Lak. ta=ta- to curdle, coagulate.

G. pr. ta=tun. Cf. Khosr. tata-n id. A derivate is Lak. tartala 'sour (clotted) milk'. The non-reduplicated root is reflected in an old derivate: wit (gen. witu-l) 'milk whey'.

| Darg. *-ert- (/rut-) to curdle, coagulate: Ak. =ert-; Chir. =ert- / rut-.

Cf. also Ur. =irt- / ut- id., and a derivate: Ak. berta 'clot, jelly' (= Av. betá 'sour milk').

| Lezg. *it^war- 1 to ferment, turn sour 2 to curdle: Lezg. arut-iz 2; Tab. ut-uz 1; Ag. ruta-s 2; Bud. ^o-at-ar 1; Arch. tar-as 2.

Cf. also Arch. t^wa-s 'to fade, wither' (Arch. tar-as < *t^war-as; t^wa-s is a back-building from the original durative *t^war, where -r belonged to the root - thus an originally single paradigm was split into two with an overlapping durative form).

In Lezg. and Ag. there occurred a metathesis; cf. also the derivate Lezg. aruta 'curdled milk', Ag. (Bursh.) arutaj 'curds' < *^oVt^war-aj.

| W.-Cauc. *t^wa pus: Abkh. a-t^wá; Abaz. č^wa-b^oa; Kab. wa-ta-ps.

PAT *t^wa; the Kab. word is a compound with -ps(ə) 'water, liquid'.

[] A widely spread common NC stem. For PEC we can also reconstruct a reduplicated stem *twVtwVr- (cf. PA *-itit- = Lak. ta-ta-), also witnessed in a nominal derivate *twVrtwV(-IV) > Lak. tartala, PTs *tətu.

*-itVI to drip, drop, pour; wet: Nakh. *l-ē-; Av.-And. *jin-; Tsez. *-it-; Lezg. *it^oāl-; Khin. tin-i; W.-Cauc. *tV / tVtV.

| Nakh. *l-ē- to trickle, drip: Chech. lēd-.

The verb lēd- is attested only in Chech. The same root (with a usual Ablaut *a/*ē) can be perhaps discovered in PN *k-a- 'to mourn, bemoan' (Chech., Ing. kad-, Bacb. ka-) - if the original meaning is 'to pour, drop (tears)'. A reduplicated stem *tāt-am 'drop' is reflected in Chech. tadam, Ing. tadam.

| Av.-And. *tin- to pour: Akhv. tin-; Tind. tin-; Kar. tija-.

All languages reflect "stem II" *tin-.

| Tsez. *-it- 1 to drop, drip 2 drop: Tsez. et- 1 (Radzhibov); Gin. mu- 2; Khvarsh. mu- 2 (Radzhibov); Inkh. mi- 2; Bezht. =ōt- 1 (Tlad.).

PTsKh *mi- (a deverbal noun < *b-īl, cf. the verbal root preserved in Tsez.). Another derivate of the same root (with Ablaut) is PTsKh *^oatV- 'wet' > Tsez. atju, Gin. attu, Inkh. atamu (< *^oatV ju).

| Lezg. *it^oāl- 1 to drip, drop 2 to pour out, drop out 3 to fall: Tab. =i- (Düb.) 1; Ag. at- 1; Tsakh. o=tal- 1,2; Bud. ^oa=til- 1; Ud. b-it:-sun 3.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. ^oa-l^oan- 'to fall, drop', Tsakh. h-o=tal- 'to pull (out)'. The verb belongs to the strong verb class in PL and demonstrates regular Ablaut *i/*ā/*o. Cf. also nominal derivatives: Lezg. til-i, Tab. Kand. li^oi-n (Düb. pili^o < *b-ili), Rut. Khniukh. li^oin, Kryz. w-i^oil, Bud. an^oul 'drop, dripping thaw'.

| Khin. tin-i to weep, cry.

| W.-Cauc. *tV / tVtV 1 wet, liquid 2 soft: Abkh. a-tāta 2; Abaz. tāta 2; Ad. tāta 2; Kab. tāta 2; Ub. tā 1.

PAT *tāta, PAK *tāta. Cf. also the verbal usage: PAT *t:a- (with expressive gemination), PAK *tātā 'to flow, pour (as a thick mass)' (Abkh. a-t:a-rá, Abaz. t:a-ra, Ad., Kab. jā-tātā-n).

[] Correspondences are regular. See also PEC *-VtwV 'to pour, soak' (which is close semantically and phonetically, but should be still distinguished as a separate root). Cf. Abdokov 1983, 150.

*-itVr to run: Nakh. *-ā-; Av.-And. *tVr-; Lezg. *itV(r)-.

| Nakh. *-ā- to run: Chech. =ad-; Ing. =ad-; Bacb. =at-.

Cf. also PN *h-a- / *h-ē- (with a preverb) 'to run, leap': Chech. had-, Bacb. he- . Other Ablaut grades: *it- (Chech. dur. id- 'to run (away)'), *o- (Bacb. =o- 'to cross; walk'), *a-b- (Chech. =owd-, Ing. =owd-) 'to run (plur.)'.

| Av.-And. *tVr- 1 to run 2 to run away: Av. tur- 2; Cham. ta-d- 1; Tind. tē- 1; God. tar-.

Cf. also God. Zib. tar-d- 'to run'. The Cham. and Tind. forms also go back to *ta-d- < *tar-d- (~ -o-), with a suffixed -d-. All languages reflect stem II *tVr-.

| Lezg. *itV(r)- to run: Ud. t:ist:un.

Ud. t:ist:un (< *t:it:-sun) reflects a reduplicated stem. The root is attested only in Udi, but has probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level; cf. also Hurr. it- 'to go (away)'

(see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 28). Correspondences are regular. Abdokov (1983, 183) compares PAK **dəda-* 'to run (at once, momentarily)' (Ad., Kab. *dəda-n*), which is possible if we assume a secondary deglottalisation.

*-iŋV (~ -ē-) straight: Nakh. *-ēŋu-n; Av.-And. *-iŋ-; Tsez. *k^wetV-; Lak. *ŋaj-la-*; Lezg. *(?)iŋV- / *iŋVŋV-.

| Nakh. *-ēŋu-n flat: Chech. -*ōda*; Ing. -*eda*.

| Av.-And. *-iŋ- 1 straight 2 right, correct: Av. -*iŋ-ara-* 1; Chad. *bīta-ra-* 1; And. -*iŋi* 2; Akhv. -*iŋa-da* 1; Cham. -*iŋi-dda* 1; Tind. -*iŋ-iŋu-* 1; Kar. -*iŋo-* 1.

The stem is actually verbal, cf. Av. -*iŋ-* 'to straighten, become straight', and forms meaning 'straight' or 'correct' are participial or deverbal. Cf. also Kar. Tok. -*iŋu-bal*, Tind. -*iŋu-* 'right (of direction)', Tind. -*iŋiŋ-* 'to stand upright' (a compound with -*iŋ-* 'to stand'). Av. > Bezht. *biŋarab*, Inkh. *biŋtura-*.

| Tsez. *k^wetV- right (direct.): Tsez. *kuŋ-jo-s*; Gin. *k^wete-s*; Inkh. *k^wet-a-be*; Bezht. *keŋa-ŋas* (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *keŋa-s*.

PTsKh *k^wetV-; PGB *keŋa- (with locative suffixes). In PGB and Inkh. there occurred an assimilation (k^w- > k^w-). The stem is historically a compound of *k^wV- (oblique base of *k^wirV 'hand') + *(i)ŋV- 'straight, right'.

| Lak. *ŋaj-la-* straight.

Khosr. *ŋajla-s:a* id.

| Lezg. *(?)iŋV- / *iŋVŋV- 1 right 2 vertical, even: Kryz. *iŋ-b* 1; Ud. *t:ot:o-z* 2.

Udi reflects a reduplicated stem (typical for many adjectival roots).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*-iŋV to cut, to divide: Nakh. *t-iŋ- / *t-et-; Av.-And. *b-uŋV / *tubi; Tsez. *-iŋ-; Lak. *b-aŋul-*; Darg. *-uŋ-; Lezg. *(?)iŋV-.

| Nakh. *t-iŋ- / *t-et- 1 to cut in pieces 2 to interpret, explain, decide: Chech. *ted-* 1, *tit-* 2; Ing. *ted-* 1; Bacb. *teŋ-* / *tiŋ-* 1,2.

The stem *teŋ- is durative, *tiŋ- - terminative.

| Av.-And. *b-uŋV / *tubi part: Av. *buŋá*; Akhv. *tubi*; Cham. *tub*; Tind. *tubi*; Kar. *tube*; Bagv. *tub*; God. *tubi*.

The PA *tubi is a metathesis (< *b-uŋi), as seen from the Avar parallel. Av. *buŋá* was borrowed in some Andian languages (Akhv. Tseg., Kar. Rats. *buŋa*), as well as in Lak. (*buŋa* 'part'), Darg. (Ak., Ur., Kait., Kub., Tsud. *buŋa*) and Arch. (*buŋi* 'part').

| Tsez. *-iŋ- to divide: Tsez. -*et^w*- (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. -*iŋ-* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. -*iŋ-*.

PGB *-iŋ- (cf. also Bezht. *Khosh.* -*iŋ-*). The source of labialisation in Tsezi is not clear.

| Lak. *b-aŋul-* separate.

| Darg. *-uŋ- to divide, distribute: Ak. -*uŋ-* / -*uŋ-* (*Ur.*).

An old derivate is Chir. *b-iŋal* 'part, piece' (*buŋa* in most other dialects is probably a loanword from Avar).

| Lezg. *(?)iŋV- 1 to crack (nuts) 2 break 3 to tear, cut in pieces: Lezg. *eq:-et-* 1; Tab. *uŋ-* 3; Ag. *ja^c-t-* 2; Tsakh. -*et-a-* 2; Kryz. -*iŋ-* 3; Bud. *eŋ-* 3.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *k-u=ŋ-* 'to break off, tear off', *q:I-u=ŋ-* 'to tear off, pluck' (= Bud. *q:-e=ŋ-* id.), perhaps also Tsakh. *q-e=ŋa-* 'to touch', Kryz. (with Ablaut) *w-äŋ-* id., Arch. *xiŋ-bos* 'to push' (formally = Tsakh. *qeŋa-*). See Leksika 1971, 255.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root demonstrates different Ablaut grades (*-i/*-e/*-u-). The isomorphism between Av.-And. *b-uŋV 'part', Lak. *b-aŋul-* 'separate' and Darg. Chir. *b-iŋal* 'part' suggests that the derivate *w-iŋV (*w-uŋV) can also be reconstructed for PEC. Cf. also HU *iŋi- > Hurr. *tid-* 'to share out, to separate', *tidenni* 'sharing out, re-division of land', Urart. *iŋj-u/ošə* 'share, (movable) property' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 27).

*-iŋwŋUn to pull: Nakh. *-ōbŋ- (~ -l-, -ŋ-); Av.-And. *ŋ:(^w)an-; Lezg. *jiŋ:ŋ^wan-; W.-Cauc. *ŋ^wa- (~ *G^w-).

| Nakh. *-ōbŋ- (~ -l-, -ŋ-) to pull, stretch: Chech. -*ūl-*; Ing. -*uwl-*.

Absence of the Bacb. parallel does not allow to choose between PN *-ŋ-, *-l- or *-ŋ-.

| Av.-And. *ŋ:(^w)an- to pull: And. *ŋ:an-*.

Attested only in And., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *jiŋ:ŋ^wan- 1 to pull 2 to be pulled, slide: Lezg. *ç-ug^wa-* 1; Tab. *z-i=g-* 1; Ag. *d-iw-* 1; Tsakh. *git:-i=ŋan-* 2; Kryz. *jiŋn-* 1; Bud. *ji=n-* 1; Arch. *ŋun-* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. pret. *ç-ugu-na*; Tab. Kand., Düb. *z-i=ŋ-* (Lezg. and Tab. have expressive preverbs; with an analogous expressive preverb cf. Kryz. *çi=ŋn-* 'to slide'). With other preverbs cf. Ag. *fat:-iw-* 'to take away', *at:-iw-* 'to choose', *ad-(i)w-* 'to lift'; Bursh. *qad-iwa-* 'to pull', *ad-(i)wa-* 'to pull up, lift' (not quite clear is the loss of *-n-conjugation in Ag.). The Ablaut grade *joŋ:ŋ^wan- is reflected in Arch. *o=ŋin-* 'to be pulled out, to go out; to take away'.

The same root is used in Tab. to denote 'to press': lit. *ilz-i=g-*, Kand. *ilz-i=ŋ-*, Düb. *ilz-i=ŋ-*. This sheds light on related Agul forms with the same meaning (Bursh. *alazi-* < **alaz-ija-* < **iŋa-*, Rich. *alz-ira-s* < **alz-i=r=ŋa-s*), as well as on the Archi form *b-aŋlin-* (*b-aŋlm-us*) 'to press' (reflecting the stem *jəŋ:ŋ^wan- with petrified b-prefix and expressive pharyngealization).

| W.-Cauc. *ŋ^wa- (~ *G^w-) to plough ('pull the plough'): Abkh. *á-č^wa-ð^wa-ra*; Abaz. *č^wa-ð^wa-ra*.

PAT *c^wa-ŋ^wa- (etymology of the first part see under PWC *c:^wa). Besides this compound cf. perhaps also Abaz. *r-ð^wð^wa-ra* 'to stretch' (although it may be also analyzed as a derivate from *ð^wð^wa* 'straight, even').

[] Phonetically and semantically the etymology is satisfactory; however, the root is rather sparsely represented outside the Lezghian area, which makes it not very reliable.

*-iŋwŋĒ to die, to kill: Nakh. *-aŋ-; Av.-And. *-iŋ-; Tsez. *-iŋ-; Lak. -*i=ča-*; Darg. *-ibk-; Lezg. *(?)iŋe; Khin. *k-*; W.-Cauc. *ŋə-/ŋa-.

| Nakh. **aL-* to die: Chech. =*al-*; Ing. =*al-*; Bacb. =*al-ar*.

**L-* reconstructed on basis of Bacb. (Matsiyev) =*aλ-*, (Kadagidze) =*al-*. The present/future form is PN **la* (Chech., Ing., Bacb. *la*).

| Av.-And. **iλ-* to die: Av. =*alʔ-* (*Andal.*); Akhv. =*iλ-*; Kar. =*ilʔ-* (*Tok.*); Botl. =*iʔ-*.

With Ablaut cf. also Kar. =*oλ-* (Arch., Anch. =*olʔ-*) 'to be(come) ill', perhaps also And. *b-il-in-* 'to shoot' (although the -*n*-conjugation is not clear).

| Tsez. **iλ-* kill: Bezht. =*iλ-*; Gunz. =*iλ-*.

PGB **iλ-*. With Ablaut cf. perhaps also Bezht. (Tlad.) =*äλ-el-* 'to beat, to hit' (in Tlad. the root =*iλ-*, besides 'to kill' means also 'to throw').

| Lak. =*i-ça-* to die; to kill.

G. pr. =*i-ku-nu*.

| Darg. **ibk-* die: Ak. =*ebk-es*; Chir. =*ebk-* / =*ubk-*.

Cf. also Ur. =*ibk-/=ubk-*.

| Lezg. **iλe* die, kill: Lezg. *qi-*; Tab. *ji=k-*; Ag. *k-*; Rut. *ji=qe-*; Tsakh. *q-e=ke-*; Kryz. *qäj-*; Bud. *s-a=q-*; Arch. *ki-*; Ud. *bi-es*.

Other relevant forms: Lezg. inf. *r-eqi-z*, pret. *qe-na*, imper. *jiq*; Ag. Bursh. *ki-s*; Rut. plur. *-qirqa-s* (a form with reduplication and Ablaut). The word normally means both 'die' and 'kill'; in Tsakh. there is different prefixation (*q-eke-s* /dial. *q-ika-s*/ 'die', *g-eke-s* (dial. *g-ika-s*) 'kill'). In Udi 'kill' is a secondary causative formation: *bes-busun* (**biʔe-s-busun*). See Bokarev 1961, 63; Giginayshvili 1977, 103.

| Khin. *k-* to die.

| W.-Cauc. **λa-/λa-* 1 kill 2 die: Abkh. *a-š-rá* 1; Abaz. *š-ra* 1; Ad. *λa-n* 2; Kab. *λa-n* 2.

PWC **λa-* 'kill' > PAT **ša-*, PAK **λa-* (Ad. *λa-n* 'slaughter', Kab. *λa-n* 'kill'); **λa-* 'die' > PAK **λa-* id.

[] Most languages reflect the stem **-iwλE-* (with class prefixes; the variant without class prefixes is probably reflected in PN dur. stem **la-* with vowel reduction); the Ablaut grade **-uwλE* is reflected in some Lezg., And. languages and in Darg. See Abdokov 1983, 165. Some Lezghian languages reflect a derivate **iλi-n* > **λin* meaning 'oath' (cf. Lezg. *qin*, Tsakh. *kin*). It seems thus quite proper to compare HU forms: Hurr. *el(a)mə* 'oath', Urart. *elm-u/ošə* 'vow' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 33).

**-ixA* to be, become: Nakh. **-āχ-*; Lak. *xu-*; Darg. **-ax-*; Lezg. **iλi-*; W.-Cauc. **xV*.

| Nakh. **-āχ-* to live: Chech. =*āχ-*; Ing. =*aχ-*; Bacb. =*āχ-*.

| Lak. *xu-* to become, to happen; to be able, can.

G. pr. *xu-nu*. Cf. Khosr. *xu-n* id.

| Darg. **-ax-* to come: Chir. =*ax-*.

Used only in imperative ('come!'): =*aše*, plur. =*axa-ja*.

| Lezg. **iλi-* to be, to become: Lezg. *xu-*; Tab. *x-*; Ag. *x-*; Tsakh. =*ixe-*; Kryz. *xi-*; Bud. *jix-*.

Cf. in Lezg.: masd. *xu-n*, pret. *xa-na*, imper. *xux*; Tab. Kand. infin. *x-us*, imper. *ji=x*, perf. *ša-x-nu*; Tab. Düb. infin. *x-us*, imper. *jix*, perf. *q:a-x-nu*; Ag. Rich. inf. *x-as*, imper. *ux*, aor. *xu-ne*; Bursh. inf. *xi-s*, imper. *jix*, aor. *xi-naw*; Tsakh. pres. =*exe*, aor. =*ixa*, imper. =*ixe*; Kryz. inf. *xi-jiz*, aor. *xi-zi*, imper. =*ax*; Bud. pres. *jixə-ri*, aor. *sə=xə-zi*, imper. =*ax*. Tsakhur and Budukh are the only languages with a full, non-suppletive paradigm; all other languages usually combine this root with PL **iš:ā-* q.v. within a suppletive paradigm.

See Leksika 1971, 241; Giginayshvili 1977, 94.

| W.-Cauc. **xV* (~ *λ-*) to be, become: Abkh. -*χa-*; Abaz. -*χa-*; Ub. *šə*.

PAT **-xa-* (Bzyb. -*xa-*), used in compound verbs (cf. Abkh. *a-pša-rá* 'to have a price' - *a-pša-xa-rá* 'to become a price'; Abaz. *bargʷə* 'difficult' - *bargʷ-χa-ra* 'to become difficult' etc.; in Abaz. there occurs also a variant -*χ(ə)*, cf. *bá-χ-ra* 'to dry, become dry' etc.). Ub. *sə-šə-n*.

Shagirov (1,280;2,108) compares (with some doubt) Ub. *šə* with PAK **šə* (apparently used in some compounds with the meaning 'to become'), but concedes himself that phonetically such a comparison is impossible. Despite Dumézil 1938, 74 and Shagirov 2, 113, PAT **-xa-* can not be related to PAK **χʷə* 'to become' (for phonetic reasons).

[] Both phonetically and semantically the EC-WC parallel is quite plausible. See Trubetzkoy 1922, 238 (listing also Av. *λ:i-ze*, And. *λ:i-du* - forms that we were unable to identify); in Trubetzkoy 1930, 278 the EC verb is incorrectly compared with PAK **χʷə* 'to become' (see comments on p. 460).

**-ixA* to reap: Av.-And. **-iλ-*; Darg. **-irx-*; Lezg. **jiλV* (~ -*λ:-*);

W.-Cauc. **xə*.

| Av.-And. **-iλ-* to reap: Av. *λiλ-*; Kar. =*eλ-ihed-* (*Tok.*);

The Av. form is reduplicated.

| Darg. **-irx-* to reap: Ak. =*irš-es*; Chir. =*irx:-*.

Cf. also Ur. =*irš-* id. In PD we must reckon with a contamination of **-ix-* 'to reap' (originally without -*r-* and with a weak -*x-*) and **mirx-* 'sickle' (q.v.). The reflex -*š-* in Ak. and Ur. clearly points to a weak **-x-*, thus the Chirag -*x:-* is obviously secondary (under influence of *mirx-* 'sickle'). Cf. also another Chir. derivate: *arx:la* 'a crooked sickle'.

| Lezg. **jiλV* (~ -*λ:-*) 1 to reap 2 reaping 3 to mow: Ag. *ix-es* 1; Kryz. *jix-äž* 1; Bud. *s-ux-* (*s-ix-*) 1,3; Ud. *eχ* 2.

| W.-Cauc. **xə* to reap, mow: Abkh. *a-χ-rá*; Abaz. *χ-ra*; Ad. *xə-n*; Kab. *xə-n*; Ub. *šə*.

PAT **xə* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-x-rá*); PAK **xə* (trans.), **xa-* (intrans.: Ad., Kab. *xa-n*); Ub. sing. *a-s-šə-n*. The same root was used in PWC with the meaning 'saw, to saw', cf. PAT **xə* (Abkh. *a-χ-rá*, Abaz. *ʷə-χ-ra* 'to saw'), PAK **pə-xə* 'to saw' (Ad., Kab. *pəxə-*), **pχá-xə* 'saw' (Ad., Kab. *pχax*; **pχa* 'tree, wood'), Ub. *sə-šə* 'saw' (*sə* 'wood').

Despite Yakovlev 1941, 209-210, there is absolutely no connection with PAK **-xə* 'to take'. See Shagirov 2, 105, 40 (but PAK **pəxə* 'to saw' should be distinguished from the homonymous **pəxə* 'to take off (from the front of smth.)', which has a quite different WC etymology).

□ A very secure (both phonetically and semantically) common NC cultural term. See Abdokov 1983, 179. The alternative comparison (Balkarov 1964, 99) of the WC forms with Av. *q:~*-, PA **χ:an-* (note that Av. and PA are actually different roots) 'to mow' is untenable for phonetic reasons (the PWC velar can not correspond to a PEC uvular).

**-ixwV* to go, walk; to flow: Nakh. **-aχ-*; Av.-And. **-ix~*-; Darg. **-ix:(~)*-; Lezg. **?il~e*.

| Nakh. **-aχ-* walk, go: Chech. *-aχ-*; Ing. *-aχ-*; Bacb. *iχ-*.

This stem reveals 3 Ablaut grades in PN: a) **?iχ-* > Bacb. *iχ-* walk; flow; b) **?eχ-* > Chech. *?eχ-* id.; c) **-aχ-* > Chech. *-aχ-*, Ing. *-aχ-* id., Bacb. *-aχ-* go away.

| Av.-And. **-ix~*- 1 to walk, move 2 to gather 3 to return: Av. *x~a-d-* 1; And. *-iš-* 3; Cham. *-uh-* 2,3; Tind. *-uh-* 2,3.

Av. *x~a-d-* < **x~a-r-d-*, cf. early Andian loans: Tind. *x:~ard-*, Cham. *x~ard-id-* 'to walk'. Cf. also Cham. Gig. *-uh-* 'to gather'. Avar reflects stem II (**x~V-*), Andian languages - stem I (**-ix~*-).

| Darg. **-ix:(~)*- to go; to flow: Ak. *-ix-*.

Cf. Ur. *-ix-* / *-irx-* (0 conjugation) id.

| Lezg. **?il~e* 1 to walk, go 2 to come 3 to go away: Lezg. *fi-*; Tab. *ḡa-f-nu* (term.) 1; Rut. *h-ixi-r* (term.) 1; Tsakh. *q-i-xe-* 3; Kryz. *-ix-* 1, **u-x-* 2; Bud. *w-i-x-* (term).

Cf. Lezg. praet. *fe-na*. Labialization was lost (before a front vowel) in Rut., Tsakh., Kryz. and Bud., but is preserved in Kryz. after the preverb *ṡ-*. The verb reflects Ablaut grades **?il~e-* and **?oλ~e-*; the stem **?äλ~e-* is possibly present in Kryz. *ṡa-x-* 'to go down', *ṡajx-* 'to search' (= "to go walking for..."). Cf. also Kryz. *q:i-jx-* 'to return, to turn round'. See Leksika 1971, 249; Khaidakov 1973, 123.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. Av. reflects the Av.-And. "stage II" (with loss of initial vowel), with a durative suffix *-d-*. The Ablaut grade **-äxwV* is reflected in PN **?iχ-*.

**-iχV* to carry, bear: Nakh. **-aḥ-*; Av.-And. **-iχ-*; Tsez. **-əḡ:-* B; Lak. *-u=χ:i-*; Darg. **-iχ:-* / *-uχ:-*; Lezg. **?iχ:e-*; Khin. *äχ-wi*.

| Nakh. **-aḥ-* to carry, bear: Chech. *-aḥ-*; Ing. *-aḥ-*; Bacb. *-aḥ-*.

Cf. also PN **ho-*, the present / imperative stem of the same verb (Chech., Ing. *ho*, Bacb. *ho-*).

| Av.-And. **-iχ-* 1 to take 2 to carry 3 to buy 4 bundle: Chad. *h~e-* 2; And. *-iχ-* 1,2,3; Akhv. *-eχ-* 1,3; Cham. *-iχ-* 1,2,3; Tind. *-eχ-* 1,2,3; Kar. *-aḥ-* 1,3; Bagv. *rihir* 4 (Tlis.); God. *-aχ-* 1,3.

Cf. also Akhv. *rexe* (Tseg., Tlan. *rexer*) 'bundle, pack', Kar. *riher* id. The listed forms reflect the PA verb **-iχ-* (sometimes with Ablaut: **-aχ-* (~ *-oχ-*)) and the PA derivate **r-iχi-r* 'load'. On Av. *hir* 'sack, load' see under **χ[ä]l~V*.

The Andian languages also reflect a stem **-uχ-* 'to take away, carry away' (And., Cham., Tind. *-uχ-*), demonstrating another old Ablaut grade of the same verbal root.

| Tsez. **-əḡ:-* B 1 to take 2 to take away, to take off: Tsez. *əḡ-* (*Radzhibov*); Gin. *-uḡ-* 1; Khvarsh. *eḡ~* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *-aḡ-* (*Khosh.*) 2; Gunz. *-əh-* 2. PTsKh **-əḡ(ṡ)-*; PGB **-əḡ-*.

| Lak. *-u=χ:i-* to carry away, take away.

G. pr. *-u=χ:u-n* / *-u=χ:u-nu*. Cf. also dur. *χ:i-la-n* 'to carry, bear'; Khosr. *-u=χ:i-n*, dur. *χ:i-lla-n* id.

| Darg. **-iχ:-* / *-uχ:-* to carry, bear: Ak. *-iχ-es*.

Cf. the Ur. paradigm(s): *-uχ-* / *-iχ-* 'to carry' (3d pers.); *χ-* / *-iχ-* id. (non-3d pers.); dur. *arχ-*.

A PD derivate is **dex:* 'pack, burden': Ak. *dex*, Chir. *dex:*, Ur., Kub. *dix*.

| Lezg. **?iχ:e-* 1 to carry, bear 2 to drag, carry: Lezg. *ḡi-* 1; Tab. *χ-* 1; Ag. *χa-* 1; Rut. *-iχe-s* 1; Arch. *χ:e-* 1; Ud. *aχa-jesun* 2.

Cf. also Lezg. pret. *ḡa-na* and, with a devoicing preverb *t-*, *t-uχ-uz* 'to drag, carry'; Tab. Khür. *χ:-*; Ag. Bursh. *χi-s* (preserving the front Auslaut vowel), Tp. *ḡ-as*; Arch. dur. *orχ:i-r*. The verb belongs to the weak conjugation in PL. Most forms reflect the Ablaut grade **?iχ:e-* (frequently with a reduction of the first narrow vowel); the Ablaut grade **o* is attested in Arch. *orχ:i-r* and Lezg. *t-uχ-uz*; finally the Ablaut grade **ä* is possibly reflected in Ud. *aχa-*, as well as in Arch. *aχ:a* as 'to take away, move, take off'. See also notes to a similar PL root **?iχ(:)e-* 'to come, go'.

See Трыбецкой 1930, 87; Leksika 1971, 263; Giginayshvili 1977, 121.

| Khin. *äχ-wi* to carry, lead.

Used also with preverbs (*l-äχ-wi* et al.).

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is widely represented in two basic Ablaut grades: **-iχV* (or, without class prefixes, **?iχV-* > **χV-*) and **-üχV*. We can also reconstruct a PEC derivate **r-[ä]χV* 'load, burden' (reflected in PD **dex:*, PA **riχi-r*, see above). (Note that PTs **-əḡ:-* may represent a contamination of this root and PNC **-HēlχU* q.v., which would explain the meanings 'take away, take off' in Tsezian languages). Cf. also HU: Hurr., Urart. *χa-* 'to take (away, etc.)', see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 61.

Other possible derivates from the same root are PNC **mōχV* 'pack, bundle' q.v. (if it is, it contains the rare instrumental prefix **m-*), and PEC **χ[ä]l~V* 'burden, bundle' q.v.

**-iχV* to win: Lak. *-uχ:i-n*; Lezg. **?iχe-* (~ *-χä-*).

| Lak. *-uχ:i-* to win.

G. pr. *-u=χ:u-n*. Cf. also the adjective *χ:uw-s:a* 'superior (in force)', *χ:uw xun* 'to win'.

| Lezg. **?iχe-* (~ *-χä-*) to win: Tab. *χ-*; Arch. *χe-*.

Archi reflects also a reduplicated stem, cf. dur. *χerχi-r*, imper. *χexi*.

□ A Lak-Lezg. isogloss.

**-iχwA* to ask, speak; to search: Nakh. **-ēχ-*; Lezg. **?iχ~a*; W.-Cauc. **χ~a*.

| Nakh. $\ast\text{-}\dot{\epsilon}\chi\text{-}$ to ask: Chech. $\text{=}\dot{\epsilon}\chi\text{-}$; Ing. $\text{=}\epsilon\chi\text{-}$; Bacb. $\text{=}\epsilon\chi\text{-}$.

The root is obviously connected with two other PN verbal stems: $\ast\text{-}l\text{-}a\chi\text{-}$ (term.) / $\ast\text{-}l\text{-}\dot{\epsilon}\chi\text{-}$ (dur.) 'to search' (Chech. $la\chi\text{-}$ / $l\dot{\epsilon}\chi\text{-}$, Ing., Bacb. $la\chi\text{-}$ / $l\epsilon\chi\text{-}$) and $\ast\text{-}b\text{-}\dot{a}\chi\text{-}$ 'to speak, talk, tell' (Chech. $b\dot{a}\chi\text{-}$).

| Lezg. $\ast\text{-}i\chi^w a$ 1 to speak 2 to read 3 to sing: Tab. $u=\chi\text{-}$ 2; Ag. $wa\text{-}\chi^w a\text{-}$ 1 (*Bursh.*); Kryz. $u\chi\text{-}$ 1,2; Bud. $s\text{-}u\chi\text{-}$ 1,2; Arch. $\chi a\text{-}$ (*bus*) 3.

In Ag. Rich. we have $ru\chi\text{-}$ 'to read', in Lezg. $ra\chi a\text{-}$ 'to speak': $r\text{-}$ in these forms is a result of merging two roots (PL $\ast\text{-}i\chi^w a$ 'speak, read' and PL $\ast\text{-}r\dot{a}\chi^w a(r)$ 'to sound, resound', opposed in Ag. Bursh.: $wa\text{-}\chi^w a\text{-}$ 'speak' vs. $ru\chi a\text{-}$ 'howl, wail; read').

See Khaidakov 1973, 145.

| W.-Cauc. $\ast\text{-}\chi^w a$ 1 to ask 2 to search: Abkh. $\acute{a}\text{-}\dot{h}^w a\text{-}r\acute{a}$ 1; Abaz. $\dot{h}^w a\text{-}ra$ 1; Ad. $\lambda\text{-}\chi^w a\text{-}n$ 2; Kab. $\lambda\text{-}\chi^w a\text{-}n$ 2; Ub. $\chi^w a\text{-}$ 1.

PAT $\ast\text{-}h^w a$ (with accent variation in Abkh.); PAK $\ast\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\chi^w a\text{-}$ / $\ast\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\chi^w a\text{-}$ (on the distribution of the two forms and the proverbial nature of $\ast\text{-}\lambda\text{-}$ see Shagirov 1,256); Ub. $s\text{-}\chi^w a\text{-}n$ (Shagirov ibid. compares Ub. $\chi^w \acute{a}\text{-}\acute{c}a\text{-}$ / $\chi^w a\text{-}\acute{c}a\text{-}$ 'to search' - which obviously contains the same root). In Adygh cf. also $\ast\text{-}\chi^w a\text{-}psa\text{-}$ 'to envy' ('ask' + 'soul') > Ad., Kab. $\chi^w a\text{-}psa\text{-}$.

[] The root is sometimes difficult to distinguish from a similar root with $\ast\text{-}qw\text{-}$ (see $\ast\text{-}Hreqw\dot{A}r$), because $\ast\text{-}qw$ and $\ast\text{-}\chi w$ have merged in PL and PWC, which could have resulted in a complete or partial merger of the roots. See Abdokov 1983, 177-178, 184.

$\ast\text{-}i\chi^w V$ (~ -q-) to go, to come, to enter: Tsez. $\ast\text{-}u\chi\text{-}$; B; Lak. $\text{=}u=\chi\text{-}a\text{-}$; Lezg. $\ast\text{-}i\chi(:)\epsilon$ (~ -i); Khin. $\text{=}\chi i$.

| Tsez. $\ast\text{-}u\chi\text{-}$; B to come: Tsez. $ne\chi w\text{-}$; Gin. $no\chi\text{-}$; Khvarsh. $\text{=}i\chi w\text{-}$; Inkh. $\text{=}u\chi\text{-}$. PTsKh $\ast\text{-}u\chi\text{-}$.

| Lak. $\text{=}u=\chi\text{-}a\text{-}$ to enter.

G. pr. $\text{=}u=\chi\text{-}u\text{-}n$. Cf. Khosr. $\text{=}u=\chi\text{-}a\text{-}n$ id. In the imperative mood ($\text{=}u\chi\text{-}u$) the root is also used with the meaning 'to come'.

| Lezg. $\ast\text{-}i\chi(:)\epsilon$ (~ -i) 1 to enter 2 to come 3 to go: Ag. $\chi i\text{-}$ 3 (*Bursh.*); Rut. $\text{-}i\dot{r}i\chi$ 3 (*imper.*); Kryz. $\text{-}\chi\acute{a}(ri)$ 2; Bud. $\text{-}\chi a(ri)$ 2.

In Ag. the root is also used with different preverbs as part of the suppletive paradigm of the verbs 'to come' and 'to enter', for building the infinitive and aorist forms ($h\text{-}\chi i\text{-}s$ 'to come', $\chi i\text{-}s$ 'to enter'). In Kryz. and Bud. the root is used only within a compound with PL $\ast\text{-}i\dot{s}\text{-}e\text{-}$ (q.v.), in the present and prohibitive forms (Kryz. $\text{'}u\dot{s}\text{-}\chi\acute{a}\text{-}ri$, proh. $\text{'}um\dot{a}\dot{s}\text{-}\chi\acute{a}$ 'to come', Bud. $\text{'}a\dot{s}\text{-}\chi a\text{-}ri$, proh. $\text{'}ama\dot{s}\text{-}\chi ar$ 'to come, to enter'). Cf. perhaps also Bud. $\dot{q}\text{-}a=\chi\text{-}$ 'to find' ($\ast\text{-}\text{'come upon}$).

There is some confusion in PL between this root and $\ast\text{-}i\chi\text{-}e\text{-}$ 'to carry' (q.v.): they are, in fact, opposed only in Rutul - but even here they can be viewed as reflecting different Ablaut grades of a single root (for the motion verb cf. also Rut. $q\text{-}l\text{-}a\chi i\text{-}$ (term.) 'to go away' / with pharyngealization on analogy with the suppletive dur. stem $q\text{-}l\text{-}u\delta l u\text{-}$ < PL $\ast\text{-}i\dot{q}\text{-}l\text{-}\acute{u}\text{-}$ q.v./, imper. $q\text{-}i\text{-}r i\chi$). In Agul the meaning 'to carry, bring' is typical for the Richa dialect ($\chi\text{-}as$), while the meaning 'to come' is typical for Burshag ($\chi i\text{-}s$), where the meaning 'to carry' is rendered as $wa\text{-}\chi i\text{-}s$ with a

preverb. External evidence, however, suggests that this situation is due to confusion of similar PEC roots: $\ast\text{-}i\chi V$ 'to carry' and $\ast\text{-}i\chi w V$ 'to go, come'.

| Khin. $\text{=}\chi i$ to go.

Used within the suppletive paradigm together with $\text{-}\dot{b}i$ q.v.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In the Lezg.-Khin. area the root is used only as a part of suppletive paradigms of other motion verbs.

$\ast\text{-}i\dot{z} V$ to spin: Nakh. $\ast\text{-}\dot{o}\dot{c}\text{-}$; Tsez. $\ast\text{-}\dot{i}\dot{c}\text{-}$ B; Darg. $\ast\text{-}V(r)z\text{-}$; Lezg. $\ast\text{-}i\dot{c}\text{-}V$.

| Nakh. $\ast\text{-}\dot{o}\dot{c}\text{-}$ 1 to weave 2 to plait 3 to tie, bind: Chech. $\text{=}\dot{o}z\text{-}$ 1; Ing. $\text{=}uwz\text{-}$ 2; Bacb. $\text{=}\dot{o}\dot{c}\text{-}$ 3.

Ingush reflects a form with an infix ($\ast\text{-}\dot{o}\text{-}b\text{-}\dot{c}\text{-}$). Cf. also PN $\ast\text{-}h\text{-}\dot{a}b\dot{c}\text{-}$ > Chech. $\dot{h}owz\text{-}$ 'to spin; turn round', Ing. $\dot{h}owz\text{-}$ id.

| Tsez. $\ast\text{-}\dot{i}\dot{c}\text{-}$ B to bind, to tie: Tsez. $\text{=}\dot{i}\dot{c}\text{-}$; Khvarsh. $\text{=}\dot{a}\dot{c}\text{-}$; Inkh. $\text{=}\dot{o}\dot{c}\text{-}$; Bezht. $\text{=}\dot{i}\dot{c}\text{-}$ (*Tlad.*); Gunz. $\text{=}\dot{i}\dot{c}\text{-}$.

PTsKh $\ast\text{-}\dot{a}\dot{c}\text{-}$; PGB $\ast\text{-}\dot{i}\dot{c}\text{-}$.

| Darg. $\ast\text{-}V(r)z\text{-}$ to spin: Chir. $\text{=}\dot{e}rz\text{-}$ / $\text{=}\dot{u}z\text{-}$.

| Lezg. $\ast\text{-}i\dot{c}\text{-}V$ to spin: Ag. $ut\text{-}$; Tsakh. $il\text{-}\dot{e}\text{-}t\text{-}a\text{-}$.

The verb is attested only in Ag. and Tsakh. There are, however, some nominal derivatives in other languages: Rut. $\dot{d}in$ 'wool', Ag. $t\text{-}un$ 'thread' (PL $\ast\text{-}(i)\dot{c}\text{-}o\text{-}n$); Arch. $i\dot{c}$ (erg. $i\dot{c}\text{-}i$) 'goat's wool' (PL $\ast\text{-}i\dot{c}\text{-}$).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The source of PTs nasalisation is not clear; otherwise correspondences are regular.

$\ast\text{-}i\dot{z} w V\dot{t}$ to fall, crumble; stumble, slide: Nakh. $\ast\text{-}\dot{o}\dot{z}\text{-}$; Av.-And. $\ast\text{-}z^w il\text{-}$ / $\ast\text{-}z^w ir\text{-}$; Tsez. $\ast\text{-}us\text{-}$ (~ -z-, -z:-); Lak. $zi\text{-}zi\text{-}$; Darg. $\ast\text{-}i\dot{z}\text{-}$ (~ -z-).

| Nakh. $\ast\text{-}\dot{o}\dot{z}\text{-}$ to fall: Chech. $\text{=}\dot{o}\dot{z}\text{-}$; Ing. $\text{=}\dot{o}z\text{-}$; Bacb. $\text{=}\dot{o}\dot{z}\text{-}$.

Dur. $\ast\text{-}\dot{e}b\dot{z}\text{-}$ is reflected in Bacb. $\text{=}\dot{e}b\dot{z}\text{-}$ 'to fall'.

| Av.-And. $\ast\text{-}z^w il\text{-}$ / $\ast\text{-}z^w ir\text{-}$ 1 to slide 2 to slip 3 to rub, rumple: Av. $zur\text{-}$ 3; Chad. $zur\text{-}$ 3; Cham. $zod\text{-}$ 1; Tind. $zol\text{-}$ 2; Kar. $zor\text{-}$ 1.

Cf. also Tind. $z^w \dot{e}\text{-}$ 'to ski, to slide', Kar. Anch. $zor\text{-}d\text{-}$ 'to slide'. Av. > Bezht. $zurzi\text{-}ow\text{-}$ 'to rub'.

| Tsez. $\ast\text{-}us\text{-}$ (~ -z-, -z:-) to roll, whirl; to run: Bezht. $\text{=}\dot{u}z\text{-}$ (*Khosh.*).

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. $zi\text{-}zi\text{-}$ to crumble, fall apart.

G. pr. $zi\text{-}zu\text{-}nu$. Cf. Khosr. $z^w i\text{-}z^w i\text{-}n$ 'to be scattered'.

| Darg. $\ast\text{-}i\dot{z}\text{-}$ (~ -z-) to crumble, fall apart: Chir. $\text{=}\dot{i}z\text{-}$ / $\text{=}\dot{i}lz\text{-}$.

Cf. also Chir. $\text{=}\dot{i}z\text{-}$ in $\text{=}\dot{i}ze\text{-}$ $\text{=}\dot{a}q\text{-}$ 'to pour, strew, scatter'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

$\ast\text{-}i\dot{z} w Vn$ to filter; to suck: Av.-And. $\ast\text{-}i\dot{c}\text{-}^w Vn\text{-}$ / $\ast\text{-}\dot{c}\text{-}^w Vn\text{-}$; Darg. $\ast\text{-}umz\text{-}$; Lezg. $\ast\text{-}i\dot{c}\text{-}^w \dot{a}n\text{-}$.

| Av.-And. $\ast\text{-}i\dot{c}\text{-}^w Vn\text{-}$ / $\ast\text{-}\dot{c}\text{-}^w Vn\text{-}$ 1 to filter 2 to suck: And. $\dot{c}\text{-}un\text{-}$ 2; Akhv. $\dot{c}\text{-}on\text{-}$ 1; Cham. $\text{=}\dot{u}\dot{s}\text{-}$ 1, $\dot{s}un\text{-}$ 2; Tind. $\text{=}\dot{u}\dot{c}\text{-}\dot{i}\text{-}l\text{-}\dot{c}\text{-}un\text{-}$ 2; Kar. $\text{=}\dot{u}\dot{c}\text{-}an\text{-}$ 1.

Stem I ($\ast\text{-}i\dot{c}\text{-}^w Vn\text{-}$) is reflected in Cham., Tind. and Kar. (cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Ratl., Tlan. $\text{=}\dot{u}\dot{c}\text{-}$); stem II ($\ast\text{-}\dot{c}\text{-}^w Vn\text{-}$) - in Northern Akhvakh, as well as

in Tind. *c:un-* 'to wring out, squeeze out; to suck', Cham. *ʃun-* (Gig., Gad. *ç:un-*) 'to suck', And. *ç:un-* id. With secondary denasalisation here may belong also Tind. *c:ab-d-* 'to shrink, contract' (< **c:ʷVb-* < **c:ʷVm-*; an intransitive counterpart of *c:un-*).

| Darg. **umz-* to filter: Ak. *umʔ-es*.

| Lezg. **ʔiç:ʷän-* 1 to filter 2 to sift 3 to suck: Tab. *k-a=c:-* (Khiv.); Bud. *ʔ-atn-*; Arch. *çum-(mus)* 2; Ud. *c:um* 3.

Cf. also Bud. pret. *ʔa-tin-ži*. The Tab. and Bud. form contain preverbs. In Arch. the original tense **ç:* is revealed in the reduplicated present form *çemç:in*. Cf. also the nominal derivate Arch. *çom* 'sieve'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In some languages reflexes of **ʔiʒwVn* and **ʔiʒur* (q.v.) are rather hard to distinguish, but in general these roots should be strictly kept apart from each other.

**-içĩ* brother, sister: Nakh. **wašo*, **jašo*; Av.-And. **woc:i*, **joc:i*; Tsez. **ʔis:* A (/ʔʔis:Vju); Lak. *us:u*, *s:u*; Darg. **ʔuc:i*, **ruc:i*; Lezg. **čʷij*, **čij* / **ričij*; Khin. *c:i*, *rici*; W.-Cauc. **čʷə* (/ʔʔʷə).

| Nakh. **wašo*, **jašo* 1 brother 2 sister: Chech. *waša* 1, *jiša* 2; Ing. *woša* 1, *jiša* 2; Bacb. *waš* 1, *jaš* 2.

Not clear is the voicing in plural forms: Chech. *wežarij*, *jizarij*; Ing. *wežarij*, *jizarij*; Bacb. *wažar*, *jažar* < PN **w-aže-r(V)*, **j-aže-r(V)*.

| Av.-And. **woc:i*, **joc:i* 1 brother 2 sister: Av. *wac:* 1, *jac:* 2; Chad. *wac* 1, *jac* 2; And. *woc:i* 1, *joc:i* 2; Akhv. *wac:i* 1, *jac:i* 2; Cham. *wac* 1, *jac* 2; Tind. *wac:i* 1, *jac:i* 2; Kar. *wac:i* 1, *jac:i* 2; Botl. *wac:i* 1, *jac:i* 2; Bagv. *was:* 1, *jas:* 2; God. *wac:i* 1, *jac:i* 2.

In Av. and Akhv. the forms with **b-* are also attested: Av. *bac:*, Akhv. *bac:i* 'brother/sister (of an animal)'.

| Tsez. **ʔis:* A (/ʔʔis:Vju) 1 brother 2 sister: Tsez. *esiju* / *esju* 1,2; Gin. *essu* 1,2; Khvarsh. *es* 1,2; Inkh. *is* 1,2; Bezht. *is* 1, *isi* 2; Gunz. *is* 1,2.

PTsKh **ʔis* / **ʔiseju*; PGB **ʔis* / **ʔisi(j)*. In all modern Tsezian languages except Bezhta the stem denotes both 'brother' and 'sister' (the difference being only in agreement: 'brother' belongs to the 1st class, 'sister' - to the second). It is possible, however, that Bezht. preserves the old PTs opposition between **ʔis:* 'brother' and **ʔis:Vju* 'sister' (confused in all other languages).

The oblique stem of the word is well reconstructable for PTs as **ʔis:-ʔi-*: Inkh. *isʔi-*, Bezht. *isʔi-*, Gunz. *isʔi-*.

| Lak. *us:u*, *s:u* 1 brother 2 sister.

Cf. Khosr. *us:ʷu* 'brother', *s:u* 'sister'.

| Darg. **ʔuc:i*, **ruc:i* 1 brother 2 sister: Ak. *uzi* 1, *ruzi* 2; Chir. *uc:e* 1, *ruc:e* 2.

Cf. also Ur. *uzi*, *ruzi*, Kub. *uc:e*, *juc:e*, Tsud. *uc:i*, *ruc:i*.

| Lezg. **čʷij*, **čij* / **ričij* 1 brother 2 sister: Tab. *čʷi* 1, *či* 2; Ag. *ču* 1, *či* 2; Rut. *šu* 1, *riši* 2; Tsakh. *čo-z* 1, *juči* 2; Kryz. *ši-d* 1, *ši-dir* 2; Bud. *ši-d* 1, *ši-dir* 2; Arch. *ušdu* 1, *došdur* 2; Ud. *wiči* 1, *χun-či* 2.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *čʷuj*, Fit. *kūj*, Burk. *ču* 'brother', Tsakh. Tsakh. *čož* 'brother', *jiči* 'sister', Arch. plur. *oš-ob* (both for 'brother' and 'sister'). The most archaic form for 'brother' is Ud. *wiči* < **u-Včij* (= PA **woc:i*, PN **wašo* etc.). Other Lezghian languages normally reflect a contracted form **čʷij*. The Shakhdag and Archi forms reflect a suffixed form **čʷij-t:V-u* (for Archi more suitable is possibly a protoform with a double 1st class marker: **u-Včij-t:V-u* > *uš-du*). It is interesting to note a specific reduplicated oblique stem in Tab. and Ag.: Tab. *čʷiç:ʷi-*, Ag. *čuč:u-* (Fit. *k:ūk:ū*, Burk. *č:uč:u-*), which is reflected also (already as direct) in Tsakh. *čož* / *čoz*. For 'sister' some Lezghian languages reflect a prefixed

stem **r-ičij* (= PD **ruc:i*, Khin. *rici*), thus Rut. *riši*, Tsakh. *jučt / jiči*, Arch. *doš-dur* (< **r-iči-t:V-r*, with a double class marker as in 'brother'). Most languages, however, reflect a prefixless stem **čij* (or, with secondary adjectival suffixation, **čij-t:V-r*, as Kryz., Bud. *sidir*). The Udi form *χun-či* is a compound with *χun(i)* 'female'. Again, Tab. and Ag. have a reduplicated oblique base: Tab. *čič:u-*, Ag. *čič:i-*.

See Bokarev 1961, 70; Leksika 1971, 128, 133; Giginayshvili 1977, 95.

| Khin. *c:i*, *rici* 1 brother 2 sister.

| W.-Cauc. **čwə* (/ **čwə*) brother: Ad. *sə*; Kab. *q:wə-s*; Ub. *čə-lá*.

PAK **čə*. Kab. *q:wə-s* < **q:wə-čə* 'son+brother', cf. Ad. *q:wə-s* 'own brother, brother having the same family name'. Reason for voicing **čw* > **č* > *č* in the Ub. form is not quite clear (cf. perhaps the irregular voicing in plural in PN?).

PAT **aša* 'brother' should be kept separate and traced back (together with Ub. *-la*) to another PWC root, **χa* q.v.

[] One of the most stable and widely spread NC kinship terms with changing class prefixes. It is also preserved in HU, cf. Hurr. *še-ni* 'brother' (despite another etymology given in Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 43, the word most probably belongs here).

Two basic original forms must be reconstructed as **u-iči(jV)* 'brother' (with frequent further development > **čwījV* or **čwījV*; exactly this form is reflected, e.g., in PL and PWC), and **j-iči(jV)* 'sister' (sometimes with a similar contraction > **čijV*). The arising of the new feminine class prefix **r-* in the Eastern area led to a new formation **r-iči(jV)* 'sister', reflected in Darg., Khin. and part of Lezghian languages.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 278, Rogava 1956, Balkarov 1969, Shagirov 1, Abdokov 1983, 87. Despite Charaya 1912 and Yakovlev 1941, Kartvelian words for 'brother' (Megr. *žima*, Georg. *zma*) and 'son' (*šwili*) have nothing to do with PNC **-iči*.

**-iraLV* stomach; rennet, abomasum: Av.-And. **-iχ:u*; Tsez. **beχ* A; Lak. *č:arlu*; Darg. **-ark:*; Lezg. **wiraχ*.

| Av.-And. **-iχ:u* 1 stomach 2 rennet, abomasum: And. *boχ:i* 2; Akhv. *biχ:i* 2; Cham. *beχ:w* 2; Tind. *beχ:u* 1,2; Kar. *meχ:u* 1.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *reχ:u* with another old class prefix (PA **b-iχ:u* / **r-iχ:u*). The vocalism in And. is unclear.

| Tsez. **beχ* A rennet, abomasum: Tsez. *biχ*; Gin. *biχ*; Khvarsh. *beχ* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *beχ*; Bezht. *beχ* (*Khosh*); Gunz. *beχ*.

PTsKh **beχ*, PGB **beχ*.

| Lak. *č:arlu* kidney.

| Darg. **-ark:* 1 stomach 2 inside: Ak. *-arg*; Chir. *bark:w-la-ne* 2.

A noun with changing class prefixes (*d-arg*, *b-arg*). Cf. also Ur. *-arγ* (*d-arγ*, *b-arγ*) id.

| Lezg. **wiraχ*: 1 rennet, abomasum 2 rennet ferment: Lezg. *giraw* 1 (*Khl.*); Ag. *uraj* 1; Rut. *γiriγ* 1; Tsakh. *wəγ* 1; Arch. *baχ*.

Arch. *baχ* < **barχ* (with a vowel reduction). Cf. also Ag. Bursh., Burk.

uraj, Fit. *čuri* (< **uriγ*), Tsakh. *wiγag*. Rut. *γiriγ* < **wiriγ* through assimilation.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of the body part names with historically changing class prefixes (preserved in Darg. and traced in other subgroups). The rare trisyllabic root underwent reduction (> **-irLV* or **-arLV*) in most subgroups (except PL), and metathesis in Lak.

**-išwĖ* son, daughter: Av.-And. **w-ošo*, **j-oši*; Tsez. **ožə* (~ *-ž:-*); Lak. *ars*; Darg. **urši* (~ *-š:-*); Lezg. **-uš:*; Khin. *ši*, *riši*; W.-Cauc. **šwə*.

| Av.-And. **w-ošo*, **j-oši* 1 son 2 daughter: Av. *w-as* 1, *j-as* 2; Chad. *waša* 1, *jaša* 2; And. *wošo* 1, *joši* 2; Akhv. *waša* 1, *jaše* 2; Cham. *waha* 1, *jah* 2; Tind. *waha* 1, *jaha* 2; Kar. *waša* 1, *jaše* 2; Botl. *waša* 1, *ješi* 2; Bagv. *waša* 1, *jaš* 2; God. *waša* 1, *jaši* 2.

The root has changeable class affixes (*w-* for the 1st class, *j-* for the second). Variation of final vowels (neutralized in Av., Akhv. and Tind.) can be explained by former class suffixation (paralleling class prefixation: **w-ošV-w* > *wošo*, **j-ošV-j* > *joši*). Masculine and feminine forms are neutralized in Av., Akhv. and Tind. Note that there are also forms reflecting PA **b-ošV* 'child of animals' (Akhv. *baša*, And. *boši* etc.). In Akhv. there also exists a form *r-eša* meaning 'heifer' ('daughter of animal'), paralleling PL **ruš:* and especially PGB **riže* 'heifer'.

The word for 'woman' in And. (*joškwa*) is a contraction of *joši+hekwa* 'girl+person'.

| Tsez. **ožə* (~ *-ž:-*) son, boy: Tsez. *užu* / *uži*; Gin. *uži*; Khvarsh. *uža*; Inkh. *užo*; Bezht. *ožo*; Gunz. *ože*.

PTsKh **užə*, PGB **ožə*. PTs **ož(:)ə* must go back to an earlier **ižwa*; cf. also PTs **r-iž(w)ə* reflected in PGB **riže* 'heifer' (Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *riže*, Gunz. *riže*; = Akhv. *r-eša* id.).

| Lak. *ars* son.

| Darg. **urši* (~ *-š:-*) boy, son: Ak. *urši*.

Cf. also Ur. *urši* 'son'.

| Lezg. **-uš:* 1 daughter 2 newborn daughter 3 newborn son: Lezg. *ruš* 1; Tab. *riš* 1; Ag. *ruš* 1; Rut. *riš* 1; Tsakh. *jiš* 1; Kryz. *riš* 1; Bud. *riž* 1; Arch. *diš-du-r* 2.

Most Lezghian languages reflect only the feminine form **r-uš:* (obl. base *r-uš:a-*, cf. Lezg. *ruša-*, Ag. *ruša-*, Rut. *rišə-*); cf. also Tab. Düb. *riš:i*, Ag. Bursh. *ruš:*. The only language that has preserved the old opposition between **r-uš:* 'daughter' and **u-uš:* 'son' is Archi (cf. Arch. *wiš-du* 'newborn son'). Some languages have preserved, however, the archaic prefixless plural form **š:i-p:V* (cf. Tab. pl. *šu-bar*, Ag. pl. *ši-bar*, Kryz. pl. *ši-bi*). [Not quite clear morphologically is Tab. *šiw* 'woman', perhaps corresponding to *-š:e* in Tsakh. *xuna-š:e* id. It seems to contain a masculine class marker **-u*, but has a feminine meaning.]

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 194; Leksika 1971, 109, 129; Giginayshvili 1977, 120; Talibov 1960a, 294.

| Khin. *ši*, *riši* 1 son 2 girl, daughter.

| W.-Cauc. *š^wa 1 son 2 youth, young boy: Ad. šā-wa 2; Kab. šā-wa 1.

PAK *ša-wá. We can discover the same root (with the original meaning "to bear") in Ad. šā-λ(a) 'placenta', χ^wə-ša-n 'childbirth fits'. PAK *š regularly goes back to PWC *š^w.

[] See Abdokov 1983, 89. Cf. also Urart. aršə 'young people, children' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 36). One of the widely spread nominal stems with changing class prefixes. The WC evidence suggests that it may have been originally verbal ("to bear"), but in all modern languages it is used only as a noun. Phonetic correspondences are quite regular; the only problem is Lak. -s (-š would be expected normally). The seemingly classless forms (PTs *oza, Lak. ars, PD *urši, Khin. ši) reflect the PEC form with the weak male class prefix *u=išwĒ; the only form which can reflect an original prefixless stem is the PL plural *š:i-p:V (< *š^wi-bV). In Lak., Darg. and Urart. the stem obtained a secondary medial -r- (no trace of it in any other language); it can not be a feminine class affix, because the word means only 'son, boy' in these languages. This -r- probably reflects an oblique stem with the *-rV suffix (*išwĒ-rV- > *īršwV).

*jājV mother, grandmother: Av.-And. *jaja; Tsez. *ijV; Lezg. *jaj.

| Av.-And. *jaja grandmother: And. jaja (Tsertsvadze).

A nursery word, attested only in And., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *ijV mother: Gin. ijo; Bezht. ijo; Gunz. iju.

PGB *iju. It is not quite clear, whether we should also relate here Khvarsh., Inkh. išu 'mother' (< *ij-su with an expressive suffix?).

| Lezg. *jaj mother: Lezg. ja^o (Khl.); Tsakh. jed; Arch. ej-t:ur.

In Arch. cf. erg. ej-mi. Tsakh. je-d historically = Arch. ej-t:u-r (with an adjectival suffix, typical for Archi kinship terms). A nursery word, but having probable external parallels.

[] A nursery word (like many EC kinship terms). As far as the Andian form is concerned, regularity of correspondences is violated (*j should not be preserved in PA), which is not surprising in a word like this. The PTs - PL parallelism, however, makes the PEC reconstruction probable.

*jā[1]λwV wooden shovel: Tsez. *āku; Lezg. *jirλ^w.

| Tsez. *āku wooden shovel: Tsez. aku; Gin. aku; Khvarsh. āku; Inkh. āku; Bezht. āko; Gunz. ēgu.

PTsKh *āku; PGB *ā[1]ku (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. ākə, Khosh. ākə; not quite clear is ē instead of ā in Gunz.).

| Lezg. *jirλ^w 1 wooden shovel 2 back: Lezg. jirf 1; Tab. jirf 1, jirf-ar 2; Ag. irf-ar 2; Rut. jif 1.

Cf. also Tab. Dūb. jirf. 4th class in Rutul. Obl. base unknown.

See Khaidakov 1973, 68.

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss. Correspondences are quite regular, except that we should rather expect a loss of medial resonant in PL; there must have occurred an early dissimilation *jālλwV > *jārλwV.

*jalχa(-nV) whetstone, grindstone; saw: Av.-And. *χanu (~ q-,o-); Lak. bajlaχ:i; Darg. *alχana; Lezg. *jaχal.

| Av.-And. *χanu (~ q-,o-) whetstone: Av. χonó; Cham. χan^w; Tind. χanu; Kar. χanu (Anch.); Bagv. han; God. χanu.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. χanu, Kar. Tok. hanu id. The root should be strictly distinguished from PA *qonu 'egg' (merger of these two roots in some languages is purely coincidental).

| Lak. bajlaχ:i whetstone, grindstone.

Cf. Khosr. bajlaχ:i id.

| Darg. *alχana saw: Chir. alχane.

Cf. also Kub. *alxana* 'file'.

| Lezg. **jaχal(a)* (~ -l:-) whetstone, grindstone: Tab. *aχal*; Ag. *jaχal*; Rut. *jiχal*; Tsakh. *jaχal* (Gelm.).

3d class in Rut. and Tsakh.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Some features (reduction of the initial syllable in PA, Lak. *b- /bajlaχ:i < *bV-jalχV/*) suggest that the stem may be deverbal; the original verbal root, however, is not attested (cf. perhaps Inkh. *χe-* "to saw" - isolated within Tsezian?).

**jamdurV* (~-ə-, -ö-) thigh, hip: Darg. **art:ur* / **urt:ur*; Lezg. **jatur*.

| Darg. **art:ur* / **urt:ur* thigh, hip: Ak. *urdur*; Chir. *urt:ur*.

Cf. also Kait. *art:ul* (the form pointing to **a*; in other dialects probably **a > u* by assimilation with the following vowel), Kub. *ūt:uj*, Kharb., Tsud. *urt:ur* etc.

| Lezg. **ja(m)tur* 1 thigh, hip 2 foot, leg: Lezg. *jatur* 1; Tab. *jatur* 1; Kryz. *jetir* 1; Bud. *jotur* 1; Ud. *tur* 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *jatur* 'thigh, hip'. 4th class in Shakhdagh. The medial resonant is not reflected anywhere (in the combination *-mt- it could have been preserved as -nt- only in Arch.), but may be postulated on external evidence.

See Khaidakov 1973, 29.

[] A Darg.-Lezg. isogloss. The correspondence PL *-t- : PD *-t: can only occur in the combination with a preceding nasal (*-md-). The PL form does not contradict its reconstruction, and we must regard PD **art:ur* as an assimilation from earlier **amt:ur* (probably also under analogy with the rather frequent PD nominal prefix **Vr-*).

**jām3Ā* snow: Av.-And. **anzi*; Tsez. **ēsə*; Lezg. **ji(m)c:*; W.-Cauc. **žə*.

| Av.-And. **anzi* snow: Av. *ʹázu*; Chad. *ʹázu*; And. *anzi*; Akhv. *āzi*; Cham. *anz*; Tind. *anzi*; Kar. *anze*; Botl. *anzi*; Bagv. *anz*; God. *anzi*.

Av. paradigm C (*ʹazú-l*, *ʹáza-bi*; Chad. gen. *ʹuzú-l*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *anzi*, Kar. Tok. *ʹanzi*.

| Tsez. **ēsə* snow: Tsez. *isi*; Gin. *iše*; Khvarsh. *īsa*; Inkh. *ēso*; Bezht. *ōz*; Gunz. *āz*.

PTsKh **ēsə*; PGB **āz* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *ōz*, Khosh. *oz*). PGB **āz* is probably an analogical building from the oblique base **āzi-*, built with Ablaut (a regular correspondence for PTsKh **ē* would be PGB **ē*).

| Lezg. **ji(m)c:* snow: Rut. *jiz*; Tsakh. *jiz*; Kryz. *jiz*; Bud. *jiz*; Ud. *ilz*.

Obl. base **ji(m)c:a-* (cf. Tsakh. *jize-*, Gelm. *jiza-*). Medial *-m- can not be postulated on Lezghian evidence (the root is not attested in Arch. or Tab.), but nothing contradicts its reconstruction, suggested by the external evidence. 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Leksika 1971, 192; Giginishvili 1977, 117.

| W.-Cauc. **žə* 1 snow 2 hoar-frost 3 dew: Abkh. *a-žáza* 3; Abaz. *až* 2,3; Ad. *wasə-ps* 3; Kab. *wasə-ps* 3; Ub. *zʷa-žə* 1.

PAT **(a)žV* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-žáza* 'dew'; the Abkh. form is reduplicated); Ub. *zʷa-žə* 'snow' (a compound with *zʷa* 'sky'), *žə-* 'to snow' (*a-žə-n*), *mIa-žə* 'hoar-frost' (with an unclear component *mIa-*). The voiceless *-s- in PAK **wa-sə-psə* (a compound with *wa-* 'sky' and *-psə* 'water') is conditioned by the influence of another root, PAK **wa-sə* 'snow' (< PWC **śə* q.v.).

[] The EC-WC comparison seems compelling, but the hushing **ž* in PWC raises some problems. The reconstruction of **ž* is based on the correspondence Ub. 3 : PAT **ž*. It is not excluded, however, that the original PAT form **(a)žV* underwent an influence of other roots: PAT **śə* 'snow' and PAT **žə-nə* 'winter', and changed into **(a)žV* by analogy. In that case PWC **žə* could be reconstructed (in Ub. both **ž* and **ž* yield 3), which would be a perfect match for PEC **jām3Ā*.

Abdokov (1983, 99-100) compares the EC forms with PAK **č:apə* 'hoar-frost', which seems much less probable (for phonetic reasons).

**jansə* hoar-frost, snow: Nakh. **jis*; Av.-And. **aso(r)*; Tsez. **āzV* (~ -z:-); W.-Cauc. **śə* (~ **š-*).

| Nakh. **jis* hoar-frost: Chech. *jis*; Ing. *jis*.

4th class in both languages. Obl. base **āse-rV-* (Chech. *ēsara-*, Ing. *asaro*).

| Av.-And. **aso(r)* 1 snow-drift 2 hoar-frost: Av. *ʹansí* 1; And. *asor* 2 (*Gudava*); Akhv. *aša* 2; Cham. *asa* 2; Tind. *asa* 2; Kar. *asa* 2; Botl. *asa* 2; Bagv. *ʹasa* 2; God. *asa* 2.

Cf. also Av. Keg. (Mikailov 1959) *ʹaso* 'snow', Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *ašar*, Ratl. *ašari*, Kar. Tok. *ʹasari* 'hoar-frost'.

| Tsez. **āzV* (~ -z:-) hoar-frost: Tsez. *az-qa*; Gin. *az-qa*; Khvarsh. *açqa* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *az-qa*; Bezht. *āzo* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *āza* (*Gunz.*).

PTsKh **az-qa* (a compound with an unclear second component); PGB **āzV* (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *azora*).

| W.-Cauc. **śə* (~ **š-*) snow: Abkh. *a-sə*; Abaz. *sə*; Ad. *wasə*; Kab. *was*.

PAT **śə* (cf. Bzyb. *a-śə*); PAK **wa-sə* (a compound with *wa-* 'sky'). Cf. also Ad., Kab. *q:e-sə-n* 'to snow' (PAK **q:a(jə)-sə-*) = Abaz. *ʹa-s-ra* id. See Shagirov 1,227; 2,93. The Adygh source is possible for Svan. *mus* 'snow' (see Dzhanashia 1959, 106-107, 116).

[] The etymology is quite plausible both semantically and phonetically.

We should notice that this is the only case where PN preserves **s* after **j-* (without changing it to **st*); since **j-* is reconstructed here only on Nakh evidence, one may think that PN **j-* is secondary here, and a reconstruction like **Hansə* could be preferable. One should also keep in mind that in some languages there is occasional confusion of the roots **jansə* and **jām3Ā* q.v. (which led Balkarov - 1964, 98 - to proposing wrong EC connections for the WC form **śə*), but in general the two roots are being kept quite distinct from each other. The comparison of WC

*śa with PK *(s)to- 'to snow' (Rogava 1955, 36) seems much less probable. See Abdokov 1983, 105.

Note the frequent recurrence of the (oblique base) suffix *-rV (in PN, several Andian languages and Bezht. *azo-ra*).

*jālčwV, stick, branch; wedge, stake: Nakh. *jič (~ -3); Av.-And. *rič:V; Tsez. *hūčV (~ h-); Lezg. *jač.

| Nakh. *jič (~ -3) pestle, stamper: Chech. *jiz*.

Obl. base *jiza-*. Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *rič:V twig: Av. *noç*; Chad. *nuç*; Akhv. *ruç:e* / *reç:a*; Cham. *wuç*; Tind. *ruc:a*.

Av. paradigm A (gen. *nóç:i-l*), but Chad. C (*nuçí-l*, *núça-l*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *wuç*.

| Tsez. *hūčV (~ h-) wedge, stake: Bezht. *hūču*; Gunz. *hūço* (Nakh.).

PGB *hūčV (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *huça* id.).

| Lezg. *jač stem, trunk: Lezg. *jač* (Khl.).

Attested only in Lezg., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (although n- in Av. is not quite clear; we would rather expect r-, as in Andian languages). Labialisation of *čw in word-final position was early lost in PN and PL, but has left clear traces in Av.-And.-Tsez.

*jālǝA (~ -G-) a k. of tree: Nakh. *jilǝV; Lezg. *jelǝ (~ -ǝ-, -χ:); W.-Cauc. *ǝa.

| Nakh. *jilǝV a k. of tree (used for making whip-handles): Chech. *jilǝa*.

Attested only in Chech., with possible external parallels.

| Lezg. *jelǝ (~ -ǝ-, -χ:) 1 rush-growth 2 thicket, growth: Lezg. *leǝ I*; Tab. *jurǝ* 2; Bud. *liǝ I*.

3d class in Bud. The Bud. word may be borrowed from Lezg., but the Tab. and Lezg. forms are no doubt genuinely related and point to *jelǝ (~ -ǝ-, -χ:) in PL (in Tab. *jelǝ > *jirǝ > *jurǝ).

| W.-Cauc. *ǝa yew-tree: Abkh. *ā*.

The form is attested only in Abkhaz (presupposing PAT *ǝa or *aǝa), with several possibilities of PWC reconstruction (*ǝ, *ǝ̃, *ǝI, *ǝ̃I, *q:I).

[] The comparison looks plausible, but is not very certain (because we do not know what particular tree is denoted by *jilǝa* in Chech., and because the only attested WC form - Abkh. *ā* - allows for several alternative PWC reconstructions).

*jālχV some part of the stomach: Nakh. *jōh; Tsez. *ǝ̃χ: (~ ǝ); Lezg. *jālχ:-.

| Nakh. *jōh large intestine: Chech. *jōh*; Bacb. *ajhi*.

PN paradigm: *jōh, *ǝ̃hi-. In Bacb. the former oblique stem became direct; in Chech., vice versa, the direct base became oblique: *jōhi-. In its turn, the new oblique base influenced the vocalism of the direct one (*jōh*).

| Tsez. *ǝ̃χ: (~ ǝ) belly: Bezht. *ōχ*.

Preserved only in Bezht. (where it contrasts with *āχ* 'stomach' < *ǝ̃χ: q.v.), but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *jālχ:- third stomach: Arch. (*χIošon*)-*erχ:i*.

The word is isolated in Arch. (the component *χIošon* means literally "shirt"), but has probable external correspondences (whence the probable protoform).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Seems reliable, although preserved in a restricted number of languages.

*jārλwī / *λwā(j)rī (~ -ē) sea: Nakh. *for-d (~ -t); Av.-And. *riλo; Lak. *x:iri*; Darg. *ǝ̃urx:ǝ̃i; W.-Cauc. *ǝ̃λǝ̃.

| Nakh. *for-d (~ -t) sea: Chech. *hord*; Ing. *ford*.

6th class in both languages. Abayev (1485-486) thinks that the Nakh forms are borrowed from Ossetian (*furd* / *ford* 'big river, sea'). But the Ossetian word has no Iranian or IE etymology (see Abayev *ibid.*), whereas the NC etymology of the Nakh word (= Av. *raλád* etc.) is quite clear - therefore it is obvious that the Ossetian word is borrowed from Nakh.

| Av.-And. *riλo sea: Av. *raλád*; Chad. *ratád*; And. *reλo*; Akhv. *raλa*; Cham. *jeλa*; Tind. *reλa*; Kar. *reλa*; Botl. *reha*; Bagv. *raha*; God. *reλa*.

Av. paradigm B (*raλdá-l*, *raλáda-l*; Chad. *ratádu-l*, *ratáda-l*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *reλa*, Bagv. Tlond. *relha*. Av. > Inkh., Tsez., Gin., Bezht., Gunz. *raλad* 'sea'. Arch. *λat* (erg. *λet:e*) 'sea' is also most probably an old loan from Avar, although loss of *ra-* is not quite clear (perhaps the early loanword first changed regularly into **daλat*:, and then with reduction changed to **λat*: > **λat*:).

| Lak. *x:iri* sea.

Cf. Khosr. *x:iri* id.

| Darg. *ǝ̃urx:ǝ̃i sea: Ak. *urxu*; Chir. *urx:u*.

Cf. also Tsud., Muir., Sirg. *urx:u* id.

| W.-Cauc. *ǝ̃λǝ̃ sea: Abkh. *a-mšān*; Ad. *xə*; Kab. *xə*; Ub. *šʷa*.

PAK **xə*. The Abkh. form contains a locative suffix -*n(ə)*; *m(ə)-* is obviously a prefix here, but its precise meaning is not clear. The correspondence PAT **š*: PAK **x*: Ub. *šʷ* points to PWC **ǝ̃λ*.

[] An interesting common NC geographical term. The PN form contains a suffixed *-d (with a precise parallel in Av. *raλád*).

The PWC form is incorrectly compared by Trubetzkoy (1922,242;1930) with PEC **χānhi* 'water' q.v. Also rejected should be Yakovlev's (1941) comparison of WC forms with Georg. *χewi* 'ravine with a mountain stream'. A correct comparison see in Dumézil 1933, 50, Abdokov 1983, 101.

*jēlšV possibility: Nakh. *jiš; Av.-And. *rVšV (~ -s).

| Nakh. *jiš possibility: Chech. *jiš*; Ing. *jiš*.

Obl. base *ǝ̃āše-rV-, cf. Chech. *ēšara-*, Ing. *ašaro*. 4th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *rVšV (~ -s) possibility; means: Av. *res*.

[] An interesting Nakh-Avar isogloss. The word seems to be genuine, and the

correlation PN *j- : Av. r- points to PEC initial *j followed by a *-l- in the consonant cluster.

*jēqwV lean, undernourished: Nakh. *jāqi (~ *jēqa); Lezg. *jexV-.

| Nakh. *jāqi-n (~ *jēqa-n) undernourished, with not enough fat: Chech. *jēqa*. Attested only in Chech., but having probable Lezghian parallels.

| Lezg. *jexV- lean: Lezg. *jaχun*; Tab. *jaχun-f*; Tsakh. *joχara-n*.

The stem is formed either with *-nV- or with *-rV- (both are frequent oblique base markers).

See Khaidakov 1973, 112.

□ A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss.

*jērkwī heart: Nakh. *doḡ; Av.-And. *roḡo; Tsez. *rōḡə A; Lak. *daḡ*; Darg. *urḡi; Lezg. *jirḡ; Khin. ung; W.-Cauc. *gʷə.

| Nakh. *doḡ heart: Chech. *dog*; Ing. *dog*; Bacb. *dok*.

Obl. base *daḡi- (Chech. *dega-*, Usl. *degi-*, Ing. *dego*). 3d class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *roḡo heart: Av. *raḡ*; Chad. *raḡ*; And. *roḡo*; Akhv. *raḡa*; Cham. *jaḡa*; Tind. *raḡa*; Kar. *raḡa*; Botl. *raḡa*; Bagv. *raḡa*; God. *raḡa*.

Av. paradigm B ~ C (gen. *reḡe-l*); Chad. C (*reḡe-l/ruké-l, ráḡa-l*).

| Tsez. *rōḡə A heart: Tsez. *roḡu*; Gin. *roḡe* / *roḡe*; Khvarsh. *loḡwa*; Inkh. *loḡo*; Bezht. *raḡo*; Gunz. *roḡu*.

PTsKh *Roḡə, PGB *rōḡu.

| Lak. *daḡ* heart.

4th class. Cf. Khosr. *daḡ* 'breast'.

| Darg. *urḡi heart: Ak. *urḡi*; Chir. *urḡe*.

Cf. also Chir. pl. *urḡ-be*, Ur. *urḡi*, Kub. *ūḡe*, Tsud. *urḡi* etc.

| Lezg. *jirḡ heart: Lezg. *riḡ*; Tab. *juḡ*; Ag. *jurḡ*; Rut. *jik*; Tsakh. *jik*; Kryz. *jik*; Bud. *jik*; Arch. *ik*; Ud. *uk*.

Obl. base *jirḡe- (cf. Lezg. *riḡi-*, Tab. *kʷa-*, Rut. *jiki-*, Tsakh. *jike-*). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. See Leksika 1971, 124; Gigineyshvili 1977, 82; Talibov 1980, 289.

| Khin. ung heart.

An archaic oblique stem *kur-* (< *jirḡV(r)-) is preserved in the compound verb *kur-qini* 'to forget' (= PL *jirḡe(le) ?exʷen id.).

| W.-Cauc. *gʷə heart: Abkh. *a-gʷə*; Abaz. *gʷə*; Ad. *gʷə*; Kab. *gʷə*; Ub. *gʷə*.

PAT *gʷə, PAK *gʷə, Ub. def. *a-gʷə*.

□ One of the most reliable common NC etymologies (see Trubetzkoy 1930, 277; Abdokov 1983, 80 etc.). Cf. also Hurr. *egi, igi* 'inside' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 31).

*jērḡwV belt, girdle: Nakh. *doḡkV (~ -ḡ-); Av.-And. *roḡi-i-čʷolV; Tsez. *rōḡV A; Darg. *irḡi.

| Nakh. *doḡkV (~ -ḡ-) belt, girdle: Chech. *dōḡka*; Ing. *teḡkar*; Bacb. *duḡkā*.

3d class in all languages. The vocalism is somewhat unclear (in particular, Bacb. -u- is unclear); -ḡ- in Ing. is a result of early assimilation (*doḡkV- > *toḡkV-). The word has a *-n-suffix in Bacb. and a -r-suffix in Ing. (reflecting the oblique base, cf. Chech. *dōḡkara-*). Cf. also Chech. *djeḡku*, Khild. *tjoḡkū* etc.

| Av.-And. *roḡi-i-čʷolV belt, girdle: Av. *račél*; Chad. *ráḡic*; And. *roḡ:očul*; Akhv. *raḡi:ča*; Cham. *jačal* / *jaḡ:čal*; Kar. *račʷal*.

Av. paradigm B (*račáli-l/račlí-l, račála-bi*; but Chad. *ráḡci-l, ráḡča-l*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *račal*, Akhv. Ratl. *raḡi:čali*. The word is a compound; the second component *-čʷolV is not quite clear, but may be the same morpheme as *čʷoli 'leather strip, belt' q.v. (with an early dissimilation *čʷ > čʷ after -ḡ:); the other possibility would be linking this root with Darg. Ak. *čall* 'braid, lace'.

| Tsez. *rōḡV A 1 belt 2 woman's belt: Inkh. *ōc-oḡu* 2; Gunz. *ḡle* 1.

The Inkh. word is a compound (for the first part cf. perhaps *ocu* 'hoop', Gunz. *ab-ōc* 'beads?').

| Darg. *irḡi 1 sash, girdle 2 rope, string: Ak. *iri* 1; Chir. *arḡe* 2.

Cf. also Kub. *iḡe* 'sash, girdle'.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*jeṭal- to tie, bind; untie: Lak. -aṭi-; Darg. *čV-lṭVn-; Lezg. *jeṭal-; W.-Cauc. *ja.

| Lak. -aṭi- to gather.

G. pr. -a-tu-n. Cf. Khosr. -aṭi-n id. An old derivate (reflecting the archaic meaning 'to bind') is probably Lak. *buṭa* 'rope'.

| Darg. *čV-lṭVn- to put on (trousers, shoes): Chir. *če-lṭVn-/če-jt-*.

The original meaning was probably 'to tie round (one's waist, foot)', cf. the external evidence.

| Lezg. *jeṭal- to tie, bind: Lezg. *k-uṭun-*; Tab. *ji-t-*; Ag. *iṭ-*; Rut. *s-i-ṭa-*; Tsakh. *i-ṭal-*; Kryz. *ju-ṭul-*; Bud. *w-e-ṭl-*; Arch. *e-ṭin-*.

Cf. also Lezg. *iliṭ-iz* 'to bind round', Ag. Bursh. *ilṭan-* 'to bind, tie', Tsakh. pret. *a-ṭil*. Belongs to the strong verb class in PL. A common Lezghian derivate is *ṭil: Lezg. *čil* (Khl. *čil*), Tab. *čil* (lit. *ṭil*, Düb. *ṭil*), Ag. *ṭil* 'thick rope', Arch. *ṭili* (< *ṭilV-j) 'crossbelt, baldric'.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 89; Gigineyshvili 1977, 81.

| W.-Cauc. *ja 1 to untie, unbind 2 to get untied: Abkh. *á-t-la-ra* 2; Abaz. *r-t-la-ra* 1; Ad. *p-ṭa-ta-n* 1; Kab. *ṭa-ta-n* 1; Ub. -ṭa- 2.

PAT *ṭa-la- (with the auxiliary -la-; also *rə-ṭa-la- with the causative prefix *rə-); PAK *ṭa-ta- (the morpheme *ṭa- is also used in several compounds: PAK *ṭa-čə- 'to undress', *ṭa-ḡa- 'to put on (as dress)', see Kuipers 1975, 18). Ub. -ṭa- in *a-ṭa-ḡá* 'il fut délié'; cf. also *ṭa-Lá-* 'to unbind' (*a-s-ṭa-Lá-n*).

□ The semantic change 'to bind' > 'to gather' is natural, and the etymology seems satisfactory. One can also compare Av. *baṭárhin* 'woollen belt, strap' (although the morphological structure of this derivate is not quite clear). See Abdokov 1983, 126-127 (citing also an Av. verb *b-uṭine* 'to be tied' which we were unable to identify).

*jəlsV husband: Av.-And. *rVs:V; Tsez. *ʔes:- (~i,ə,o,ɔ); Lak. las; Lezg. *ja(l)s:.

| Av.-And. *rVs:V husband: Av. *ros*:

Av. paradigm B (pl. *ros:á-b*).

| Tsez. *ʔes:- (~i,ə,o,ɔ) male: Tsez. *is-lu*.

Attested only in Tsez., but with probable external parallels.

| Lak. *las* husband.

Cf. Khosr. *las* id. Tenseness of -s is unclear (within the paradigm it is always in a syllable-final position, where -s and -s: are neutralized).

| Lezg. *ja(l)s: *husband: Arch. *as*.

The word is preserved only in Archi, in certain idioms: *as-mus deqləs* 'to marry', *as:ə-λ:on:ol* 'husband and wife'.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Represented in several subgroups (although not in many languages), and the reconstruction seems reliable.

*jəmcō bull, ox: Nakh. *jətt; Av.-And. *ʔumco; Tsez. *ʔos: B; Lak. nic; Darg. *ʔunc; Lezg. *jamc; Khin. lac; W.-Cauc. *c:ʔə.

| Nakh. *jətt cow: Chech. *jett*; Ing. *jett*; Bacb. *jett*.

Obl. base *ʔatti-, cf. Chech. *ätta*-, Ing. erg. *ʔatto*, Batsb. *atti*-. 6th class in Chech., Ing., 4th class in Bacb.

| Av.-And. *ʔumco ox: Av. *oc*; Chad. *oš*; And. *unso*; Akhv. *ūča*; Cham. *musa*; Tind. *musa*; Kar. *unsa*; Botl. *unsa*; Bagv. *unsa*; God. *unsa*.

Av. paradigm B (*ocó-l*, *ocá-l*, Chad. *ošó-l*, *uš-bí*). Cf. also Bagv. Tlond. *musa*, Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *ʔunča*. The Cham., Tind. and Bagv. (Tlond.) forms with metathesized nasal prove that it had been *-m- (not *-n-) in PA.

| Tsez. *ʔos: B ox: Tsez. *is*; Gin. *uš*; Khvarsh. *īs*; Inkh. *ēs*; Bezht. *ōs*; Gunz. *ōs*.

PTsKh *ʔōs (cf. also Tsez. /Imnaishvili/ *is/os*, Gin. /MSU/ *is*); PGB *ʔōs.

| Lak. *nic* ox.

Gen. *nica-l*. Cf. also Khosr. *nic*, *nica-l*.

| Darg. *ʔunc 1 ox 2 bull: Ak. *unc 1,2*; Chir. *unc 1*.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. *unc*, Kub. *us* id.

| Lezg. *jamc ox: Lezg. *jac*; Tab. *jic*; Ag. *bec*; Rut. *jas*; Tsakh. *jac*; Arch. *ans*; Ud. *us*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *jac*, Ag. Bursh. *jac*ʷ, Fit. *wic*, Burk. *wec*. The original medial nasal *-m- is preserved (as -n- before a sibilant) only in Arch. All other languages have lost it, but Agul has preserved the compensatory labialisation (Proto-Ag. *jawc; in Rich. *bec* regularly < *wec, cf. the forms in other dialects). All correspondences are regular (including the fronting *a > e in Rich. and Burk. before a hissing affricate, and the development *ja- > *ji- in a closed syllable in Tab.).

The obl. base can be reconstructed as *jamca- (cf. Rut. *jas*-, Tsakh. *jaca*-, Arch. erg. *ansa*); 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Leksika 1971, 149; Giginayshvili 1977, 82.

| Khin. *lac* cow.

| W.-Cauc. *c:ʔə ox, bull: Abkh. *á-cʷ*; Abaz. *čʷə*; Ad. *cʷə*; Kab. *və*; Ub. *cʷə*.

PAT *cʷə; PAK *c:ʔə. Cf. also Ub. def. *á-cʷ*.

□ One of the most common and widely accepted NC roots. See Trombetti 1923, Trubetzkoy 1930, 276, Яковлев 1941, Балкаров 1969, Шарипов 1977, Abdokov 1983. Correspondences are completely regular (except only the initial ʔ in Khin., which has probably appeared under the influence of *lix* 'ox' and *lāq* 'calf'). We must note, however, that the usual Nakh material compared with this root is not PN *jətt 'cow', but PN *psʷtu 'ox, bull' which can not be related to this root phonetically (the reduction of the syllable *jə- can not be explained in any way) and goes back to another PNC root (*čwijo 'man, male' q.v.). On the other hand, PN *jətt is a perfect phonetic match for *jəmcō (if we take into account the absolute regularity of the phonetic process *-mC- > *-tt- in PN).

The comparison of this root with PK *wac- 'ram' (Klimov 1964) is not very persuasive for semantic reasons. Perhaps, some traces of this root in Kartvelian (as a loanword, possibly from Tsez. languages) may be seen in Georg. dial. *aš*, *iš*, *išo* 'addressing an ox, bull', *išia* 'bull-calf' (a term of endearment) (see Kavtaradze 1972).

*jəmgə (~ -i) ashes: Nakh. *jobq; Av.-And. *ʔiʔi; Tsez. *jōʎu A; W.-Cauc. *jaʎa.

| Nakh. *jobq ashes: Chech. *juq*; Ing. *joq*; Bacb. *jopq*.

Obl. base *ʔabqu-r-, cf. Chech. *ʔonqara-n*, Ing. *ʔonqaro*, Bacb. *ʔapqajr-i*. 4th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *ʔiʔi ashes: And. *ʔe*; Akhv. *ʔe* (*Gudava*); Cham. *ʔe*; Tind. *ʔe*; Kar. *ʔej*; Botl. *ʔe(j)*; Bagv. *ʔe*; God. *ʔeji*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *ʔej*.

| Tsez. *jōʎu A ashes: Tsez. *noʎu*; Gin. *noʎu*; Khvarsh. *jūʎu*; Inkh. *jōʎu*; Bezht. *jaʎo*; Gunz. *jōʎu*.

PTsKh *jōʎu (with shift of nasalisation in Tsez. and Gin.), PGB *jōʎu (for nasalisation cf. Gunz. (Gunz.) *jōʎu*).

| W.-Cauc. *jaʎa ashes: Ad. *jāʎa*; Kab. *jāʎa*.

PAK *jaʎa. The word has no PAT or Ub. parallels, but reliable correspondences in PEC - thus the inner PAK etymology proposed in Шарипов 1, 169 (ja- - same as in *jaʎa 'clay, dirt', -ʎa - related to PAK *ʎə 'wind, air') seems less convincing.

□ PN *-q in this case reflects a secondarily labialised *-ʎw- < *-gw- (the original velar nature of the root stop is suggested by the WC reflex), where labialisation was induced by medial *-m-. PA *ʔiʔi (= *ʔiʎi) is obviously a metathesis < *jiʎi. With the exception of these secondary processes (quite common in NC languages), correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems quite plausible. See Abdokov 1983, 93.

*jʰəʎʒə(-nV) face: Av.-And. *riʒi; Lak. *laʒin*; Darg. *lalʒi;

Lezg. *jič:in.

| Av.-And. *rizi 1 face 2 individual (in a negative sense): Av. rizi 2; And. rizi; Akhv. rizi 1 (Tlan.).

Av. paradigm B (rizi-dul). For the semantic shift "face": "individual" cf., e.g., Russian лицо : личность.

| Lak. lazin face.

Cf. Khosr. lazin id.

| Darg. *lalzi cheek: Ak. lalzi.

Cf. Ur. lalzi id.

| Lezg. *jič:in face: Lezg. č:in; Kryz. ižin; Bud. ižin.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. jič:in. 3d class in Kryz and Bud. See Talibov 1960a, 296; Leksika 1971, 116.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Andian forms may be borrowed from old Avar (before the semantic shift in Av.); this would explain the strange -i- vowel in PA.

*jfiərgwɪ (~-ō) slope; ravine, ditch: Av.-And. *roq:i; Tsez. *rɔχ: A; Lezg. *je(r)χl:~; W.-Cauc. *q:~a.

| Av.-And. *roq:i 1 ditch 2 side 3 furrow 4 boundary: Av. raq: 1,2; And. roq:i 3,4; Akhv. raq:e 3,4; Cham. jeq:ɪ 3; Kar. req:in 1,4; God. req:in 3.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. raq:i-l). Cf. also Kar. Tok. raq:i 'ditch, boundary', Cham. Gig. req:in 'furrow'. Quite strange is Tind. teq:an 'furrow' (why t-?). Av. > Arch. raq 'boundary'.

| Tsez. *rɔχ: A 1 furrow 2 boundary: Tsez. rɔχ 2; Gin. laχ 1, laχ-da 2; Khvarsh. loχ (Radzhibov); Inkh. laχ 1; Gunz. raχ 1,2.

PTsKh *R[o]χ. Gunz. raχ is probably incorrect instead of rɔχ, cf. Gunz. Nakh. rɔχ.

| Lezg. *je(r)χl:~ 1 slope, hill-side 2 cheek, one side of animal's snout: Lezg. jab~ 1; Arch. exl 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Fij. jaχ~a 'slope', Arch. erg. exl:i (all confirming the reconstruction of *χl:~). The semantic correlation "slope" : "cheek" is rather usual in NC languages. -r- is regularly lost in this position both in Lezg. and in Arch., and may be reconstructed only on basis of external evidence.

| W.-Cauc. *q:~a 1 gorge, ravine 2 valley: Ad. q:~a 1,2; Kab. q:~a 1,2; Ub. q~a 2.

PAK *q:~a. The Ub.-Ad. comparison see in Mészáros 1934,377, Shagirov 1,231 (where he also adduces Ub. qI~a 'cave' and Abkh. a-q~ara 'rocky river bank' which should be kept apart). This root also should be separated from PAT *k~arV 'ravine, river' (despite Shagirov ibid.) and from Ub. q~adā 'gutter' (despite Abdokov 1973,55).

[] The EC and WC forms match each other well, both phonetically and semantically. [Abdokov (1983, 95) compares the WC forms with Tab. q:lar 'bridge' (a Southern dialectal form corresponding to lit. 8lad) and Arch. qlar 'ravine' (cited as q:lar) - a form we were unable to identify; this etymology certainly should be rejected.]

*jicwə (~-o) place: Lezg. *jis~.

| Lezg. *jis~ 1 place 2 near: Tab. jis~ 1; Ag. is~ (Bursh.) 1; Ud. iIsa 2.

Cf. also Tab. Düb., Ulz. jis~ (for the weak *s~ [the latest MSU recording: Ag. Bursh. is:~ is certainly erroneous]), Ag. Fit. us. Obl. base *jis~a- (cf. Tab. jis~a-, Ag. Bursh. is~a-, Fit. usa-).

See Giginayshvili 1977, 119.

[] Besides PL *jis~ cf. Urart. esə 'place' (< HU *ec-). An interesting Lezg.-HU isogloss (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 39).

*jimχwΛ river: Av.-And. *inχ:V; Tsez. *ēχ:u A; Lak. nilχ; Lezg. *ji(m)χ:~(a); W.-Cauc. *χ~V.

| Av.-And. *inχ:V 1 stream 2 river, brook: Av. iχ: 1; Akhv. iχ:e 2; Kar. enχ:e 2; God. inχ:i 2.

Av. paradigm C (iχ:i-l, iχ:a-l).

| Tsez. *ēχ:u A river: Tsez. ihu; Gin. iχu; Khvarsh. ēχu (Bokarev); Inkh. ēχlu; Bezht. ēχe; Gunz. ēχu.

PTsKh *ēχlu (cf. also Tsez. in Imnaishvili's notation iχlu); PGB *ēχu (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. ēχθ, Khosh. exo; Bezht. prop. ēχe reflects the original obl. base, cf. Gunz. ēχe-, Bezht. Tlad. ēχe-). Lomtadze lists also a Gin. form iqlu 'river', which is possibly a misspelling instead iχu or iχlu.

| Lak. nilχ river.

Gen. nilχ:a-l; cf. also Khosr. nilχ~, nilχ:~a-l.

| Lezg. *ji(m)χ:~(a) stream, river: Rut. juχ (Ibragimov); Ud. oq.

Ag. ruχ 'brook' should be probably kept apart (initial r- and weak -χ [cf. Bursh. ruχ] contradict to its inclusion).

| W.-Cauc. *χ~V 1 river 2 river valley 3 marsh, swamp: Abkh. a-3a~a 3; Abaz. 3a~ 1; Ad. psə-χ~ 1; Kab. psə-χ~a 1; Ub. t~a-χ~a 1.

PAT *3a~V (with *3a 'water'; the meaning 'marsh' in Abkh. is secondary - the word has replaced an original *a-3a-b~a = Abaz. 3b~a 'marsh'); PAK *psə-χ~a (with *psə 'water' q.v.; Shagirov 2,19 discovers the root χ~a- also in Ad. χ~a-t 'ravine', χ~a-wə 'deep ravine'; the component t~a- in Ub. is not quite clear (perhaps "liquid", cf. ja-t~a 'sweat' < *liquid?). PAT has *~ instead of the expected *h~ as a result of assimilation to *3 within the compound *3a-h~V > *3a~V.

See Abdokov 1973, 63; Shagirov 2, 19.

[] The EC-WC comparison seems quite plausible. See Abdokov 1983, 99.

*jišwΛ voice, song: Nakh. *jiš; Lezg. *jiš~a; W.-Cauc. *(a)š~a (~-s~).

| Nakh. *jiš 1 voice 2 song, melody: Chech. jis 1,2; Ing. jis 2; Bacb. is 1.

3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing. and Bacb. Obl. stem *aše-rV- (cf. Chech. ēšara-, Ing. ašaro, Bacb. ašir-).

| Lezg. *jiš~a verse, song: Tsakh. juše.

Cf. also jušen-ās 'to speak, talk'. The root is attested only in Tsakhur,

but has probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. $^{*}(a)s^{\omega}a$ (~ $-s^{\omega}-$) song: Abkh. $\acute{a}s^{\omega}a$; Abaz. $a s^{\omega}a$.

PAT $^{*}as^{\omega}a$ (cf. also Bzyb. $\acute{a}s^{\omega}a$ id.).

[] Correspondences are regular, and the root seems worth reconstructing for PNC (although it is not widely preserved).

$^{*}j\dot{w}\lambda V$ / $^{*}\lambda\dot{w}V$ snow: Nakh. $^{*}law$; Lezg. $^{*}jiw\lambda$.

| Nakh. $^{*}law$ snow: Chech. $l\bar{o}$; Ing. $l\bar{o}$; Bacb. law .

3d class in all languages. Obl. base $^{*}lawV-$ (Chech. $laj-$, Ing. $lajwo$). Cf. also Lev. $lw\bar{o}$, Akk. law id.

| Lezg. $^{*}j\dot{w}\lambda$ snow: Lezg. ziw ; Tab. jif ; Ag. $ib\acute{x}$.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. ziw , Tab. Düb., Ulz. jif , Ag. Bursh. jis^{ω} , Fit. $ib\acute{x}$, Burk. $\acute{u}x$. Obl. base unclear. The Lezg. form is peculiar: it is metathesized (cf. an analogous metathesis in PN), and reflects rather tense $^{*}\lambda$: or $^{*}\acute{\lambda}$: than $^{*}\lambda$ (Tab. and Ag. forms unambiguously point to a weak $^{*}\lambda$ in PL). This development is still to be explained.

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss. See Trubetzkoy 1922, 240 (and comments on p. 443).

$^{*}j\bar{o}m\acute{c}V$ earth: Nakh. $^{*}jobst$ (~ $-ō-$); Darg. $^{*}an\acute{c}:i$; Lezg. $^{*}jo(m)\acute{c}V$ (~ $-?$); Khin. $in\acute{c}:i$.

| Nakh. $^{*}jobst$ (~ $-ō-$) 1 earth 2 loose earth: Ing. $jost$ 2; Bacb. $jobst$ 1.

PN $^{*}jobst$, $^{*}abstV-r-$ (cf. Ing. $astaro$). 4th class in Ing., 3d class in Bacb. Without Chech. parallels the vowel length is not clear.

| Darg. $^{*}an\acute{c}:i$ earth: Ak. $^{*}aInzi$; Chir. $^{*}an\acute{c}:ija$.

Cf. also Ur. $^{*}an\acute{z}i$, Kub. $^{*}an\acute{c}:a$, Tsud. $^{*}an\acute{c}:i$, $^{*}an\acute{c}:a$ etc.

| Lezg. $^{*}jo(m)\acute{c}V$ (~ $-?$) 1 dirt 2 earth: Ud. $o\acute{c}Ii$ 1, $o\acute{c}Ial$ 2.

The root is isolated in Udi, but seems to have reliable external parallels (the MSU recordings spell $o\acute{c}:Ii$ 'dirt', so it may be a different root after all).

| Khin. $in\acute{c}:i$ earth.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

$^{*}j[\bar{o}]r\acute{q}\dot{i}$ (~ $-ě$) time, age; maturity: Av.-And. $^{*}q:oru$ (~ $-a-$); Lak. $ar\acute{b}$; Lezg. $^{*}jo(r)q:(a)$; Khin. $en\acute{b}$; W.-Cauc. $^{*}\acute{b}a$.

| Av.-And. $^{*}q:oru$ (~ $-a-$) time: Cham. $q:aw$; Tind. $q:aru$; God. $q:aru$.

| Lak. $ar\acute{b}$ flourishing, prime of life.

The Lak. word was borrowed in Darg.: $ar\acute{b}$ 'age; weather', Ur. $ar\acute{b}$, Kub. $\acute{a}b$ id.

| Lezg. $^{*}jo(r)q:(a)$ marriage, wedding: Arch. oq .

The word is attested only in Archi, but is no doubt archaic. Several PL reconstructions are possible (with $^{*}j-$ or with $^{*}?$ -, with $^{*}r-$ or without it); external data favour $^{*}j-$ in PL.

| Khin. $en\acute{b}$ wedding.

Erg. $in\acute{q}-i$.

| W.-Cauc. $^{*}\acute{b}a$ time, season: Abkh. $\bar{a}-n$; Abaz. $a^{\omega}a$; Ad. $\acute{b}a$; Kab. $\acute{b}a$; Ub. $\acute{b}a$.

PAT $^{*}(a)^{\omega}a$ (cf. also $^{*}\acute{a}-$ in $^{*}\acute{a}-mata$ 'time' > Abkh. $\acute{a}mta$, Abaz. $\acute{a}mta$); PAK $^{*}\acute{b}a$. The root should be distinguished from $^{*}\acute{b}I^{\omega}a$ 'season, summer/spring' (see under $^{*}\acute{b}win^{\omega}V$), although the two roots could have influenced each other (in PAT, where $^{*}\acute{a}-$ in $^{*}\acute{a}-p\bar{a}-n\bar{a}$ 'spring' reflects rather PWC $^{*}\acute{b}I^{\omega}a$, and in PAK, where the root $^{*}\acute{b}a$ means 'summer' in some compounds and idioms - e.g., in PAK $^{*}\acute{b}a-m\acute{a}x^{\omega}a$ 'summer' > Ad. $\acute{b}am\bar{a}f$, Kab. $\acute{b}am\bar{a}x^{\omega}a$). See Shagirov 1, 124.

[] The PA form must be a metathesis < $^{*}roq:u$ < (regularly) $^{*}jorq:V$ (a metathesis from $^{*}orq:V$ would be impossible). This is the main reason for reconstructing $^{*}j-$ in PEC and PNC, and other languages do not contradict it (the final proof would of course be the Nakh and Lezghian data: in fact, it seems possible that in some Lezghian languages there occurred a confusion of PL roots $^{*}jo(r)q:$ 'time' and $^{*}jiq:$ 'day' < PEC $^{*}HwiqV$ q.v.; thus, Lezg. lit. $ju\acute{b}$ 'day' has an unexplained $-u-$ which would very well fit for a reflex of PL $^{*}jo(r)q:$).

Trubetzkoy (1930) compared the WC forms with Lak. $\acute{b}i$ 'summer' (< $^{*}\acute{b}win^{\omega}V$) q.v. and with some reflexes of PEC $^{*}GH\bar{o}lnV$ 'summer'. This etymology (confusing two different EC roots) did not take into account the existence of an opposition between $^{*}\acute{b}a$ and $^{*}\acute{b}I^{\omega}a$ in PWC, and should be now abolished. See also a discussion of the two roots in Abdokov 1983, 94-95 (also with a great deal of confusion among several EC and WC roots, although the comparison of PA $^{*}q:oru$ and Ub. $\acute{b}a$ is correct). Absolutely improbable is the comparison of WC forms with Georg. dro 'time' and $d\acute{b}e$ 'day' (Lomtadze 1955) or with Av. $ri^{\omega}i$ 'summer' (Shagirov 1).

$^{*}jVcw\acute{E}$ mouse: Darg. $^{*}waca$; W.-Cauc. $^{*}ja\acute{s}^{\omega}V$.

| Darg. $^{*}waca$ mouse: Ak. $waca$; Chir. $waca$.

| W.-Cauc. $^{*}ja\acute{s}^{\omega}V$ / $^{*}\acute{s}^{\omega}ajV$ squirrel: Abkh. $\acute{a}-je\acute{s}$; Ad. $\acute{s}aja$ (Shaps.).

Although the correspondences are not quite regular (Abkh. reflects a delabialized $^{*}\acute{s}$, while Ad. $\acute{s}$ < $^{*}\acute{s}^{\omega}$), the Abkh. and Ad. forms are hard to separate. Within the Adygh dialects there is also some variation: Kuipers (1975, 28) compares also Bzhed. $\acute{s}^{\omega}aja$ 'rat' (we would also add Tem. $\acute{s}^{\omega}aja$ id.) reflecting an old variant $^{*}\acute{s}^{\omega}ajV$.

[] A Darg.-WC isogloss, but probably very archaic (see Starostin 1982, 218). PD $^{*}waca$ can only go back to a PEC form like $^{*}jVcwV$ with metathesis of labialisation (original $^{*}w-$ would have yielded PD $^{*}b-$). From other EC languages one could possibly list also PGB $^{*}\acute{z}z-ba\acute{t}u$ (Bezht. $izma\acute{t}o$, Gunz. $\acute{e}zb\acute{a}t\acute{u}$ 'weasel, squirrel'). PGB $^{*}\acute{z}z-$ would correspond well to PD $^{*}waca$ < $^{*}jac^{\omega}a$, but would suggest a PEC (and PNC) form with some medial resonant (most probably $^{*}jVncw\acute{E}$).

$^{*}jV\acute{k}Vr-$ to hurt, feel pain: Tsez. $^{*}k\acute{o}k-$; Lezg. $^{*}jikVr-$.

| Tsez. $^{*}k\acute{o}k-$ to hurt, be ill: Bezht. $k\acute{o}k-$ (Tlad.); Gunz. $k\acute{o}k-$.

PGB $^{*}k\acute{o}k-$ (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. $k\acute{o}k-$).

| Lezg. $^{*}jikVr-$ 1 to hurt, be ill 2 to itch: Tsakh. $-ik\acute{a}r-$ 1; Kryz. $ik\acute{a}jk-$ (Khaidakov) 1; Bud. $ju\acute{k}r-$ 2.

The term. stem in Tsakhur is reduplicated ($-ik\acute{a}jk\acute{a}r$); the Kryz dialect is unknown (cited from Khaidakov; if not for the typically Kryz form in $-i\acute{z}$ -

Khaidakov writes *ikiikiž* - one could suspect that the form in reality belongs to Tsakhur).

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss, thus the vocalism is hard to reconstruct.

*jVrgĒ a k. of grass: Nakh. *jVrλ-; Tsez. *heλu B; Lak. la; Khin. ink.; W.-Cauc. *jaʎa.

| Nakh. *jVrλ- weeds: Chech. *jar-aš*; Ing. *jorh*.

4th class in Ing., plur. tant. in Chech. The vowel correspondence is irregular (Chech. has a short -a-, but Ing. ɔ points to long *ā before a following back vowel - indicating an oblique base like *jārλu-).

| Tsez. *heλu B 1 wormwood, absinth 2 a k. of grass: Inkh. ʕaλu 1; Bezht. heλ 2.

| Lak. la medicinal absinth.

| Khin. ink: grass, hay.

| W.-Cauc. *jaʎa goose-foot (grass): Ad. *jaʎa-sχʷa*; Kab. *jaʎa-sχʷa*.

PAK *jaʎa (used only in a compound with *sχʷa 'grey' < *sʷəχʷa q.v.). The compound actually means "grey grass", or possibly just "jaʎa-grass" - because the root *sχʷV in PAK has also the meaning 'burdock, weeds' - but is now folk-etymologically understood as "grey ashes" - because of the confusion of the two originally separate roots (see *jaʎa 'ashes').

[] The NC etymology seems plausible both phonetically and semantically. The Lak. form has reduced the first weak syllable (*la* < *jila). Not quite clear is the Khin. reflex: Kibrik-Kodzasov-Olovyannikova 1972 have a notation *ink*.; while the latest MSU recordings have *ink* - both are irregular (normally -ḳ would be expected).

k

*kʷwēç(w)V bundle, bunch: Nakh. *koç-ol (~ -ō-); Av.-And. *kʷoçi; Lak. kʷaç; W.-Cauc. *kʷæc:ʷV /*c:ʷVkʷV.

| Nakh. *koç-ol (~ -ō-) plait: Bacb. *koçol*.

Attested only in Bacb., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *kʷoçi 1 bundle, bunch 2 besom: Av. *kʷāçi* 1; And. *kʷoçi* 2; Akhv. *kʷaçi* 2; Tind. *kʷaçi* 1; God. *kʷaçir* 1,2.

Av. paradigm A (*kʷāçi-dul*, *kʷāça-bi*).

| Lak. *kʷaç* armful, bundle.

Cf. Khosr. *kʷaç* 'bundle'.

| W.-Cauc. *kʷæc:ʷV /*c:ʷVkʷV 1 bunch, tuft of hair 2 top: Abkh. *á-kʷcʷ/-čʷkʷ* 2; Ub. *cʷəkʷá* 1.

Cf. also Abkh. -*kʷcʷ* in *a-prá-kʷcʷ* 'mane'. The correspondence Abkh. *cʷ* : Ub. *cʷ* allows to reconstruct PWC *c:ʷ or *cʷ.

[] The etymology seems reliable both phonetically and semantically (although it is sometimes hard to distinguish between reflexes of this root and of the root *kʷinçwV q.v., they are nevertheless to be kept separate).

*kähIV a k. of berry: Av.-And. *karu (~ -o-); Tsez. *kōj B; Lezg. *kaj.

| Av.-And. *karu (~ -o-) 1 mulberry 2 raspberry: Av. *kári* 1; Chad. *kári* 2; Akhv. *karo* 1; Kar. *karu* 1; God. *karu* 1.

Av. paradigm A (*káru-l*, *káru-dul*).

| Tsez. *kōj B 1 bilberry 2 raspberry 3 berry: Tsez. *ko* 2; Gin. *kī* 1,3; Gunz. *kāj* 3.

Cf. also Tsez. (Bokarev) *koI* 'berry'. PTsKh *kōI (~ *kōI).

| Lezg. *kaj bilberry: Arch. *ok*.

Arch. *ok* < *kaj just like *oç* < *çaj etc. (a regular process). Although the root is attested only in Arch., it has probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. The quality of the liquid (*l, not *r) is proved by an old loanword from Av. in Archi: Arch. *kal* 'strawberry'.

*kākV prayer: Av.-And. *kakV; Lak. čak.

| Av.-And. *kakV prayer: Av. *kak*; Chad. *kak*.

Av. paradigm C (*kakí-l*, *káka-l*). Andian languages also reflect this root, within the compound *kakV-kʷiba 'prayer' (see under *kʷiba).

The Av. word was borrowed in most Tsezian languages: Tsez., Gin., Bezht., Gunz. *kak* 'prayer'.

| Lak. čak prayer.

G. pl. *čak-urdil*. Cf. Khosr. *čak* id.

[] An Av.-And.-Lak. isogloss. The PEC reconstruction is not very secure, because the Lak. form may be also borrowed from Avar (with a later affricatization k- > č-).

*kăŋV wooden ladle, shovel: Nakh. *kəŋ; Av.-And. *kVŋV; Tsez. *keŋV; Lak. čəŋ; Darg. *kəŋ; Lezg. *kəŋij / *kəŋaj.

| Nakh. *kəŋ 1 scoop 2 big wooden ladle: Chech. čada 1; Ing. koda 1; Bacb. kaŋ 2.

Cf. also Khild. kodo, Lev. čada id. 6th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *kVŋV scoop: Akhv. kiŋi.

Attested only in Akhv., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *keŋV spoon, ladle: Bezht. keŋe (Khosh.); Gunz. kəŋə (Nakh.).

PGB *keŋV (Gunz. kəŋə < *keŋə).

| Lak. čəŋ wooden shovel.

Cf. Khosr. čəŋ id.

| Darg. *kəŋ shovel: Ak. kəŋ; Chir. kəŋ.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. kəŋ, Kub. kəŋ (with unclear pharyngealisation).

| Lezg. *kəŋij / *kəŋaj 1 wooden shovel 2 scoop: Lezg. kəŋi-r 2 (Khl.); Ag. kəŋ 1; Arch. kəŋi 1; Ud. kəŋ 1.

4th class in Archi. Cf. also Ag. Bursh. kəŋ id. Agul reflects a form with vocalic metathesis (*kəŋaj < *kəŋij, with a regular shift -i- > -e- before -ain the next syllable); the same in Lezg., but with another suffix (kəŋi-r < *kəŋiV-r). In Ud. -ŋ > -d- as a result of dissimilation.

See Khaidakov 1973, 68.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Languages of Eastern Daghestan reflect a form with assimilation (*k- > k-) and with a uniform meaning "shovel". Although this is a cultural word and interlingual loans are probable, the PEC reconstruction seems generally reliable.

*kăŋV gate, fence: Nakh. *kaw (~ -b); Av.-And. *kawV; W.-Cauc. *kawə.

| Nakh. *kaw gate: Chech. kow; Ing. kow.

Obl. base *kawi-na- (cf. Chech. kewna-). 3d class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *kaʔu gate: Av. kawú; Chad. kawú; And. kawu; Akhv. kō; Cham. kaw; Kar. kaw; God. kawu.

Av. paradigm B (gen. Chad. kawú-l / kawú-dul, pl. /Uslar/ kawá-bi). All Andian forms can be, in fact, more or less recent loanwords from Avar; a certain loanword is Tind. kawu (with k- instead of regular k-). Also borrowed from Av. are Tsezian forms: Tsez., Gin., Inkh., Gunz. kawu, Bezht. kaw 'gate'.

| W.-Cauc. *kawə fence: Ad. čaw; Kab. čaw, čow.

PAK *kăwə. In Ad. the word also means 'farmstead'; in Kab. it is now rather archaic and means also 'small fortress'.

[] The PNC antiquity of this root is rather dubious. It is nearly identical in all languages (and the probability of interlingual borrowing is rather high), refers to a cultural phenomenon, and is widely represented outside the North Caucasian languages: cf. Georg. (dial.) kawi 'fence, fortress' (probably an Adygh loanword), Osset. kaw / kawä 'fence', Hung. káva id., Mord. kav 'closet, cage', Veps.

kavi 'stake', Russ. (Novgor., Olon.) kaba, kaba id. See Shagirov 1977, Abdokov 1983, 127, Abayev 1949, 1958, Vasmer 1967.

Rogava (1956) and Kumakhov (1964) may be right in treating PAK *kăwə as a derivate from *kə 'twig, rod'. In this case the Adygh form is a probable source of all the above forms, and the form *kăwV should be considered non-existent.

*kăwčə (~ -ə-) bitch: Av.-And. *kučV; Tsez. *kača; Lak. kuča; Darg. *kuč; Lezg. *kač; Khin. kač.

| Av.-And. *kučV bitch: Chad. kučá.

Paradigm B (kučí-l, kuč-bí). Cf. also Av. Andal. guča 'bitch', which must be a contamination of this root with another one, present in lit. Av. gʷaží (see *gwāžē).

| Tsez. *kača bitch: Tsez. kača; Gin. kača; Bezht. kăčə (Tlad.); Gunz. kača.

PTsKh *kača, PGB *kača (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. kăča).

| Lak. kuča bitch.

This is the genuine Lak. word for 'bitch' (more widely used is guza id. which is borrowed from Darg., see *gwāžē).

| Darg. *kuč bitch: Chir. kuč.

The word is attested only in Chir. and hence suspicious; but no immediate source of loan for this word can be discovered (in Lak. and in Avar dialects we have kuča, and in Agul - kač; phonetically they could not result in Chir. kuč).

| Lezg. *kač bitch: Lezg. kač; Tab. kač; Ag. kač; Rut. kuč; Kryz. kăč; Bud. kăč.

The Rut. form (with -u-) is interesting, suggesting that the original PL form may have been *kawč. Obl. base *ka(w)ča- (cf. Lezg. kăča-, Tab. kača-, Ag. kača-). 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages.

Tsakh. gože must be kept apart from this root (see *gwāžē).

See Leksika 1971, 159; Talibov 1980, 301.

| Khin. kač bitch.

The word may be borrowed from Shakhdagh (cf. Kryz. kăč, Bud. kăč).

[] The word is very similar in different subbranches, and some interlingual borrowings may have had happened (some of the certain borrowings were mentioned above). It is not excluded, that the Av. dialectal forms are borrowed from Lak., and that the Khin. form is borrowed from the Shakhdagh languages. However, the Tsezian and Lezghian forms can not be borrowed from any external source.

The root is close phonetically and semantically (and thus reveals a tendency to contaminate) with PEC *gwāžē 'dog, bitch'. However, they are opposed in several languages and must be kept apart.

*kėrkV gum (in mouth): Av.-And. *kirki-l; Darg. *kek; Lezg. *kerk (?).

| Av.-And. *kirki-l gum (in mouth): Akhv. keke.

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *kerkel* id. Isolated in Akhv., but with a good Darg. parallel.

| Darg. **kek* gum (in mouth): Ak. *kek*.

| Lezg. **kerk* finger nail: Lezg. *kek*; Ag. *kirk*.

Labialization in Ag. Burk. *kerk* is secondary - from the oblique base *kerku*-. The Ag. and Lezg. information (Ag. *kirku*-, Lezg. *kike*) is insufficient for establishing the PL vowel base.

[] The Lezg. form may be joined with the rest if we assume the common meaning to be "covering" (of finger > 'finger-nail'; of tooth > 'gum'). Phonetically the correspondence is exact.

**kəwɪV* (~ -*ō*-) sheaf: Nakh. **ko(w)*; Av.-And. **k^wilV*; W.-Cauc. **kəla*.

| Nakh. **ko(w)* a bunch of wheat mown by one sweep of a sickle: Chech. *ko*.

Obl. base *ko-na*-. Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **k^wilV* sheaf: Av. *gul*; Chad. *gul*; And. *k^wol*; Akhv. *koli*; Cham. *k^wel*; Tind. *koli*; Kar. *kole*; God. *koli* (*Gud.*).

Av. paradigm C (*guli-l*, pl. *gula-l*; Chad. *guli-l*, *gúl-dal*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Ratl. *k^weli*, Cham. Gig. *koli* id. The rare correspondence Av. *g*- : PA **k^w*- points to a specific Av.-And. reflex of PEC **k*- with a tense phonation.

| W.-Cauc. **kəla* sheaf: Abkh. *a-kəla*.

Attested only in Abkh., but having probable EC parallels.

[] The root is not widely spread outside the Av.-Andian area, but the correspondences (both semantic and phonetic) are regular, and the NC reconstruction seems probable.

**kHəɪwV* / **kHəɪV* short; short-eared (hornless) animal: Av.-And. **k^wVɪV*; Tsez. **kəɪV*-.; Lak. *kuɟa*-.; Darg. **kuɟ*-.; Lezg. **k^wVIɪV*-.; W.-Cauc. **k:əɪə* (~*g*-,*d*-).

| Av.-And. **k^wVɪV* short-eared ram: Akhv. *k^waɟa*.

Isolated in Akhv., but with probable external parallels.

| Tsez. **kəɪV*- short: Tsez. *koɬono*; Gin. *koɬondiju*; Khvarsh. *koɟtu* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *kottu*.

PTsKh **kəɪV*- (with various suffixation and sometimes with dissimilative deglottalization).

| Lak. *kuɟa*- short.

Lak. > Arch. *kūɟa-t:u*-.

| Darg. **kuɟ*- short: Chir. *kuɟze*.

Cf. also Kait. *kuɟi-l* id.

| Lezg. **k^wVIɪV*- 1 short 2 narrow 3 short-eared ram: Lezg. *gūɟu* 2; Ag. *gūɟ* 3 (*Burk.*); Kryz. *g^wäɟä* 1; Bud. *goda* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Kur. *g^weɟi* 'narrow'. Initial **g^w*- may be also reconstructed on basis of Lezg. data (but in Lezg. *g^w*- may be < **k^w*- before the following glottalized stop). In Shakhdagh there occurred an assimilation (-*ɟ* > -*d*-), usual in roots of this type.

Vocalic quality is not clear (because of reductions in the first syllable); pharyngealization is probable because of front-vocalic reflexes in Lezg. and Ag.

| W.-Cauc. **k:əɪə* (~*g*-,*d*-) hornless (of horned domestic animals): Abkh. *a-gdä*; Abaz. *gdi*.

PAT **gəɟə* (or **gəɟə-jə* > Abaz. *gdi*).

[] The vocalic reconstruction is not very certain because of labialisation shifts; length is postulated primarily on basis of WC evidence (if the PAT voiced stops really go back to strong stops in PWC). Consonantal correspondences are more or less regular (we should mention only the regressive assimilation in Av.-And.-Tsez. and the delabialisation of the dental stop in PWC: rather frequent phenomena in roots consisting of two stops). Note that Arch. *kūɟa*- 'short' is obviously a Lak. loan.

Phonetically a perfect match is Khin. *kuɟa* 'puppy'; since it has no other etymology, it may ultimately belong here, too.

Both meanings - simply 'short' and 'short-eared (animal)' must be postulated already for PEC, since they keep appearing in different subgroups. However, it is hard to reconstruct a definite meaning for PNC (was it 'short' or a 'short-horned animal' or both?).

**kHwanšV* (~*č*-,*ō*-,*š*-) foot, leg: Av.-And. **k^wanš:a* (~*o*-,*o*); Darg. **k^walš* (~*š*-).

| Av.-And. **k^wanš:a* (~*o*-,*o*) 1 foot 2 paw: Cham. *k^wans:a* 2; Tind. *k^wanš:a* 1,2; Bagv. *k^wanš:a* 1.

Cf. also Bagv. Tlis. *koš:a*.

| Darg. **k^walš* (~*š*-) foot, leg: Ak. *kuɟš* (*Tsud.*).

Quoted from Khaidakov 1973. Perhaps we should relate here also Chir. *k^warš*: 'armful' and reconstruct PD **k^warš*:? (For the semantics cf. another similar root, PD **k^waš* 'handful' < **paw*).

[] An And.-Darg. isogloss, with the Darg. form quoted from Khaidakov 1973 - thus not very reliable. However, the Andian root still must be kept distinct from **k^wašV* < PEC **k^wašV* q.v.

**kHwərV* hole, pit, ravine: Nakh. **kör*; Tsez. **kurV* B; Lak. *kuɟru*; Darg. **kur*; Lezg. **kur*.

| Nakh. **kör* window: Chech. *kor*; Ing. *kor*; Bacb. *kor*.

Obl. base **kōra*- (Chech. *kōra*-, Ing. *koro*). 5th class in Chech. and Bacb.

| Tsez. **kurV* B brook, ravine: Tsez. *keru* / *keru*; Gin. *koro*; Khvarsh. *kula*; Inkh. *kula*; Bezht. *kuwo*; Gunz. *kuro*.

PTsKh **kuRV*; PGB **kuro* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *kuro*).

| Lak. *kuɟru* nest.

| Darg. **kur* pit: Ak. *kur*.

Cf. Ur., Tsud. *kur* id.

| Lezg. **kur* 1 river 2 pit: Kryz. *kur* 1; Bud. *kur* 1; Ud. *kur* 2.

The meaning in Ud. is original; in the Shakhdagh languages there was a semantic development 'pit, ravine' > 'river' (cf. similar semantic development in Tsezian languages).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Both phonetically and semantically reliable (all the meanings center around the principal meaning "pit").

*kīč̣ puppy: Nakh. *kāçe; Av.-And. *kVčV; Lak. kaça; Darg. *keça; Lezg. *kiç / *çik.

| Nakh. *kāçe puppy: Chech. *kēza*; Ing. *kaza*; Bacb. *kaç(ē)*.
Obl. base *kāçi-* (Chech. *kēza-*, Ing. *kāzo*). Cf. also Cheb. *kāze*, Khild. *kēze*, Ved. *kēze* etc. 3d class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *kVčV puppy: Av. *kaʿiç*.

The Av. form (quoted from Khaidakov 1973) has a typical Av. infix -s-, characteristic for names of young animals. A very strange form (expressively reformed?) is Av. Chad. *koʿo* 'puppy'.

| Lak. *kaça* puppy.

Cf. Khosr. *kaça* id.

| Darg. *keça puppy: Ak. *keça*; Chir. *kaça*.

Cf. also Ur. *kaça*, Kub. *kaçe* etc.

| Lezg. *kiç / *çik 1 puppy 2 dog 3 small, little: Lezg. *kiç* 2; Rut. *çik* 1; Ud. *k:ic:i* 3.

PL oblique base *kiçi- or *kiçe- (cf. Lezg. *kiçi-*, Rut. *çiki-*). In Rut. there occurred a metathesis and assimilation (due to the expressive nature of the root). The original meaning was probably 'small, young (of animals)'.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. In Lak. we should expect *kiça; the -a-vowel is due to contamination with another root, PEC *kwimčā q.v., reflected in Lak. as *kança*.

*kiŭ farmstead; hut: Av.-And. *kilV; W.-Cauc. *kalV.

| Av.-And. *kilV farmstead: Av. *kulī*; Chad. *kolō*; Akhv. *kila* (Tseg.); Tind. *kila*; Kar. *kile*; Bagv. *kila* (Kvan.).

Av. paradigm B (*kulō-l*, *kulā-l*; cf. also Usl. *kolī* / *kolō*, loc. *kolō-da*, pl. *kulā-l*; thus the Chad. C paradigm - *kulī-l*, *kul-dal* - is obviously secondary). The Av. form is obviously a metathesis < *kilu. Av. > And. *kuli* id.

| W.-Cauc. *kalV hut: Abkh. *a-kāla*; Abaz. *kala*; Ad. *čaL*; Kab. *čəL*.

PAT *kala (cf. also Bzyb. *a-kāl*); PAK *kVLə. Despite Klimov 1968, 294 there are no reasons to consider the AT form an AK loan. WC > Svan. *köl*, *kel* id. (see Klimov *ibid.*).

□ An Av.-And.-WC isogloss. However, the correspondences are quite regular (both phonetically and semantically), and the NC antiquity of the root seems very probable. See Abdokov 1983, 127 (although with some confusion between this root and PEC *LwētV 'fence' q.v. - which should be carefully distinguished).

Since there is some semantic connection between 'house' and 'hearth' (cf., e.g. PEC *hnārGwī), one feels tempted to compare Ag. *kilāj-ar* 'hearth' (a plur. tantum). The word is, however, isolated within Lezghian and this hypothesis still is to be proved.

*kirfiē luck; virtue: Nakh. *ka; Lak. *čiri*; Darg. *kiri.

| Nakh. *ka (good) luck (indecl.): Chech. *ka*.

Attested only in Chech., with probable external parallels.

| Lak. *čiri* blessing, gratitude, praise.

| Darg. *kiri virtue: Ak. *kiri*.

Cf. also Ur., Muir. *kiri*, Kub. *čire* id.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Within the triangle Lak-PD-Avar the root may be borrowed (in either direction, which right now is rather difficult to establish), but the Chech. form is probably genuinely related.

*kirV (~ē-) chest; belly, entrails: Nakh. *kēre; Av.-And. *kirV / *rikV; Tsez. *riku (~l-, -i-).

| Nakh. *kēre belly, entrails: Chech. *kīra*; Ing. *ker*.

Cf. also Chech. Pharch. *kīr*, Cheb. *kjēri*. 5th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing.

| Av.-And. *kirV / *rikV 1 chest 2 belly: Av. *kerén* 1; Chad. *kerén* 1; Akhv. *reka* 2; Botl. *reka* 2; God. *reka* 2.

Av. paradigm C (*karán-zul*, *kúrmu-l*; Chad. gen. *karán-dul*).

| Tsez. *riku (~l-) entrails: Tsez. *aχʷa-reku*; Khvarsh. *aχa-reke-se* (Radzhibov).

PTsKh *ʷaχʷa-riku. A compound with *aχʷa-* 'belly, stomach'.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level (with a sporadic metathesis in Av.-And.-Tsez.). Abdokov (1983, 93) lists also Darg. -akʷ 'middle' (which we were unable to identify) and Ud. *bukun* 'belly' (a misspelling of *buq:un* which goes back to quite another root, PEC *bhērǻV q.v.). He compares this set of EC forms with PWC *kʷə 'middle'. Since the only reliable EC data point clearly to *kirV or *kērV, this etymology is to be rejected.

*k[ī]šwV scythe (or a similar cutting tool): Nakh. *kēs; Av.-And. *kVš:V; Tsez. *k[i]s:ʷ- / -š:ʷ-; Lezg. *kis(a).

| Nakh. *kēs(s) a stripe of mown corn or grass: Chech. *kes*; Ing. *kes*.

Chech. obl. base *kēsa-ra-*. 3d class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *kVš:V a device for cutting hay: Av. *kašu* (Ants.).

Cited from Миканлов 1959.

| Tsez. *k[i]s:ʷ- / -š:ʷ- 1 to mow 2 to shear, clip: Tsez. *kos-* 1; Bezht. *kus-uʷ-* 2 (Tlad.); Gunz. *koš-* 1.

PGB *kuš- / *koš-. The root reveals a variation u/o (pointing to lost consonant labialisation) and *s:/ʃ: (typical for reflexes of PEC palatal sibilants).

| Lezg. *kis(a) fork: Arch. *kis*.

Attested only in Archi, but having probable external parallels.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root must have denoted some scythe-like tool for mowing grass. It also denotes the process of mowing (in PTs), and the result of mowing (stripe of mown grass) in PN. The vocalic reconstruction is not quite certain, because of variation in PTs and insufficiency of data in other subgroups.

*kišV (~ -ī-) opening, cleft: Nakh. *kaš; Tsez. *kiš:(~ -i-).

| Nakh. **kaš* grave: Chech. *kaš*; Ing. *kaš*.

3d class in both languages. Obl. base **kašu-* (Chech. *koša-*, Ing. *kašo* with vowel levelling).

| Tsez. **kiš*(:) cleft: Tsez. *keš*; Khvarsh. *keš*.

PTsKh **kiš*.

[] A Nakh-Tsez. isogloss.

**kɪčwɪ* hook, curved: Nakh. **kōčel-ik* (~ -*ž-*); Av.-And. **kič-*; Tsez. **kVč*(*ʷ*)*V*; Lak. *kič*; Darg. **kič*; Lezg. **kuč*.

| Nakh. **kōčel-ik* (~ -*ž-*) stick with a hook; hook, gaff: Chech. *kōžalg*; Ing. *kožolg*.

4th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing. In the Russ.-Chech. dictionary the Chech. word is glossed as *kožalg*; in the Russ.-Chech.-Ing. dictionary - as *kožolg*.

The word has an *-l-suffix (with a following diminutive). The suffixless stem is probably reflexed in Chech. *kāža* 'hinge, door-hinge' (with an assimilation *k-* < *k-*, as in some other EC languages).

| Av.-And. **kičV* 1 hook 2 hinge, buckle 3 noose 4 loop: Av. *kič* 1,3; Cham. *kič* 2; God. *kiči* 4.

Cf. also Av. *kič-* 'to bend', God. *kič-ī* id. A quite strange form is Av. (Uslar) *kuc* 'metallic button' - is it a dialectal form of the same root, modified under influence of *kuc* 'shape'?

| Tsez. **kVč*(*ʷ*)*V* 1 hook 2 buckle 3 hoop: Tsez. *kaču* 3; Khvarsh. *kaču* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *kaču* 2; Gunz. *kōči* 1.

PTsKh **kaču*. The Gunz. form is somewhat irregular (assimilated *k-* < *k-* and unclear vocalism with nasalisation); still it is difficult to separate it from the PTsKh form. We deal, perhaps, in this case with old interdialectal borrowing.

The Tsezian languages have some other resembling forms which are still harder to explain phonetically: PGB **geza* 'button, buttonhole' (Bezht. Tlad. *geza*, Khosh. *geza* 'button', Gunz. *geza* 'buttonhole'); Bezht. Tlad. *gečā*, Khosh. *geco* 'buckle'; Gin. *kici* 'ring', Bezht. *kiči* 'lace-knot'. These are most probably results of contaminations and old interlingual / interdialectal borrowings.

| Lak. *kič* button.

Cf. Khosr. *kič* id.

| Darg. **kič* hook; buckle: Ak. *kič*.

Cf. also Ur. *kič* 'hook; button', Kub. *çiç* id, Kharb. *çiç* 'button', Tsud., Sirg. *kič*, Muir., Kait. *çiç* 'hook'.

| Lezg. **kuč* 1 button 2 hook, buckle 3 door lock 4 hooked, bent: Ag. *kuč* 1; Rut. *kič* 2; Tsakh. *kič* 1; Arch. *kič* 3; Ud. *k:oč*:1 4.

Cf. also Arch. plur. *koč-or*. Obl. base **kuči-* (cf. Rut. *kiči-*, Tsakh. *kiči-*). 3d class in Rut. and Arch., 4th class in Tsakh. Vinogradova-Klimov (1979, 157) supposed that the word was borrowed from Armenian (*k:əč:ak:* 'button'), but this is unacceptable: the Arm. form has no Indoeuropean etymology and is most probably borrowed from Caucasian.

See Leksika 1971, 214; Khaidakov 1973, 93; Talibov 1980, 289.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for assimilative glottalisation in some languages (which is a usual phenomenon), correspondences are regular. The root must have specifically meant 'hook, hook for fastening > clasp, buckle' (which explains the frequent semantic shift > 'button').

**kikɪ* (~-*ə*, -*ä*) female breast, teat: Av.-And. **koka* / **kika*; Tsez. **kikə* B; Lak. *k:uk:u*; W.-Cauc. **kəka*.

| Av.-And. **koka* / **kika* female breast: Av. *keké*; And. *koka*; Akhv. *kaka*; Cham. *čeča*; Tind. *keka*; Kar. *kaka*; Botl. *kaka*; Bagv. *kaka*.

Av. paradigm B/C (Usl. *keké/kokó*, pl. *kukbi/kúkdul*). Two variants (with *-o- and with *-i-) must have coexisted already on the PAA level.

| Tsez. **kikə* B 1 female breast 2 cow's nipple 3 spring, source: Tsez. *kiki* / *kik* 1,3; Gin. *kik* 3; Khvarsh. *kaka* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *koko* 1,3; Gunz. *kig-la* 2.

PTsKh **kəkə* (although in Gin. one would rather expect **kek*).

| Lak. *k:uk:u* teat, nipple.

| W.-Cauc. **kəka* female breast, teat: Abkh. *a-kəka*; Abaz. *kəka*.

PAT **kəka*.

[] An expressive, but well preserved common NC root. Correspondences are regular. See Abdokov 1983, 76.

**kɪltwV* some flat part of body: Nakh. **kōrta*; Av.-And. **kortV* (~-a-); Tsez. **kiɬʷa* / **kʷiɬa*; Lak. *čan̄ti*; Lezg. **kʷilt-/kʷilt-*; Khin. *tuğun*.

| Nakh. **kōrta* head: Chech. *korta*; Ing. *korta*; Bacb. *kortō*.

Obl. base **kōrti-* (Chech. *kōrta-*, Ing. *kerto*). 6th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. **kortV* (~-a-) 1 temple (of head) 2 hair in horse's mane: Chad. *kart* 2; Cham. *kart* 1; Tind. *katu* 1; Botl. *karti* 1.

Cf. also Botl. *karta-χ:u* 'dishevelled (hair)'. In Av. there occurred an assimilation (*kart* < **kart*). Av. paradigm C (*kartí-l*, *kárta-l*); in plural the word also means 'mane'.

| Tsez. **kiɬʷa* / **kʷiɬa* buttock: Gin. *keɬa*; Bezht. *koɬa* (*Khosh*); Gunz. *koɬo* (*Nakh.*).

PGB **koɬa* (Gunz. -ɔ is secondary or badly recorded instead of -a; note also the Gunz. dialectal form *kōɬa*, suggesting a possibility of nasalisation in PTs).

| Lak. *čan̄ti* temple; forelock.

| Lezg. **kʷilt-/kʷilt-* 1 temple 2 cheek 3 head 4 skull: Rut. *qilta-n* 1 (*Khñ.*); Tsakh. *ketel* 1; Kryz. *kʷaɬin* 2; Bud. *kuɬun* 2; Arch. *kar̄ti* 3; Ud. ? *k:ant:az* 4.

Cf. also Tsakh. (Tsakh.) *kur̄tel* 'temple'. In Rut. *q-* is due to contamination with *qul* 'head'; the Udi form is somewhat obscure phonetically (maybe we should rather list here Ud. *kodo-χ* 'forehead' ?). All languages show suffixed forms (with *-n in Rut., Kryz. and Bud., *-l in Tsakh. and *-j in Arch.). 3d class in Kryz. and Bud., but 4th class in Rut., Tsakh. and Arch.

| Khin. *tuğun* cheek.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The semantic shifts between

'temple of head' (> 'head'), 'cheek' and 'buttock' are rather usual, but it is not quite clear which part of body was originally denoted by the root. The Khin. form could be borrowed from Shakhdag languages (cf. Bud. *kuṭun*), but this is not very probable because of metathesis in Khin.

**kirt(w)ṽ* enclosure: Nakh. **kart*; Av.-And. **kartV* (~ -o-); W.-Cauc. **kVtV*.

| Nakh. **kart* fence, yard: Chech. *kert*; Ing. *kart*.

Obl. base **karte-* (Chech. *kerta-*, Ing. *karto*) had influenced the vowel of the direct base in Chech. 4th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **kartV* (~ -o-) 1 enclosure, pen 2 place for meeting, *godekan*: Av. *kort* 2 (*Gid.*); God. *karti* 1.

Perhaps we should reconstruct the original Av.-And. form with labialisation, like **kVrtV* or **kVrtV*: this is suggested by an old loanword from Avar (or from some Andian language) - Inkh. *k'erti* "godekan". Unfortunately, the word is poorly recorded (although it no doubt exists in many languages and dialects).

| W.-Cauc. **kVtV* 1 village 2 sheep-fold: Abkh. *a-kāta* 1; Abaz. *kāt* 1; Ad. *čat* 2; Kab. *čat* 2.

PAT **kātV*; PAK **kāta*. The semantic correlation ('village' - 'sheep-fold') points to the original meaning 'enclosure'. Osset. (Dig.) *kāt* 'an open outhouse close to the sheep-fold', despite Abayev 1,590, is probably borrowed from Adygh.

[] A cultural Wanderwort, present, beside Caucasian languages, in Osset. (*kārt* 'yard', most probably borrowed from Nakh; on Osset. *kāt*, see above), Fenno-Ugric (Khant. *karta*, Mans. *karda* 'door', Hung. *kert* 'enclosure' etc.), Kartvelian (Georg. dial. *karta*, Megr. *karta* 'enclosure for cattle'), IE **ghordh-*. See Shagirov 1,128, Abayev 1, 586-587.

**k[ir]tV* hole, opening: Av.-And. **karṭi* (~ -o-); Lak. *k:uṭ*; Lezg. **kV(r)t-*.

| Av.-And. **karṭi* (~ -o-) hole, opening: Av. *karát*; Akhv. *kaṭi*; Cham. *kaṭi* (*Gig.*); Tind. *karṭi*; Kar. *karṭa*.

Av. paradigm C (*karṭi-l*, *kárṭa-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan., Ratl. *karṭi*, Kar. Tok. *karṭi*.

| Lak. *k:uṭ* hole, burrow.

Cf. Khosr. *k:uṭ* id.

| Lezg. **kV(r)t-* vagina: Ud. *k:ut:*.

Attested only in Udi (therefore the PL reconstruction is only tentative), but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The vocalism is not quite clear.

**kāṭV* a k. of vessel: Nakh. **kāṭ*; Av.-And. **kāṭum*; Tsez. **kə(ṽ)tV*; Lezg. **kāṭ*; W.-Cauc. **kāta*.

| Nakh. **kāṭ* cup, pot: Chech. *kad*; Ing. *kad*.

Cf. also Ing. (in Imnaishvili's notation) *kāt:*. 6th class in both languages.

Obl. stem **kāte-* (Chech. *kēda-*, Ing. *kado*).

| Av.-And. **kāṭum* trunk, box: Chad. *kāṭum*.

Av. > Arch. *kāṭum* id. Old Avar loanwords are PTsKh **kāṭ[u]m* 'trunk' (Gin. *kēṭun*, Tsez. *kemoṭ* / *kemet*, Inkh. *kāṭomol* = Av. pl. *kāṭumal*) and Bezht. *ṭikaban* (with metathesis and shift of nasalisation < **kāṭamal* = Inkh. *kāṭomol*, see above).

| Tsez. **kə(ṽ)tV* cup, plate: Tsez. *kōṭi*; Gin. *kōṭo* / *kōṭo*; Khvarsh. *kōṭe* (*Radzhibov*).

PTsKh **kə(ṽ)tV* / **kə(ṽ)tV*. In Gin. the variant with *k-* is recorded by Bokarev and MSU; but Lomtadze has *k-*, which seems to be the most archaic variant.

| Lezg. **kāṭ* 1 pot 2 big basket 3 pan: Lezg. *geṭe* 1; Arch. *kōṭ* 2; Ud. *kot:o-war* 3.

The Lezg. form has a secondary voicing *geṭe* < **kāṭe* < **kāṭV-j* (cf. dialectal forms: Kur., Kub., Akht. *kēṭe*). It is not quite clear (because of vocalic considerations) whether we should relate here also Lezg. *kāṭ* 'big wooden box for grain', Khl. *kāṭ-kun* 'basket'.

| W.-Cauc. **kāta* net: Abkh. *ā-kāta*; Abaz. *kāta*.

PAT **kāta* (cf. also Bzyb. *ā-kāṭ*).

[] If the WC forms belong here (which phonetically seems rather probable), the word may have originally meant a wattled vessel (which could be used for fishing), with a later semantic shift (> "net"). The PTs vocalism reflects nasalisation (otherwise PTs would have **i-*), so it probably goes back to **kāṭV-n* or **kāṭV-m* (cf. the Avar parallel).

**kīwrV* hair: Nakh. **kur*; Av.-And. **karHV* (~ -o-); Tsez. **kē* B; Darg. **kur*.

| Nakh. **kur* tuft of hair, forelock: Chech. *kur*.

Obl. base *kūra-*. The word is isolated in Chech., but has reliable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **karHV* (~ -o-) hair: Av. *kar*; Akhv. *kari*; Cham. *čā*; Tind. *kara*.

Av. paradigm A or C (pl. *kāra-l*). Cf. also Cham. *Gig. čaj* (which points to the combination *-rH- in PA).

| Tsez. **kē* B hair: Khvarsh. *ka*; Inkh. *kō*; Bezht. *kera*; Gunz. *kera*.

PTsKh **kā*, obl. **kāRa-* (cf. Khvarsh. *kala-*, Inkh. with analogous nasalization *kōla-*), PGB **kera*. The oblique stem in PTs must be reconstructed as **kera-* (cf. the situation in PTsKh); it had substituted the former direct base in PGB.

| Darg. **kur* horse's mane: Chir. *kur*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The combination with -w- is reconstructed to account for the labialised vowel in PN and PD; it also explains a specific behaviour of -r- (as if it were in a cluster with a laryngeal).

Abdokov (1983, 75) tries to connect the root with PAK **sakʷa* 'mane' (q.v.), which is hardly justified.

*kōça (~-e) a k. of bone: Tsez. *koçu; Lezg. *kaça; Khin. kiz.

| Tsez. *koçu back of head: Gunz. koçu.

koçu is the MSU notation; Bokarev writes koco, thus the correctness of the form is still to be checked.

| Lezg. *kaça 1 vertebra 2 (upper) part of shin: Ag. kaç 1; Tsakh. kiça 2.

The PL paradigm must be reconstructed as *kaça (> Ag. kaç with assimilation), obl. *koçä- (> Tsakh. obl. kiça-, spread also to dir. kiça): The root must have denoted some small bone.

| Khin. kiz thigh, hip.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Phonetically the forms correspond well to each other, but the semantic variation ("vertebra"/"back of head", on one side, and "part of shin; thigh, hip", on the other side) give reason for some doubts in the validity of reconstruction.

*kōçV loop, hole: Av.-And. *kiçu; Tsez. *kəcu (~-a-); Lezg. *kaç.

| Av.-And. *kiçu 1 loop 2 yoke-tape 3 buckle, clasp 4 snare, noose: And. kiçu 1; Akhv. kiço 1; Cham. čizu 4 (Gig.); Tind. kiçu 1,3,4; Kar. keçu 1; Bagv. keçu 1; God. kiçu 2.

In Tind. the word also means 'tongs, pincers': this is obviously a result of merger with PA *šimçV 'tongs' q.v. Tind. kiçu > Inkh. kiçu 'tongs'; kiç 'snare, trap' (either chronologically different loans, or loans from different dialects).

| Tsez. *kəcu (~-a-) loop: Bezht. kaco.

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *kaç 1 hole, opening 2 button 3 scar, hem 4 passage: Lezg. kaç (Khl.) 2; Rut. kaç (Khniukh.) 4; Tsakh. kaç (Mishl.) 3; Kryz. kăç 1; Bud. kaç 1,3.

4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. Obl. base *kaça- (Rut., Tsakh. kaça-). Perhaps we should also relate here Tab. Kand. keç 'reel, spool' (= "piece of wood with a hole"), although the vowel -e- is not clear. See Talibov 1980, 296.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for a rather usual metathesis of laryngeal features (PTs *kəcu < *koçu) correspondences are regular.

*kōnmo / *mōnko skin; dandruff: Tsez. *məkV; Lak. čannu; Darg. *kam; Lezg. *kan(a).

| Tsez. *məkV 1 sheepskin 2 fur-coat: Bezht. maku 2; Gunz. məgo 1.

PGB *məku (obl. base *məkə-li- > Bezht. maka-li-, Gunz. məgo-li-; in Gunz. the obl. base vocalism influenced the direct stem; cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. mākā 'fur-coat' with the same vocalic development). The seemingly close PTsKh *boko 'fur-coat' can not correspond to PGB *məku phonetically and is actually a loan from Andian (see *wākəV).

| Lak. čannu dandruff.

| Darg. *kam skin, hide, bark: Ak. kam.

Cf. also Ur. kam 'skin (of vegetables)', Kub., Tsud. kam 'skin, bark', Kharb. kam 'skin, bark, sour cream' etc.

| Lezg. *kan(a) 1 dandruff; epidermis 2 carpet (napless) 3 shaved head: Lezg. kan 1; Ag. kan 2 (Bursh.); Rut. kan 3 (Khnov.).

Also means 'bald spot' in Rut., 'bark, peel' in Lezg. Khl.

Abayev (1958, 579) suggests a Lezg. source for Osset. (suffixed) känk 'dandruff'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Lak. čannu < *kannu. Except for a metathesis (a rather usual phenomenon), correspondences are regular (although we would rather expect -u-, not -a- in Lak.; the wrong vowel is probably due to Ablaut).

*kōrdV log: Nakh. *gudura; Av.-And. *gudur; Lezg. *k:ort: (~ -u-); W.-Cauc. *kədə (~ -t:-).

| Nakh. *gudura 1 cage, frame; trap 2 plough-beam 3 part of loom: Chech. gūra 1; Ing. guwra 2; Bacb. gudur 3.

The precise meaning in Bacb. is "big wooden card in a loom". 6th class in all languages. A derivate of the same root is Chech. gūrig (< *gudur-ik) 'wooden block'.

It is interesting to note Georg. godori 'a big cylinder-shaped basket' - apparently borrowed from Nakh. The same source (possibly through Georg.) has Osset. godorä 'basket for grain' (see Abayev 1958, 522).

| Av.-And. *gudur trap: Av. gudūr; And. gudur; Cham. gudur (Gig.); Kar. gudur (Archo.).

Av. paradigm C (gudrá-l, gúdra-l). All Andian forms may be borrowed from Avar. The Avar source is also proposed for Osset. g'idir 'lock', k'idir 'stump, block' (see Abayev 1958, 529).

| Lezg. *k:ort: (~ -u-) 1 stump, log 2 block; lock: Lezg. gurd 1; Ag. gurdar 2 (Bursh.).

Cf. Lezg. Khl. gurd 'log'.

| W.-Cauc. *kədə (~ -t:-) log, stump: Abkh. a-kdā; Abaz. kdā.

PAT *kədə.

[] In PEC we must assume an assimilation (frequent in roots containing two stops) *kōrdV > *gōrdV. Otherwise correspondences are quite regular and the reconstruction seems reliable.

Similar forms are observed in other Caucasian and geographically close languages: cf. Kartv. *kwrde ml- 'anvil', Azer. girdin 'log'. Klimov (1972, 352) must be right in supposing a Kartvelian source for some EC forms like Bacb. grdem 'anvil', Lezg. girdim 'log, block' (Klimov also lists Tsakh. girdam 'log', Tab. gerdem, Ud. gürdüm 'big stone, boulder' - forms which we were unable to check; we can add to the list Bezht. gerden 'big stone; log', Khosh. gerem 'log', Inkh. geren 'hammer', finally, Av. geren 'small log, block'). However, the ultimate source of the Kartvelian forms is probably PNC *kōrdV (with a productive suffix *kōrdV-mV).

*kunV (~ *kwVnV) thread: Av.-And. *(ri)kun; Tsez. *mukV (~ *būkV).

| Av.-And. *(ri)kun 1 thread 2 skein, hank: Av. kun 1; Chad. kum 2; And. rekun 1; Kar. rekun 1; Bagv. rekun (Kvan.); God. rekun.

Av. paradigm A ~ C (pl. *kúna-l*). All Andian languages have a prefixed *r- (of a not quite clear origin).

| Tsez. **mukV* (~ **bukV*) a short rope: Bezht. *muka*.

Attested only in Bezht. (cf. also Khosh. *muka* id.), with probable Andian parallels.

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss. The shape of the word in PA (**ri-kun*) suggests that it could have been a deverbal noun (although the original verb stem is not attested anywhere). If this is so, we could perhaps reconstruct a verbal root **VkwV* 'to sew' and relate here also PEC **kwēlV* 'thread' q.v. (another deverbal noun - perhaps < **Vkwel(H)V*); cf. also the non-etymologized Ud. *beIk* 'needle'. One needs, however, more data to draw final conclusions. [Cf., perhaps, Rut. *t-u=ka-* 'to knit' with an expressive preverb?]

kurmāsV* / **kurmāzV* a k. of fruit: Nakh. **kamiz*/kamis*(/-mus); Tsez. **kušV* (~ -ū-, -š:-); Lak. *k:urmuz*; Darg. **k:imirsi*; Lezg. **kumārš* / **kumārč*; W.-Cauc. **mərəgʷəzʷə*(~k:ʷ, z).

| Nakh. **kamiz*/**kamis*(/-mus) grape: Chech. *kems*; Ing. *koms*; Bacb. *kaniz*.

4th class in all languages. Variation **z*/**s* reflects two old PEC variants (present also in other languages). The Chech. and Bacb. forms reflect a vocalic variant **kamis* (**kamiz*), but Ing. *koms* presupposes a form **kamus*.

| Tsez. **kušV* (~ -ū-, -š:-) peach: Tsez. *kušuhi*; Gin. *kušohi*.

PTsKh **kušVI-hi* (~ -ū-, -ī). The word is a compound; for the second part cf. possibly PTs **hi* 'pear'.

| Lak. *k:urmuz* a k. of fruit (мирабель).

Cf. also Khosr. *k:urmuz* 'damson'. Old Lak. is probably the source of Av. (dial., cited in Khaidakov 1973) *germez* and Arch. *gerbec* 'quince'.

| Darg. **k:imirsi* quince: Ak. *gimirhi*;

Cf. also Ur. *gimirʷa*, Kait. *č:imisi*, Kub. *č:imite* id.

| Lezg. **kumārš* / **kumārč*: quince: Tab. *kumiš*; Ag. *kurzam*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *kuč:im*, Ag. Bursh. *kušsem*. Different dialects reflect variants with *š and *č; paralleling a similar variation in some other EC languages (see above).

| W.-Cauc. **mərəgʷəzʷə*(~k:ʷ, z) a sort of plum or peach: Abkh. *a-mərgʷəz* (*Bzyb.*).

The word is present only in compounds *a-mərgʷəz-phʷa* 'a sort of plum', *a-mərgʷəz-tama* 'a sort of peach'. Although found only in Abkh., the root has interesting parallels in EC.

[] An interesting common NC term (although within the data listed there may still be a number of old interlingual borrowings). The long root structure, of course, is in Caucasian languages very favourable for metatheses, which we observe here in many cases.

We can also mention a quite alone-standing form: Khin. *kinaz* 'grape'. It resembles most the Nakh forms (especially Bacb.), and may be a trace of old Khin.-Nakh contacts. Also borrowed from some neighbour languages (with distortions) are probably some words for 'strawberry' in Andian and Tsezian languages: Cham. *q:ermužūq*: (Gig. *q:erbuši*), Inkh. *xilbač*.

**kūdV* basket, receptacle: Nakh. **kit*; Av.-And. **kVdV*; Tsez. **kʷed* A; Lezg. **ket:ʷ* (~ -i-).

| Nakh. **kit* wineskin, leather sack: Chech. *kit*; Ing. *kit*; Bacb. *kit*.

Obl. base **kite-* (Chech. *kita-*, Ing. *kito-*); the more archaic stem **kātV-* is preserved in the plural form **kat-bV(š)* > Chech. *kattaš*, Bacb. *katbi*. 3d class in Chech. and Bacb., 4th class in Ing.

| Av.-And. **kVdV* basket for hay: Av. *kode-x:el* (*Unt.*).

The Av. compound is cited from Микаилов 1959 (cf. ibid Av. Andal. *kute-x:al* 'basket', with a secondary assimilation).

| Tsez. **kʷed* A basket: Tsez. *kud*; Gin. *kʷid*; Khvarsh. *kʷed* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *ked*; Gunz. *kod*.

PTsKh **kʷed*; PGB **kōd*.

| Lezg. **ket:ʷ* (~ -i-) 1 basket for hay 2 big wooden chest for grain: Lezg. *kud* (*Khl.*) 1; Rut. *kid* 1; Bud. *kud* 1,2.

In Lezg. (*Khl.*) there exists also a derivate *kʷi-kun* with the same meaning, but with a not quite clear second component; in lit. Lezg. only *kuikun* is attested. The Rut. form *kid* clearly points to labialisation not on the first, but on the second consonant in PL (which caused labialisation of the vowel in Lezg. and Bud.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. Abdokov (1983, 128) compares the EC forms with PAK **k:ʷānə* 'basket' (citing also Abkh. *a-kʷnə* 'big basket' - which we were unable to identify), which is very dubious for phonetic reasons.

**kVčV* (~-z-) chin: Av.-And. **gučV-nV* (~gʷi-); Tsez. **kocV-r* (~kʷi-); Lak. *kaçu*.

| Av.-And. **gučV-nV* (~gʷi-) chin: God. *guc:unu*.

Isolated in God., thus the PA reconstruction is tentative.

| Tsez. **kocV-r* (~kʷi-) chin: Gunz. *kocor*.

Attested only in Gunz., but with probable external parallels.

| Lak. *kaçu* chin.

[] The root is attested only in three languages, thus the PEC reconstruction is not very certain. However, since the probability of borrowing here is very small (all languages are not in geographical contact), it must be postulated for PEC.

**kVkwV* flower: Av.-And. **gigin*; Tsez. **gāga*; Lezg. **kikʷ* / **tikʷ*; W.-Cauc. **kaqa-čə*.

| Av.-And. **gigin* flower: And. *žinži*; Akhv. *gigil* (*Tlan.*); Cham. *žižĩ*; Tind. *gigin*; Kar. *gigin*; Botl. *gigina*; Bagv. *gigin*; God. *gigim*.

Cf. also Cham. *Gig. žižin*, Kar. Tok. *girgin*, God. Zib. *gigin*.

| Tsez. **gāga* flower: Tsez. *gagali*; Gin. *gagali*; Khvarsh. *gangi* (*Radzhibov*).

PTsKh **gāgV* / **gāga-le* (cf. also Bokarev's Gin. recording: *gaga* 'flower').

| Lezg. **kikʷ* / **tikʷ* flower: Lezg. *cūk*; Tab. *kukū*; Ag. *tuk*.

The Lezg. and Ag. forms go back to a dissimilated variant **tikʷ* < **kikʷ*

(the Tab. form, going back to *kik^wV-j, is more archaic in this case).

| W.-Cauc. *kaka-čə flower: Abkh. a-kakač.

This expressive stem is attested only in Abkh., but has some EC parallels.

[] An expressive reduplicated stem; vocalism is difficult to reconstruct.

*kVmšwV door-mat, floor-cloth: Av.-And. *kars:am (~ -o-); Lezg. *kum(V)s.

| Av.-And. *kars:am (~ -o-) door-mat, mattress: Akhv. kās:a.

Cf. also Akhv. Tlan., Ratl. kars:am. Quite enigmatic is Kar. b^warza 'mattress' (correspondence is irregular).

| Lezg. *kum(V)s door-mat, floor-cloth: Tab. kūmes.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. kumis id.

[] A cultural And.-Lezg. isogloss (in And. we have to suppose a metathesis *kars:am < *kams:-ar). We can also mention some similar, but phonetically irregular, forms: Bezht. (Tlad., Khosh.) kiz 'carpet'; Chech. kuz, Ing. kuws id. (correspondences between Chech. and Ing. are irregular). The PEC antiquity and phonetic details are rather unclear.

*kVrkV bread, cake: Av.-And. *karaki; Tsez. *kikV; Lezg. *ku(r)ka (~kV(r)k^wa).

| Av.-And. *karaki cake: And. karaki.

Attested only in And., with possible external parallels.

| Tsez. *kikV flour: Tsez. gegmu; Gin. keki-š; Khvarsh. kejka; Inkh. kikku. PTsKh *k ik (Vj)V.

| Lezg. *ku(r)ka (~kV(r)k^wa) cake, bread: Tsakh. kuka.

Attested only in Tsakh., with possible external parallels.

[] The root is obviously expressive (like most words for "bread" in NC languages) and attested only in three languages, thus the reconstruction is somewhat uncertain (cf. also PNC *ku[r]kV).

*kwāčV (~ -č-) left: Av.-And. *kačV-; Tsez. *k^w[e]čV-.

| Av.-And. *kačV- left: And. kači-l.

Attested only in Akhvakh, but having probable Tsezian parallels.

| Tsez. *k^w[e]čV- left: Tsez. kečo-s; Gin. kočo-miš; Khvarsh. k^weča-we; Inkh. k^weča-be.

PTsKh *k^w[e]čV- (with violation of vocalic correspondences).

[] An And-Tsez. isogloss.

*kwāmχē a k.of tool (scraper, shovel, fork): Av.-And. *k^wanχ:i (~ -o-); Darg. *k^waχ:i; Lezg. *k^w(^w)Vχ(:)-; W.-Cauc. *k:ᵂaχ^wa (~k:ᵂ,χ^w).

| Av.-And. *k^wanχ:i (~ -o-) scraper, iron shovel: Av. k^warχ:ī; Akhv. k^wāχ:i; Kar. k^wanχ:e.

Av. paradigm B (k^warχ:ī-dul, k^warχ:ā-bi). Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. k^wanχ:i, Kar. Tok. koχ:i.

| Darg. *k^waχ:i iron shovel (for shoveling up ashes): Ak. kaχi.

Cf. also Ur. k^waIχi (with secondary pharyngealisation), Tsud. kuχ:i, Kub. k^waχ:a.

| Lezg. *k^w(^w)Vχ(:)- scraper: Lezg. kiχel.

A suffixed form, attested only in Lezg. (-i- in the first weak syllable denotes actually a reduced vowel -ə-), thus the PL reconstruction is rather tentative.

| W.-Cauc. *k:ᵂaχ^wa (~k:ᵂ,χ^w) fork: Ad. k^wāχ^wa; Kab. g^wāχ^wa.

PAK *k:ᵂaχ^wa. See Shagirov 1, 109, Kuipers 58. The Shaps. dialect here has variants k:ᵂāχ^wa / g^wāχ^wa (where the form with g^w- is irregular), the Abadz. dialect - g^wāχ^wa (instead of expected k^wāχ^wa). Forms with secondary g^w- can be easily explained as secondary loans from lit. Kabardian, thus Shagirov's (ibid.) hypothesis about the word being borrowed from Mong. goxo 'hook' seems to have little ground.

[] A common NC cultural term. Correspondences are regular.

*kwānfiV (/ *fiākwanV) light, torch: Av.-And. *k^wan[?]i; Tsez. *k^wā; Lak. čani; Darg. *alk^wVn-; Lezg. *ak^wa(n).

| Av.-And. *k^wan[?]i 1 torch 2 light (n.) 3 bright, light (adj.): Av. kan 1; Chad. kán-ti 2; And. k^wana- 3 (Khaidakov); Akhv. k^wani 2; Cham. k^wā 1; Tind. k^wā 1; Kar. k^wano 2; God. k^wāji 1.

The noun and adjective 'light' in Av.-Andian languages are derived from the noun *k^wan[?]i 'torch'. Cf. also Av. kan- 'light' (adj.), kán-λi 'light' (= Chad. kánti, Cham. k^wana-λi, Gig. kun-λir) > Tsez., Gin., Inkh., Gunz., Bezht. kanλi; Tind. k^wana 'light' (n.), Cham. k^wanu- (Gig. kuni), God. k^wanu 'light' (adj.).

There also exists a very close verbal root: Av. =ak- (Chad. =ak-) 'to set fire', PA *ik^wV(n)- > And. =ik^w- 'to catch fire', Akhv. Tseg. =uk- 'to set fire', Cham. =ik^wVn- (Gig. =ikVn-) 'to set / catch fire', Tind. =uk- 'to burn', Kar. =ek^w-, God. =uk- 'to set fire'.

| Tsez. *k^wā torch: Tsez. k^wa; Khvarsh. k^wa (Radzhibov); Bezht. kā; Gunz. kā. PTsKh *k^wa; PGB *kā (obl. base *kana- > Bezht., Gunz. kana-).

| Lak. čani light (n.).

Cf. Khosr. čani id.

| Darg. *alk^wVn- to set fire: Ak. =alk^wVn- (Ur.).

| Lezg. *ak^wa(n) 1 light (n.) 2 dawn: Lezg. ek^w 1; Tab. ak^w 1; Ag. ak^w 1; Rut. jak^w 1; Arch. ak:on 1; Ud. kaj 2.

4th class in Rut. and Arch. Cf. also Ag. Bursh. ak^w, Fit. ek^w, Burk., Tp. ak^w 'light', Arch. ak:u-kes 'to dawn' (= Tab. aku xuz id.). External data show that the original form *ak^wan (retained in Arch., possibly also in Ud., where kaj may reflect *(ak^w)an with phonetic loss of -n) was reinterpreted in most Lezghian languages as the oblique base from *ak^wa (cf., e.g., the Lezg. paradigm: ek^w, erg. ekūni).

See Bokarev 1961, 63; Leksika 1971, 199; Giginayshvili 1977, 80.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The initial *fi- (reflected in the PL form) may be a trace of the old derivational prefix. The root is mostly used as a noun or adjective, but there are some traces of its verbal usage (cf. the Darg. form and the Av.-And. evidence).

*k^wānVčē paw; knee: Nakh. *kač (~ -ā-); Av.-And. *k^wačV; Tsez. *kɔ(n)ču A; Darg. *k^wača; Lezg. *k^wanč(a); W.-Cauc. *g^wan(ə)ža.

| Nakh. *kač (~ -ā-) foot, leg (a slighting expression): Bacb. kač.

Isolated in Bacb., but having good external parallels.

| Av.-And. *k^wačV paw: Av. k^wač; Chad. k^wač; And. k^wača; Akhv. k^wači; Kar. k^wača.

Av. paradigm C (k^wači-l, k^wača-l). Cf. also Kar. Tok. k^wači, koči id. Av. k^wač > Arch. k^wač id.

| Tsez. *kɔ(n)ču A 1 leg, shin 2 distance between thumb and forefinger: Tsez. konču 1; Gin. konču 1; Khvarsh. konču (Radzhibov); Gunz. kɔču 2.

PTsKh *konču. The MSU Gunz. recording has nasalisation: kɔču. The original meaning, as seen from the external evidence, was 'paw'; this explains the semantic difference between PTsKh and Gunz. Rather strange is the Bezht. (Tlad.) form ǎč, which is identical to Gunz. kɔču in meaning, but has for some reason lost k-.

| Darg. *k^wača paw: Ak. kača.

Cf. also Ur. k^wač, Kait. k^wača etc.

| Lezg. *k^wanč(a) paw: Rut. k^wanč.

Obl. base k^wančä-. Isolated within Lezghian, but having reliable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *g^wan(ə)ža knee: Ad. λa-gwānža; Kab. λa-gwāža.

PAK *λa-g^wa(n)ža (*λa 'foot, leg' q.v.). It is hardly possible (for semantic reasons) to compare the AK form with Ub. ḡančá 'handle' (see Shagirov 1977, 249).

[] Correspondences are regular - except for some shifts of laryngeal features, usual for roots with two stops (secondary is the glottalisation *k- > k- in PTs and the voicing *k- > g- in PWC).

*k^wāsV paw: Av.-And. *k^wašV (~o-); Tsez. *k^wašV (~š:-); Darg. *k^waš; Lezg. *k^wVš-.

| Av.-And. *k^wašV (~o-) 1 paw 2 foreleg: Akhv. k^waši 1,2; Cham. koša 2 (Gig.); Kar. k^waša 1 (Archo.).

The root is to be distinguished from PA *k^wanš:a (~o) q.v.

| Tsez. *k^wašV (~š:-) paw: Khvarsh. k^wašu (Radzhibov); Inkh. k^wašu.

PTsKh *k^wašu; a loan from Andian languages not excluded.

| Darg. *k^waš handful, hollow of hand: Ak. kaš.

Cf. also Kub. k^waš (pl. k^wašūbe).

| Lezg. *k^wVš- hoof (of artiodactyla): Ag. kuš-mul (Fit.).

Cf. also (with an interesting metathesis) Ag. Rich. muskel id. The root is attested only in Ag. (thus the PL reconstruction is rather uncertain), but has possible external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is to be kept apart from a similar and synonymous *kHwanšV q.v. (because of an obvious opposition of two roots in Andian and/Darg.).

*k^wēl^sV thread: Av.-And. *k^worV (~ -a-); Lezg. *k^wāl(:).

| Av.-And. *k^worV (~ -a-) thread: Av. k^war; Chad. k^war; Akhv. k^wari; Cham k^war; Tind. k^waru.

Av. paradigm A (gen. k^wáru-l); but Chad. C (k^warí-l, k^wára-l). Cf. also Cham. Gig. koru id.

Av. k^war > Arch. k^war id.

| Lezg. *k^wāl(:) woolen thread: Rut. k^wāl.

Attested only in Rutul, but having probable Andian parallels.

[] An Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss.

*k^wēnVdV̄ (~-ə-) bush, crown of a tree: Nakh. *kondV-r (~-ə-); Tsez. *kɔdV A; W.-Cauc. *k^wanəda (~*k^w-).

| Nakh. *kondV-r (~-a-) 1 crown of a tree; a k. of weed 2 savory: Chech. kondar 1; Ing. kondar 2; Bacb. kondar 2.

Forms with the meaning 'weed, savory' may be loaned from Georgian (cf. Georg. kondari); however, a reverse direction of borrowing is also possible.

| Tsez. *kɔdV A hair, long hair: Tsez. kodi; Inkh. kode.

PTsKh *kode.

| W.-Cauc. *k^wanəda (~*k^w-) bush, shrub: Ad. k^wānd.

Cf. also Bzhed. k^wānda id. Shagirov's (1977) attempt to decompose the root must be considered unsuccessful.

[] The root is not widely spread, but both phonetic and semantic correspondences are quite plausible. See Abdokov 1983, 105.

*k^wētV (~ -ō-, -ə-) lock, forelock; beard: Av.-And. *k^wiṭV; Tsez. *kɔṭu; Lezg. *k^wVṭol-.

| Av.-And. *k^wiṭV 1 forelock 2 cock's comb: Av. kaṭári 1; Akhv. kuṭi 2.

Av. has a suffixed form; in Akhv. a secondary assimilative glottalisation.

| Tsez. *kɔṭu beard: Tsez. koṭu; Gin. koṭu.

PTsKh *koṭu.

| Lezg. *k^wVṭol- branch: Ag. kuṭul.

Cf. also Burk. kaṭul id. Isolated within Lezghian, but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The semantic correlation 'lock, hair' : 'branch, stalk' is rather frequent in EC languages.

*k^wōčV bundle; braid: Nakh. *kōč-Vr (~ *kāč-ur); Tsez. *koč; Lezg. *kuč.

| Nakh. *kōč-Vr (~ *kāč-ur) bundle (of onions, garlic etc.): Chech. kōčar.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *koč bush, shrub: Bezht. kōč (Tlad.); Gunz. koč.

PGB *koč (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. kūč id.).

| Lezg. *kuč braid, plait: Ag. kuč; Bud. kuč.

3d class in Bud. Obl. stem unclear (not enough data).

[] Reconstructed for PEC. A very similar stem is present in Georgian - kočori 'forelock' - whence it penetrated Tsez languages (Tsez., Gin. kočori, Gunz. kočori / gočori, Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. kōčōri), Av. dialects (cf.

Chad. *gočor*) and Ossetian (Osset. *gocora*, see Abayev 1958, 521-522). The Georgian form itself probably has an EC source.

***k^wənčV** (~ -l-) pack-saddle (for a donkey): Nakh. ***kōč** (~ -ž); Tsez. ***kōčV** A.

| Nakh. ***kōč** (~ -ž) pack-saddle: Chech. *kož*; Ing. *kož*.

4th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing. Obl. base ***kōče-** (~ -ž-), cf. Chech. *kōža-*, Ing. *kožo*.

| Tsez. ***kōčV** A pack-saddle: Tsez. *koči*; Bezht. *kačo*; Gunz. *qāču*.

PGB */**kō**ču (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *kāčō*): the reconstruction is somewhat dubious because of the Gunz. form - regularly *kōču* would be expected. It is not clear, whether we deal with an irregularity or with Bokarev's misspelling.

[] A Nakh-Tsez. isogloss.

***k^wərV** a k. of vessel: Av.-And. ***k^wirV**; Tsez. ***kurV** (~ -o,-l-); Lezg. ***k^war(a)**.

| Av.-And. ***k^wirV** 1 trough, gutter 2 a k. of jar: And. *koru* 2; Akhv. *koro* 1; Cham. *kū* 1; Tind. *koru* 1; Kar. *kore* 1.

Cf. also Kar. Anch., Cham. Gig. *koru* id.

| Tsez. ***kurV** (~ -o,-l-) trough, gutter: Tsez. *kuro* (*Kid.*); Gin. *kuro*; Inkh. *kuru*.

PTsKh ***kuRo**.

| Lezg. ***k^war(a)** a big jar (for carrying water): Lezg. *k^war*; Tab. *g^war*; Ag. *g^war*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *k^war*, Tab. Düb. *gar* id. Obl. base ***k^wara-** or ***k^warā-**, cf. Tab. *g^wara-*, Ag. *g^wara-*. Since the external parallels of this word mean 'gutter', it would be tempting to relate here also Arch. *g^warč:i* 'mill kennel, funnel'; there is, however, no *-č:-suffix in Lezghian, and this problem remains open.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

***k^wil²i** hand: Nakh. ***ko**; Av.-And. ***k^wo-**; Tsez. ***k^wirV**; Lak. *ka*; Lezg. ***k^wil**; Khin. *kul*.

| Nakh. ***ko** hand: Chech. *kūg*; Ing. *kulg*; Bacb. *ko*.

The PN paradigm should be probably reconstructed as ***ko** (Bacb. *ko*, Chech., Ing. *ka* with vowel levelling - but cf. also Ing. *ko* 'handle', perhaps preserving the old direct stem), ***kar-** (cf. Chech. *kara*, Ing. *kara* 'into one's hands', Bacb. obl. base with vowel levelling *kor-*). The stem *ka* is now preserved in Chech.-Ing. only in compounds, being replaced by a former diminutive ***ku-lek** (Ing. *kulg*) / ***ku-²ik** (Chech. *kūg*, *kūga-*). 3d class in Chech., Ing.

Nakh ***ku²ik** > Osset. *kūx* / *kox* 'hand', see Abayev 1958, 644.

| Av.-And. ***k^wo-** 1 hand 2 in the hands 3 sleeve 4 mitten 5 handle: Av. *k^wer* 1; Chad. *k^wer* 1; And. *k^wo* 5; Akhv. *k^wa-λala* 4; Cham. *k^wa-di* 2; Tind. *k^wa-ji* 2; Botl. *k^wa-du* 2; God. *k^wa-χa* 3.

Avar. paradigm A (*k^wér-zul*, *k^wéra-l*; Chad. *k^wér-dul*, *k^wéra-l*). Outside Avar

the pure root has been preserved only in Andian (*k^wo* 'handle'); all other languages reflect an original locative form ***k^wo-dV** 'in the hand(s)' (= Av. *ko-dō-b*), as well as the compounds ***k^wo-χ:al** (cf. also Tind. *k^waχ:al* 'sleeve', Cham. *k^waχa* id.) and ***k^wo-λala** (cf. also God. *k^waλala* 'sleeve', And. *k^wo-λir* 'mitten'). The form ***k^wor-** (with the original liquid) is preserved in the common Andian compound ***k^wor-q:in** 'bracelet' (And. *k^worq:in*, Akhv. *k^wāq:e*, Cham. *k^waq:ī*, Gig. *koq:in*, Tind. *k^waq:an*); cf. also ***k^wor-xVn** 'bracelet' reflected in Av. *kúrxen* (Chad. with assimilation *xúrxin*). From Avar the latter word was borrowed in And. *kurxen*, Akhv. *x:ux:i*, Botl., Kar. *k^warxin*, and, probably, Lak. *kulrš:an* (< **kulrx:an*) 'ring'. The second components in ***k^wor-q:in** and ***k^wor-xVn** are not yet clear.

| Tsez. ***k^wirV** hand: Gin. *k^wezej*; Bezht. *kō*; Gunz. *koro*.

PGB ***koro** (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *koro*), obl. ***kō-** (Bezht. *ka-*, Gunz. *kō-*). In PTs there must have coexisted oblique bases ***k^wV-** (> PGB ***kō-**) and ***k^wirV-z:a-** > ***k^wiz:Vra-** (> Gin. *k^wezej*, *k^wežera-*); cf. PTs ***λ^wirV** 'bone' with similar oblique base formation. The old oblique base ***k^wV** (shifted to direct) may be perhaps reflected in Gin. *k^we* 'handle'.

| Lak. *ka* hand.

4th class, obl. base *ka-ni-*. Cf. Khosr. *k^wa*. A derivate is Lak. *kaniš*, Khosr. *k^waniš* 'braclet' (cf. the obl. base *k^wani-*) - borrowed in Arch. *k^weniši*, Ag. *k^waniš*.

| Lezg. ***k^wil** 1 hand 2 branch, cluster 3 elbow 4 switch, vine: Lezg. *kul* 2; Tab. *kul-er* 4; Ag. *kul* 2 (*Burk.*); Rut. *kül-äg* 3; Arch. *kul* 1; Ud. *kul* 1.

The original meaning 'hand' is preserved in Ud. and Arch. (also in the Rut. derivate), while in the rest of languages it shifted to 'branch'. In Arch. the word is characterized by a unique (and as yet unexplained) alternation -l/-r- (cf. the oblique stem *kura-*, pl. *kur-šul*). The PL obl. stem had been ***k^wili-** (to judge from Ag. *kulu-*). The word belongs to the 4th class in Rut. and Arch. Cf. also Ud. *kōj* 'sleeve' (a derived form < ***k^wil(V)j-**).

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 86; Leksika 1971, 124; Giginayshvili 1977, 69, 80; Talibov 1980, 288.

| Khin. *kul* hand.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. The word often serves as first part of compounds, see under ***HtuLV**, ***xačV**, ***χētHe**. In some cases it is hard to establish the etymology of the compound's second element (because of contractions and irregular transformations): this is the case with Av. Chad. *k^we-š* 'mitten', PA ***k^wo-χa** id., PGB ***ko-sa** (Gunz., Bezht. *kosa*) id.; Lak. *kača* (Khosr. *k^wača*; > Arch. *k^wači*) 'glove', Darg. Chir. *kuča* 'mitten' (probably also < Lak.). Darg. preserves the root only within the compound ***k^wi-leχ:a** 'bracelet' (see under ***lēχV**).

Despite several attempts (Trubetzkoy 1930, Abdokov 1983) no secure WC parallels for this root can be observed.

***k^wimkV** light (of weight): Tsez. ***kikV-** A (/e-); Lak. *kuklu-*; Darg. ***kumk-**; Lezg. ***k^wi(m)k**.

| Tsez. **kik-iju* A (/e-) light (of weight): Tsez. *kikju*; Gin. *kekku*; Khvarsh. *kajku* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *kekku*; Bezht. *kikijo* (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *kikku*.

PTsKh **kikju* / **kekju*; PGB **kikiju* (cf. with another suffix Gunz. *kiki-ru* 'small'). As a noun stem **kik* the root meant *'feather' (cf. the meaning in PL) > 'cock's comb' (Bezht. *kik* 'cock's comb').

| Lak. *kuk-lu*- light (of weight).

| Darg. **kumk*- light (of weight): Ak. *kunk-si*; Chir. *kuk-ze*.

Cf. also Ur., Kharb. *kumk*-, Tsud. *kunk*-, Kait. *kuk*-.

| Lezg. **k^wi(m)k* feather: Tsakh. *kukra*; Kryz. *k^wak*.

The Tsakh. form reflects a former plural. Belongs to the 3d class in Tsakh., but to the 4th class in Kryz.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**k^wiŋç^wV* bundle; plait, long hair: Nakh. **kēç* (~ž); Av.-And. **g^wVnç:V*; Tsez. **k^wic* (~i-,u-); Lak. *k^wiz*; Darg. **k^wVnç*; Lezg. **k^wiŋç*; Khin. *gunz*.

| Nakh. **kēç* 1 plait 2 wool: Chech. *kāzar* 1; Ing. *kež* 1; Bacb. *keç* 2.

4th class in all languages. PN paradigm: **kēç*, **kāç-ar*- (cf. Ing. *kež*, erg. *kāzaro*); in Chech. the oblique stem became direct.

| Av.-And. **g^wVnç:V* a small haystack: Chad. *gonōç*.

Chad. paradigm C (*gunç-i-l*, *gónça-l*).

| Tsez. **k^wic* (~i-,u-) cock's comb: Bezht. *kuckuci* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *kuc*.

PGB **kuc* (the Bezht. form is reduplicated).

| Lak. *k^wiz* long hair.

Cf. Khosr. *k^wiz*.

| Darg. **k^wVnç* a bundle of ramson: Ak. *k^wenç* (*Ur.*).

Cf. Kub. *k^wiç* id.

| Lezg. **k^wiŋç* bunch, bundle: Lezg. *kunç* (*Akht.*); Tab. *kunç*; Arch. *k^wiç*.

Cf. also Lezg. Kuba. *kunç* id. (in Lezg. there occurred an assimilation k- > k-, usual in roots of this type). 4th class in Arch.

| Khin. *gunz* a bundle of sheaves.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except for a usual assimilation in PN, Lak. and Khin.).

**k^wiþi* (~ -ü) prayer: Av.-And. **k^wiba*; Darg. **kub*; Lezg. **k^wiþ*; Khin. *kob*.

| Av.-And. **k^wiba* prayer: Cham. *koba*; God. *kuba-dir*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *kuba*. Other Andian languages reflect a specific compound of two roots **kakV-k^wiba* (for the etymology of the 1st part see PEC **kākV*): And. *k:uba* (with tense k:-l), Akhv. *kakiba* / *kakuba*, Tind. *kabka* / *kakwa*, Kar. *kawka* (Tok. *kakba*). Old Tind. > Inkh. *kakba* 'prayer'.

| Darg. **kub* word: Chir. *kub*.

Cf. also Kub. *kub* id.

| Lezg. **k^wiþ* prayer: Lezg. *kap*; Rut. *kub*; Tsakh. *kub*.

Cf. Lezg. erg. *kup-uni*, Lezg. Khl. *kap*, *kup-uni* id. The development **k^wiþ* > **k^wap* > (with dissimilatory delabialisation) *kap* in Lezg. is regular. Obl. base **k^wiþi*- (cf. Tsakh. *kubi*-). 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh.

| Khin. *kob* prayer.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. The word very probably belongs to an early layer of Indo-European loanwords in EC: cf. Osset. *kūwin* (*k^wiw-d*) 'to pray', Old Indian *kopa*- 'anger, irritation' etc. (Indo-Iran. **kwap*- / **kup*-, IE **kwepə*-).

**k(w)išwi* (~-ə,-a) mane, plait, hair: Nakh. **kars* (~ -ā-); Av.-And. **k^wVšV* (~-s-); Tsez. **k^wVs* (~-V-,s-); Darg. **kusala*; Lezg. **kiš^w*; W.-Cauc. **k^wəš^(w)V* (~ **k^w-*).

| Nakh. **kars* (~ -ā-) 1 rope of horse's hair 2 rope of goat's wool: Chech. *kars* 1; Ing. *kars* 1; Bacb. *karsā* 2.

4th class in all languages. There is not enough information to establish the PN vowel length.

| Av.-And. **k^wVšV* (~-s-) wool: Av. *k^was*; Chad. *k^waš*.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. *k^wasú-l*, Chad. *k^wašú-l/k^waší-l*).

| Tsez. **k^wVs* (~-s-) cock's comb: Tsez. *kos*.

Isolated in Tsez., but having probable external cognates.

| Darg. **kusala* wing: Chir. *kusala*.

Cf. also Sirg. *kusala*, Kub. *kuṭala* (Magomedov's notation; regularly **kutala* would be expected).

| Lezg. **kiš^w* plait: Lezg. *kif*; Tab. *kuš*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *kuš* 'plait, long hair', Lezg. Khl. *kuš* 'plait' (erg. *kuš^w-ēni*). A dialectal variant of the same root is probably Lezg. *kuš* 'flax'.

| W.-Cauc. **k^wəš^(w)V* (~ **k^w-*) 1 mane 2 head's crown: Abkh. *a-k^wəš^v* 2; Ad. *sak^w* 1; Kab. *sok^w* 1.

PAK **sák^wə*. For PWC also **s* may be reconstructed (since there are no Bzyb. data available).

Despite Shagirov (1977) PAK **sák^wə* cannot have been borrowed from Ub. *ša-qI^wə* 'hair on head' (for phonetic reasons); however, he must be right in considering Ub. *sak^w* as a loan from Ad. The Abkh. form can be compared if we assume a metathesis - which is rather common in roots of this type.

[] The etymology is plausible both semantically and phonetically. Medial *-r- in PN is probably secondary (from a former obl. stem - **kars* < **kas-rV*-).

**k^wiwV* (~ -ē,-b-) lead, iron: Av.-And. **k^wibV*; Tsez. **k^wibu* A.

| Av.-And. **k^wibV* iron: And. *k:ub*; Cham. *koba*; Tind. *kuba*; Kar. *kuba*; Bagv. *kuba*; God. *kubi*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *kuba*. Initial k:- in Andian is quite strange and unexplicable (although hardly a misspelling - k:- is recorded both in Leksika 1971 and by MSU).

| Tsez. **k^wibu* A lead: Tsez. *kebu* / *kebo*; Gin. *kebu*; Khvarsh. *kobo*; Inkh. *kibu*; Bezht. *kobo*; Gunz. *kobo*.

PTsKh **k^wibu*; PGB **kobo*.

[] An And.-Tsez. isogloss.

**k^wi* who, which (interrogative pronoun): Av.-And. **kV*-; Lak. -ku-; Darg. **kV*-; Lezg. **k^wi*; Khin. *k-la*.

| Av.-And. *kV- interrogative stem: Av. *ki-*; Chad. *ka-*.

Cf. Av. *ki-b* 'where', *kí-ʿan* 'how many', *kí-da* 'when', *ki-n* 'how', *kí-na-b* 'which' etc. The suffixed -go (in literary Avar) changes the quantor reference: *kinab-go* 'every, all' (= Chad. *kana-w*) etc.

Although this root is isolated in Av., it has reliable external parallels.

| Lak. -*ku-* which.

Used only in combination with the interrogative stem *cu-/ci-* (cf. also *ci-k-s:a* 'how many').

| Darg. *kV- where: Chir. *ka-la*.

| Lezg. *k^wi who: Arch. *k^wi*.

The Arch. form is isolated (but having external correspondences).

| Khin. *k-la* who.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. This pronoun is not widely spread and must have had restricted usage in PEC; however, it certainly must be reconstructed.

*k^wi²n¹ (~-ǎ, -ǎ) ram: Nakh. *k^a; Av.-And. *k^win²i; Tsez. *k^wehi (~ *k^wej) ?; Lak. *ku*; Darg. *k^wiha; Lezg. *k^wi²a-r; Khin. *ki*.

| Nakh. *k^a 1 ram 2 male (of animals): Chech. *ka* 1; Ing. *ka* 1; Bacb. *komō* 2.

Obl. base *kōme- (cf. Chech. *kōma-*, Ing. *komo*); the Bacb. adjective reflects directly this oblique base.

| Av.-And. *k^win²i ram: Av. *kuj*; Chad. *k^wi*; And. *kun*; Cham. *k^wi*; Tind. *k^wi*; Kar. *kūji*; Botl. *kū²i*; Bagv. *kū²i*; God. *kūji*.

Av. paradigm A (*kūj-dul*, *kūj-dul*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *kūj* (pl. *kuma*), Gad. *kuj*.

| Tsez. *k^wehi (~ *k^wej) ? ram (from 6 months up to 1 year old): Gin. *k^wij*.

Since the form is isolated in Gin., it may be an Av. loan (there exist dialectal forms *k^wi*, *k^wij* in Av.).

| Lak. *ku* ram.

| Darg. *k^wiha ram: Ak. *kiha*.

Cf. also Chir. pl. *kume*, Ur. *kiwa*, Kub. *k^wa* (pl. *kume*), Kharb. *k^wih^wa*, Kad. *kuj* etc.

| Lezg. *k^wi²a-r young goat: Tsakh. *kuwar*; Kryz. *k^wahār*; Bud. *kūwer*.

Cf. also Tsakh. (Tsakh.) *kiwar* id. 3d class in all languages.

| Khin. *ki* ram; male.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The appearance of -m- in PN (also in some plural forms in Andian and Darg. languages) is caused by secondary labialisation of the Inlaut combination. The vowel in Tsez. (Gin.) is irregular, and it is probable that the Gin. form is, in fact, an Avar loanword. The word means uniformly 'ram', thus the meaning 'young goat' in PL (where the form has a suffixed, possibly originally plural, *-r) is secondary.

*k^wi²j^cV form, appearance: Nakh. *kust (~ -ū-, -t); Lak. *kuc*; Lezg. *kuc(a).

| Nakh. *kust (~ -ū-, -t) bearing, appearance, figure: Ing. *kust*.

Both Ing. and Chech. have also the word *kuc* with similar meanings - obviously a loan from Av. *kuc* id.

| Lak. *kuc* form, appearance, trace, measure.

Gen. *kuc:u-l*.

| Lezg. *kuc(a) 1 appearance, build 2 habit: Lezg. *kuc* 1; Tab. *kuc* 1; Ag. *kuc* 1; Arch. *kus* 2.

The Archi word demonstrates a regular development *c > s, and the PL reconstruction seems justified (although, of course, interlingual loans are possible).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The word seems to be genuine at least in Ing., PL (where regular phonetic development took place) and Lak (the Lak. word has a tense -c- which can not be explained if we assume a loan from Av., Darg. or Lezg. *kuc*).

The Lak form (with regular weakening *kuc: > *kuc*) is the most probable source for Avar *kuc* 'measure, form; face' (whence Akhv. (cited from Khaidakov 1973) *kuči* 'face'), and for Darg. *kuc* 'appearance, form, build' (identical in all dialects: Ak., Ur., Muir., Sirg., Kub., Tsud. *kuc*).

*k^wil^tV some interior part of body: Av.-And. *k^wul-; Tsez. *k^wi^t ~ (*kōt); Darg. *k^wul^t; Lezg. *k^wi^t- (~-l-?).

| Av.-And. *k^wul- kidney: Chad. *kutuli*.

Since the word is isolated (in Southern Av. dialects), a borrowing (from some Lezg. language?) is not excluded.

| Tsez. *k^wi^t ~ (*kōt) urinary bladder: Bezht. *koṭ* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *kōṭ*.

PGB *kōṭ. The relation of this root to PTsKh *gindor- 'kidney' (Tsez. *gendori*, Inkh. *gindor*) is yet to be investigated.

| Darg. *k^wul^t belly, stomach: Chir. *kulṭa*.

Cf. also Kait., Kub. *kulṭa*.

| Lezg. *k^wi^t- (~-l-?) kidney: Lezg. *durkun*; Tab. *gurdum*; Ag. *guṭul*; Rut. *kuṭun*; Tsakh. *kuṭun*; Kryz. *k^waṭin*; Bud. *kuṭun*; Arch. *g^wat*.

Cf. also Lezg. Kur. *t:urkun*, Khl. *tuṭun*, Akht. *tuṭun*, Yark. *durgun*, Tab. Kand. *gurṭim* (< *gurdim), Ag. Bursh. *kuṭum*, Burk. *guṭaj*, Arch. pl. *g^wat:-ur*. 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages.

The languages reveal suffixed forms with *-n (Lezg., Rut., Tsakh., Kryz., Bud.), *-m (Tab., Ag.), *-l, *-j (Ag.). The primary structure of laryngeal features (*k^wi^t-) is probably retained in Ag. (*guṭ-ul*, *guṭ-aj*) and Lezg. Kur. (with metathesis *t:urk-un*). Forms in other languages and dialects have undergone a progressive or regressive assimilation (rather typical for roots of this structure). The vocalism is quite regular (Arch. and Kryz. -a- and -u- in other languages unambiguously point to *-i- after a labiovelar).

The resemblance to Pers. *gurde* 'kidney' (see Horn 1893, 202 for its Indo-Iranian etymology) is quite fortuitous (although Ud. *gurdak*: 'kidney' is obviously borrowed from Middle Persian and not related to other Lezghian forms): the loan is improbable both for phonetic reasons and because of the root's reliable EC etymology.

See Khaidakov 1973, 41.

□ In PD there occurred an assimilation (*k- > *k-); otherwise correspondences are regular. Note that Darg. Chir. *kuṭum* 'kidney' is borrowed from Agul.

*kwimɪV sheaf; small stack: Av.-And. *kVɪV; Tsez. *kVet B; Lezg.

*k:unɪ.

| Av.-And. *kVɪV a small sheaf: Av. *kuṭ* (dial.).

A Southern dialectal form, cited from Микаилов 1959. It is the probable source of Gin. *kuṭu* 'small stack'.

| Tsez. *kVet B sheaf: Tsez. *kuṭ*; Gin. *kVet*; Khvarsh. *kuṭ* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *koṭ*; Bezht. *keṭa*; Gunz. *koṭ*.

PTsKh *kVet; PGB *köt(a) (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *keṭ*, Khosh. *keṭa*).

| Lezg. *k:unɪ 1 heap 2 mound, hillock 3 small stack 4 top of head: Lezg. *kuṭ* 2,3; Tab. *gunɪ* 1,3; Ag. *gunɪ* 1,3; Rut. *guɪ* 2 (Shin.); Tsakh. *kuṭ* 4; Kryz. *gunɪ* 1; Ud. *k:ot:-man* 3.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *k:unɪ* 'heap, small stack', Rut. Khnov. *kuṭman* 'small stack', Ud. *k:ot:-taq*: (synonymous with *k:ot:-man*) id., Tsakh. (prop.) *kuṭ-ne* 'mountain top'. Rather hard to attribute is Tsakh. *goṭ* 'heap' (old loan from Rutul?). Obl. base *k:unɪ- (cf. Lezg. *kuṭu*-, Tsakh. *kuṭu*-, Tab. *gunṭa*-). In some languages there occurred an assimilation (*k:- > k-); the original structure of laryngeal features is preserved in Lezg. (Khl.), Ag., Tab. and Rut.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. A similar word is present in Georg. (*gundi*) and Armenian, without any etymology - thus, most probably borrowed from an EC source.

*kwirçĖ (~ -ç-) young (of animals, birds): Tsez. *kuçV (~ -o-); Lak. *karç*; Lezg. *kurç; W.-Cauc. *kVəçə.

| Tsez. *kuçV (~ -o-) puppy: Khvarsh. *kuçi* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *kuçe*.

PTsKh *kuçe (but opposed to *konçi* 'young of donkey' and to PTsKh *kuçə 'puppy' which are close but have different origins).

| Lak. *karç* puppy.

Cf. also Arak., Bartkh. *čarç* id.

| Lezg. *kurç puppy: Kryz. *kurç*; Bud. *kurç*; Ud. *k:uç:an*.

3d class in Kryz. and Bud.; Udi has a suffix -n and an assimilated k:- < k-.

| W.-Cauc. *kVəçə chicken: Abkh. *a-kVəçə-s*; Abaz. *kVəçə-s*.

PAT *kVəçə-sə (in Abkh. assimilated), pl. *kVəçə-ra (Abkh. *a-kVəçə-ra-kVə*, Abaz. *kVəçə-ra*).

□ The comparison is quite plausible both phonetically and semantically. In Inkh. the initial k- is a result of assimilation (< *k-), as is clearly seen from other evidence (the same process happened in Ud. and Abkh.).

*kwirɪtā hammer; axe: Av.-And. *kVirta; Tsez. *kVid (~ -i-); Lak. *qulɪi-lu*; Lezg. *kurɪaj; W.-Cauc. *k:ətV (~ g-).

| Av.-And. *kVirta 1 hammer 2 axe: Av. *kVirta* 1; And. *kurɪa* 1; Akhv. *koṭa* 1; Cham. *koṭa* 2; Tind. *koṭa* 1,2; Kar. *korɪa* 1; Bagv. *koṭa* 1; God. *kurɪa* 1.

Av. paradigm B (*kVirta-l*, *kurɪ-bi*). Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *korɪa* 'hammer', Cham. Gig. *kuṭa* 'axe'. Av. > Tsez., Gin. *kVirta* 'hammer'.

| Tsez. *kVid (~ -i-) sledge hammer: Tsez. *kedin*; Gin. *kVedin* / *kodin*.

PTsKh *kVid (~ -i-) (cf. Tsez. Khup. /Imnaishvili/ *kVed*), with a nasal suffix *kVid-en (~ -i-).

| Lak. *qulɪi-lu* hammer.

Khosr. *qulɪlu* id.

| Lezg. *kurɪaj hammer: Lezg. *kuṭa*; Rut. *q:itā* (Khnov.); Arch. *kurɪa*.

Unclear is the uvular q:- in Rut. Lezg. -t- is a result of the usual Lezg. dissimilation (cf. dialectal forms: Yark., Kub., Akht. *kuṭa*). 4th class in Archi.

See Leksika 1971, 175; Talibov 1980, 289.

| W.-Cauc. *k:ətV (~ g-) 1 axe 2 spear: Kab. *žada* 1; Ub. *gətə* 2.

For Kab. the old form *gəda* is recorded - therefore the loan from Turk. *jida* or Mong. *žida* 'spear' is impossible (despite Shagirov 1, 162). The same is true for Ub. *gətə* (def. *á-gətə*).

Kab. *žada* presupposes PAK *gəda or *k:ət:a (unfortunately, the corresponding Ad. word is not preserved); Ub. -t- shows that the second consonant was glottalised (with assimilation in PAK).

□ Both phonetically and semantically the etymology is quite satisfactory. As usual, in a root containing two stops there occur assimilations and dissimilations (PTs *kVid < *kVit; PL *kurɪaj < *kurɪaj). The PWC form goes back rather to a form like *kirtwā (with shift of labialisation).

The only strange phenomenon is the uvular pharyngealized qɪ- in Lak. (and a similar form in Rut.); reasons for such a development are unclear, but it is hard to keep the Lak. and Rut. forms away from the rest.

*kwōpi (~ -u) sand, dirt, dust: Tsez. *kebu A; Darg. *kub; Lezg. *kup.

| Tsez. *kebu A 1 sand 2 dust: Tsez. *gibu* 1,2; Gin. *gebu* 2; Khvarsh. *gebu* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *gebu* 1; Gunz. *kebu* 1.

PTsKh *gebu (with g- probably due to assimilation).

| Darg. *kub pressed dung: Chir. *kub-ar*.

| Lezg. *kup dried and pressed dung: Lezg. *kuṭ*; Tab. *kuṭ*; Ag. *kub*; Rut. *kib*; Arch. *kup-ar*.

4th class in Rut., 3d class in Archi. The meaning in Archi is "surface of the threshing-floor (dried dung mixed with straw)". Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *kib*, Tab. Düb. *kup*, Ag. Fit. *kub*, Burk. *ku*. Obl. base *kupɪ- (cf. Lezg. Khl. *kp:ɪ*-, Ag. *kup:a*-, Fit. *kup:u*-, Burk. *kuwi*-).

See Khaidakov 1973, 70.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*kwVmdarV jar; mortar, churn: Nakh. *kudVrV (~ -ü-); Av.-And. *kVandar (~ o); Lezg. *kV(m)tar.

| Nakh. **kudVrV* (~ -ū-) earthenware churn: Chech. *kūra*; Ing. *kuwra*.

4th class in Chech. and Ing. Since there are no Bacb. parallels, the medial consonant can be reconstructed as *-d-, *-b-, *-g- or *-w-; external evidence suggests *-d-.

| Av.-And. **k^wandar* (~ o) 1 churn 2 small jar, pitcher: Chad. *kudāri* 2; Akhv. *k^wādari* 1; Kar. *k^wadar* 2.

Cf. also Av. Gid. *kudari* 'big jar for water' (Микаилов 1959). The aberrant form Av. Andal. *k^watar* 'jar' is probably a loan from Lezghian languages (cf. Kryz. *kutar* id.). Av. *kudari* was borrowed in Tsezian languages: Gin. *kudari*, Bezht. *kudaj* (Khosh. *kudari*, Tlad. *kūdāri*), Gunz. *kudari* 'small jar'.

| Lezg. **k^wV(m)tar* small jar: Kryz. *kutar*.

It is not quite clear whether we should relate here Bud. *kučar* 'small jar' (perhaps < **k^wV(m)tār* reflecting an original front vowel in the second syllable?).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. There are interesting similar forms in Romance languages: cf. Span. *cántaro* 'big jar, measure of weight', *cántara* 'mug', Port. *cântaro* 'big jar; measure of liquids (about 16.8 litres)'.

**k^wŨnVtV* (/ **k^wŨnVtV*) male; young man, hero: Nakh. **kanat*; Av.-And. **k^winṭa*.

| Nakh. **kanat* young man, boy; hero: Chech. *kant*; Ing. *kant*; Bacb. *knat*.

Obl. base **kanate-* (Chech. *kenta-*, Ing. *kanto*, Bacb. *knati-*). The most archaic form is preserved in the Cheb. form *kanat*; other Chech.-Ing. dialects reduced it to *kant*, but Bacbi - to *knat*.

| Av.-And. **k^winṭa* 1 husband 2 male: And. *kunṭa* 1,2; Cham. *k^winṭa-* 2; Tind. *k^winṭa-* 2; Kar. *kunṭa* 1,2; Botl. *kunṭa* 1,2; Bagv. *kunṭa* 1,2; God. *kunṭa* 1,2.

Cf. also Cham. *k^winṭa-ḷi* 'penis'.

[] A Nakh-And. isogloss; because of that, it is hard to establish the original vocalism and the order of laryngeal features.

k

**kačwV* hammer: Nakh. **kača-l*; Av.-And. **k^wVrčV*; Tsez. **kuča* (~ **kič^wa*); Darg. **kuč*; Lezg. **kaš*.

| Nakh. **kāča-l* mill hammer: Chech. *kāčal*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **k^wVrčV* hammer: Chad. *kurčā*.

Av. paradigm B (*kurčī-l*, *kurčā-l* / *kurč-bī*). A dialectal form, and medial -ris probably due to the influence of another root, reflected in lit. Av. *k^warṭā* (q.v.).

| Tsez. **kuča* (~ **kič^wa*) hammer: Gunz. *kuča*.

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. **kuč* handle: Chir. *kuč*.

Darg. > Ag. *kuč* 'handle' (an isolated form among Lezghian languages).

| Lezg. **kaš* 1 hammer 2 sledge hammer 3 shepherd's staff: Lezg. *kaš* 1; Ag. *kaš* 2; Rut. *kaš* 3; Tsakh. *kaš* 1; Kryz. *kāš* 3; Bud. *kāš* 3.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *kaš* 'hammer', Ag. Burk. *kaš* 'stick'. Obl. stem **kaši-* (cf. Tsakh. *kaši-*, Ag. Burk. *kašu-*). 4th class in Tsakh., 3d class in Shakhdagh. Perhaps we should also add Ud. *k:œ:l* 'handle' (possibly reflecting an early variant **kač^w*, cf. the external evidence) - although Ag. *kuč* 'handle' should be best considered as a loan from Dargwa.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for some metatheses/assimilations of laryngeal features (usual in roots with two stops), correspondences are regular.

**kākV* a k. of insect: Av.-And. **koḵV-mV* (~ -a-); Tsez. **kakV*; Darg. **kaka-ri*; Lezg. **kVḵV-*.

| Av.-And. **koḵV-mV* (~ -a-) butterfly: Cham. *kaḵuma* (Gig.); Bagv. *kaḵima*.

An irregular transformation of the same root is Tind. *kurḵula* 'butterfly'.

| Tsez. **kakV* small louse: Gin. *kaki*; Bezht. *kākā*; Gunz. *kaki*.

PGB **kakV*.

| Darg. **kaka-ri* tick: Ak. *kaḵari*; Chir. *kaḵare*.

| Lezg. **kVḵV-* tick: Lezg. *kk-lam*.

Lezg. *kk-lam* < **kVḵV-la-m*. Irregular variations of the same expressive root can perhaps be observed in Tsakh. (Gelm.) *gak:abaj* 'butterfly' and Ud. *gūgejil* 'gadfly'.

[] An expressive reduplicated root. Correspondences are more or less regular (except some assimilations) and the PEC reconstruction is probable.

**kālḥV* lake: Tsez. **kara*; Darg. **kaw*.

| Tsez. **kara* lake: Khvarsh. *kara* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *kara*; Bezht. *kā*; Gunz. *kara*.

PGB **kara* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *kärä*).

| Darg. **kaw* lake, pool: Ak. *kaw*.

Cf. also Ur., Kharb. *kaw* id.

[] A Tsez-Darg. isogloss.

**kalɬwV* (~-ɬw-) cheek; chin: Av.-And. **karɬ:V* (~-o-); Lezg. **ɬ:alɬ:am*.

| Av.-And. **karɬ:V* (~-o-) cheek: Av. *karɬ:en*; Akhv. *kāɬ:u*; Kar. *korɬ:o*.

Av. paradigm B (*karɬ:á-dul*, *karɬ:á-bi*). Cf. also Kar. Anch. *koɬ:o*.

| Lezg. **ɬ:alɬ:am* 1 chin 2 beak: Tab. *k:amk:am* 1; Ag. *k:alk:am* 2.

The Ag. word is from the Bursh. dialect. Cf. also Tab. lit. *k:alk:am* 'chin' (the "reduplicated" Kand. form is secondary), Ag. Fit. *k:alk:am*, Burk. *k:amk:am* id.

[] An Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss. The PL form has a suffixed *-m and is assimilated from **kalɬ:a-m*.

**kāɬV* stick: Av.-And. **kanɬa* (~ o); Tsez. **keɬi* / **kiɬe*; Lezg. **kalɬV-* (~ -r-); Khin. *karɬa*.

| Av.-And. **kanɬa* (~ o) stick: Cham. *çanɬa*; Tind. *kanɬa*; Kar. *kanɬa*.

Old Tind. > Inkh. *kanɬa* 'stick'. Not quite clear is And. *Ganɬa* 'stick' (why G-?).

| Tsez. **keɬi* / **kiɬe* shepherd's staff: Tsez. *keɬi* (Kid.); Gin. *keɬi*; Gunz. *keɬi* (Gunz.).

PTsKh **kiɬe* (with vowel metathesis); some interlingual loans are not excluded.

| Lezg. **kalɬV-* (~ -r-) pole: Bud. *kərtənə*.

Attested only in Bud. (a suffixed form in *-naj), but having probable external parallels.

| Khin. *karɬa* wooden nail.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although not very widely spread, correspondences seem to be regular.

**kāmpā* (~ -ə) sour cream; butter: Av.-And. **kambi* / **kʷabi*; Tsez. **kima*; Darg. **kema*; Lezg. **kam(a)* (~ ɬ-); Khin. *ken-dä*.

| Av.-And. **kambi* / **kʷabi* 1 sour cream 2 butter 3 cheese: Av. *kamá* 2; And. *çami* 3; Akhv. *kʷabi* 1; Cham. *kʷab* 1; Tind. *kʷabi* 1.

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *kʷabi*, Tseg. *kobo*, Tlan. *ko*.

| Tsez. **kima* cheese: Bezht. *kima*; Gunz. *kima*.

PGB **kima*.

| Darg. **kema* 1 butter 2 sour cream: Ak. *kema* 1; Chir. *kume* 2.

Cf. also Ur. *kima*, Muir. *çima* 'butter'.

| Lezg. **kam(a)* (~ ɬ-) 1 butter 2 sour cream: Tab. *kamu* 1; Ag. *kum* 2.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *kam* 'sour cream'. The Tab. form reflects a *-j-suffix (**kamVj*). -u- in Ag. (Rich.) probably reflects the old oblique base vocalism in the paradigm **kam(a)*, **komV-* (cf. Ag. *kuma-*), later transferred to the direct base.

| Khin. *ken-dä* butter.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In PA, simultaneously with denasalisation (*-mp- > -b-) the labialisation was transferred to the previous consonant.

**kāmžě* / **žēmķä* beard: Av.-And. **mi-gažu*; Tsez. **bü-šg-la/-šk-la*; Lezg. **ka(m)č:(a)*; W.-Cauc. **žaķa*.

| Av.-And. **mi-gažu* beard: Av. *megēž*; Chad. *megēž*; And. *migažu*; Kar. *migaž*; God. *migažu*.

Av. paradigm C (*magži-l*, *múgžu-l*). The root should be kept apart from **miza* 'beard' q.v.

| Tsez. **bü-šk-la* beard, moustache: Tsez. *mešogla*; Gin. *bošolka*.

Tsez. dialects have different variants: (Imnaishvili) *mešogla/mešolga*, Sh., Kid. *mešolga*, Kh. *mešokla*. -g- instead of -k- in these dialectal forms is probably a result of old assimilation (even before the unvoicing of *ž > š). Initial *bū- (< *bi-) in this stem is obviously a result of contamination with another PTs root, **bišal-* 'beard' q.v.

| Lezg. **ka(m)č:(a)* beard: Ud. *k:až-uχ*.

Isolated in Ud., but obviously a form of great antiquity. -uχ is a productive plural suffix.

| W.-Cauc. **žaķa* beard: Abkh. *a-záķa*; Abaz. *zaķa*; Ad. *zāča*; Kab. *zāča*.

PAT **zaķa*, PAK **zaká*. The Abkh. form is usually considered as a loan from AK, because the word may be analysed in AK as 'tail' (**ka*) of the mouth (**ža*). However, external correspondences for the root as a whole make us suspect that this may be a folk etymology; in the latter case - since the correspondences are completely regular - the root could be reconstructed as such for PWC. Still, Ub. *zāķa* 'beard' is certainly borrowed from AK (otherwise we should expect ž- in Ub.).

From WC the word was borrowed into neighbouring languages, cf. Osset. (Dig.) *zakä*, *zekä* 'chin, beard', *Megr.* *bžake* 'beard' (for initial b- cf. Abkh. Samurz. (Marr) *a-bžáķa*). See Abayev 1969, 285.

[] A rather complicated case. Within EC the root is preserved in the original shape only in Udi; in Avaro-Ando-Tsezian languages it had actively interacted with another PEC root for "beard", **bilžV* q.v. (hence mi- in PA, cf. **miza*, and *bū- (< *bi-) in PTs, cf. **biša-l*). Moreover, as it is usual with roots of this structure (containing two stops), it was liable to metathesis, and it is now hard to establish which of the two variants is original.

The front vowel after *ž is reconstructed on basis of WC evidence (however, front *ķ is there probably a secondary result of assimilation).

**kān[ç]V* to run, jump: Av.-And. **kanç-*; Tsez. **=Vki[ç]*.

| Av.-And. **kanç-* to jump, leap: Av. *kanç-*; Chad. *kanç-*; Cham. *kanz-* (Gig.); Kar. *kanç-*.

| Tsez. **=Vki[ç]* to jump, run, fly: Bezht. *=okiç-* 2; Gunz. *=ekiç-* 2.

PGB **=Vki[ç]* (an expressive root with violation of sound correspondences).

[] An expressive Av.-And-Tsez. isogloss.

**kāntV* ~ **kāntV* big knife: Nakh. **kātu*; Av.-And. **ka(n)tV-IV*; Lezg. **kanṭ*.

| Nakh. **kātu* 1 big scissors 2 scissors for shearing sheep: Chech. *čoda* 2; Ing. *kod* 1; Bacb. *qajtu* 2.

Initial uvular in Bacb. is unclear; otherwise correspondences are regular.

| Av.-And. **ka(n)tV-IV* (~ -o-) big knife: Akhv. *katla* (*Ratl.*).

Attested only in Akhv., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **kanṭ* 1 big knife 2 knife: Lezg. *kant* 1; Ag. *kanṭ* 1; Rut. *kanṭ* 2; Kryz. *kānt* 2; Bud. *kānt* 2.

In Lezg. the second consonant was assimilated and lost glottalisation (cf. also erg. *kantu-ni*). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. Obl. stem **kanṭi-* (cf. Ag. Fit. *kanṭ*, *kanṭu-*; Rut. *kānti-*; these forms could also point to **kanṭe-*, but this is less probable, because in that case we would expect a palatalisation of *-i in Lezg. and Kryz.).

See Khaidakov 1973, 87.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Nakh form raises some doubts (loss of -n- is rather unexpected, and there is some uncertainty about the PN form itself), but still the etymology seems reliable.

**kanṭV* / **tanṭV* (~ -ě-, -ə-) jump, leap: Lak. *tanṭ*; Darg. **kanṭ*.

| Lak. *tanṭ* jump, leap.

Cf. also *tanṭa tun* 'to jump'. Lak. > Arch. *tanṭ* in *tanṭ-bos* 'to jump'.

| Darg. **kanṭ* jump, leap: Chir. *kanṭ*.

[] An expressive Lak-Darg. isogloss (cf. an analogous expressive stem in Av. *tunk-*, Chad. *tunk-* 'to hit, push'). EC antiquity is dubious.

**kanṭV* drop; spot: Av.-And. **kanṭV* (~ -o-); Lak. *kanṭ*; Darg. **kanṭ*; Lezg. **kanṭ*.

| Av.-And. **kanṭV* (~ -o-) spot: Bagv. *kanṭ*.

The root is attested only in Bagv., but was obviously spread wider: we can think so because of Bezht. *kanṭi* 'drop' (Tlad. *kanṭ* id.), which is obviously a loan from some Andian language (original -n- in a cluster would have yielded nasalisation in PTs).

| Lak. *kanṭ* pip (on cards, dice).

| Darg. **kanṭ* 1 drop, spot 2 freckle: Ak. *kanṭ* 1; Chir. *kaṭkaṭaj* 2.

Cf. also Kub. *kaṭ* 'spot, dot'. The root should be distinguished from **kunt* q.v.

| Lezg. **kanṭ* drop: Tab. *kanṭ*; Ag. *kanṭ* (*Bursh.*); Arch. *kenṭ*; Ud. *k:at:*.

4th class in Archi. The root tends to contaminate with PL **tālnk* 'drop' q.v. (which explains the irregular -e-vowel in Archi). They must be, however, reconstructed separately (they are opposed, e.g., in Ag. Bursh.: *ṭink* vs. *kanṭ*, and have different external parallels).

See Talibov 1980, 288-289.

[] One of a series of expressive PEC roots of the type KVNTV (/TVNKV) meaning 'dot, spot, drop'.

**kānzV* shawl, kerchief: Av.-And. **kanzi*; W.-Cauc. **kasə*.

| Av.-And. **kanzi* kerchief: Av. *kaz*; Chad. *kaz*; And. *kazi*; Akhv. *kāzi*; Cham. *kānz*; Kar. *kaze*; God. *kazi*.

Av. paradigm A~C (pl. *kāza-l*), but Chad. B (*kizi-l*, *kāza-l*). Some Andian forms (without a nasal or nasalisation) may be borrowed from Avar; a certain borrowing from Av. or some other Andian dialect is Tind. *kazi* (regularly *kazi* would be expected). In its turn, Tind. > Inkh. *kazi* id. Av. *kaz* > Bezht., Gunz., Arch. *kaz*.

| W.-Cauc. **kasə* shawl, kerchief: Abkh. *a-kasə*; Abaz. *kasə*.

PAT **kasə* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-kasə*).

[] An interesting Av.-And.-WC isogloss. Borrowing is not excluded (although correspondences are regular, and PNC origin is rather probable).

**kāra* (~ -ə) mosquito; gadfly: Nakh. **garu*; Av.-And. **k:ara*; Tsez.

**kelə*.

| Nakh. **garu* gadfly: Chech. *gora*; Ing. *gor*.

6th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **k:ara* 1 mosquito 2 gadfly 3 ant, bug: Av. *k:arā* 1; Chad. *karā* 1; And. *k:ara* 1; Akhv. *k:ara* 3; Cham. *ç:ara* 2 (*Gig.*); Tind. *k:ara* 1; Kar. *k:ara* 2; Bagv. *ç:ara* 1; God. *k:ara* 1,2.

Av. paradigm B (*k:arā-dul*; Chad. *kiri-l*, *karā-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *k:ara* 'mosquito'. Cham. U.-Gakv. *k:ara* (as well as *Gig.* - in a MSU recording - *k:ara*) is a recent loan from Avar. Old Cham. or Tind. > Khvarsh. (Radzhibov) Inkh. *kara* 'mosquito'. Av. > Arch. *kara* id.

| Tsez. **kelə* mosquito: Bezht. *kālā*; Gunz. *kelo*.

PGB **kelə* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *kelā*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In PTs we would rather expect *-r-; this must be a rare case of *r/l variation in PGB (this feature is much more common in PTsKh). However, despite this, it seems impossible to separate the PTs form from PA and PN.

**kara* (~ -ə) stick, log: Av.-And. **karu* (~ -o-); Lezg. **kara*.

| Av.-And. **karu* (~ -o-) log: Akhv. *karu* (*Ratl.*); Cham. *çaw*; Tind. *karu*; Kar. *karu*.

Cf. also Cham. *Gig. çaru* (Bokarev: *çaru*) id.

| Lezg. **kara* 1 rolling pin 2 battledore, roller 3 stick: Lezg. *kar* 1; Tab. *kar* 2; Ag. *kar* 3; Rut. *kar* 3.

Obl. stem **karā-* (cf. Tab. *kari-*, Rut. *kara-*). 4th class in Rut. In Lezg. there also exists a word *karas* (Khl. *karas*) 'wood, firewood'; one wonders, if it is not a compound of **kara* + **l'es*: 'wood, firewood' (q.v.).

[] A reliable And.-Lezg. isogloss.

**kārV* black; coal: Nakh. **karu*; Lak. *kalaš*; Lezg. **kari-*; W.-Cauc.

**kə*.

| Nakh. **karu* coal: Chech. *kora*; Ing. *kor*; Bacb. *kor*.

5th class in Chech., Ing., b in Bacb. Cf. also Shar. *koru*, Khild. *koru*,

Cheb. *karu* - proving the reconstruction with *-a-. The form *kor* in Bacb. is irregular (**kajru* should be expected) and still is to be explained.

| Lak. *kalaš* charcoal.

Gen. *kulš:u-l* (indicating strong š:).

| Lezg. **kari*- black: Tab. *karu*; Ag. *kare-f*; Tsakh. *kari-n*.

Cf. also the PL compound **karV-š:im* "black pebbles > charcoal" with somewhat irregular metamorphoses: Ag. *karešum*, Rut. *kašen*, Kryz. *käšin*, Bud. *kəšil*.

See Khaidakov 1973, 104.

| W.-Cauc. **kə* dark: Ad. *šə-n-čə*; Kab. *čə-f*.

PAK **čə(ə)n-kə* / **kə-čə* (in Ad. Bzhed. both *šə-n-čə* and *čə-šə* exist; cf. also both variants in Kab. *wə-n-čəf-* / *wə-fənč-* 'to go out (as light)'). The root **kə* is used within these two compounds with **čə* 'dark, black'; cf. perhaps also PAK **ka-bʷa* / **pka-bʷa* 'soot' (Ad. *pčabʷa-sa*, Kab. *čabʷa*, *čabʷasa*) - a compound with **bʷa* 'smoke'. See Kuipers 1975, 33, 52, 53.

[] There is a good correspondence between the PN, PL and PAK forms. If we take into account the meaning 'coal' in PN and in the PL compound, this etymology of the Lak. form also becomes rather probable. Lak. *kalaš* must be a modification < **ka-š:al* < **kar-š:al*, where the second component is most probably PEC **čHälu* 'sand, gravel' q.v. (normally reflected in Lak. as *š:allu*).

Abdokov (1983, 94) compares the Adygh forms with EC descendants of **kwinhV* 'smoke' (q.v.), which seems less probable for phonetic reasons.

**kākV* (~ -ě-) log, billet, wood: Darg. **kVk-am*; Lezg. **kāk(a)*.

| Darg. **kVk-am* wood, fire-wood: Chir. *kaḡam*.

| Lezg. **kāk(a)* thin log, billet: Tab. *gaḡul*; Rut. *kā?*.

Cf. also Tab. Kand., Düb. *kaḡul*. Tab. has a suffix, belonging originally to the oblique stem (cf. Rut. *kā?äl-*). Final -? in Rut. is a result of dissimilation (cf. similarly *kā?* 'top' < PL **kākʷ*). 4th class in Rut.

[] A Darg-Lezg. isogloss.

**kāl[ɪ]kV* joint, knee, shin: Nakh. **kōk*; Tsez. **kaḡa*; Darg. **kink(a)*; Lezg. **kālḡ-* (~ -e-, -r-); Khin. *kuḡa*.

| Nakh. **kōk* foot, leg: Chech. *kog*; Ing. *kog*; Bacb. *koḡ*.

Obl. base **kōka-* (Chech. *kōga-*, Ing. *koga-*). 6th class in all languages.

| Tsez. **kaḡa* 1 joint, bone between two joints 2 leg, shin: Tsez. *kaḡa 1*; Inkh. *kaIkaI 2*.

PTsKh **ka(I)ka*.

| Darg. **kink(a)* shin: Ak. *kink*; Chir. *čaka*.

| Lezg. **kālḡ-* (~ -e-, -r-) 1 calf (of leg) 2 knee 3 top of boot: Lezg. *kerkem 1* (Akh.); Ag. *keḡ 3*; Ud. *k:alk:aIp 2*.

Both in Lezg. and Ud. suffixed forms are observed (probably original pluralia). Ag. *keḡ* should be kept distinct from the reflexes of PL **qläq:lʷ* 'throat; top of boot' q.v. (in the Burk. dialect both *keḡ* and *qeḡ* are used for "top of boot", but in the Richa dialect *keḡ* is 'top of boot', while *qläq* is 'throat').

| Khin. *kuḡa* joint, articulation.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are basically regular with following comments: in PN there occurred a dissimilation in glottalisation (**k-* > **k-* before the following *k*); in PTs we should expect -š- in the 1st syllable, but it was probably assimilated by the following vowel (nasalisation being replaced by pharyngealisation, cf. the Inkh. form?). All these processes are typical for EC reduplicated roots and roots with two stops.

EC > Osset. *kaḡ* 'foot, leg' (see Abayev 1958, 619).

**kālḡV* a small thing: Nakh. **kik*; Av.-And. **ki(n)ki-m*; Tsez. **kaḡa*; Lezg. **kālḡät*.

| Nakh. **kik* 1 bead 2 button 3 smallpox: Chech. *kig 3* (*Pharch.*); Ing. *kig 2,3*; Bacb. *kik 1*.

3d class in Ing., 6th class in Bacb.

| Av.-And. **ki(n)ki-m* dung (of a sheep, horse): And. *kikim*.

Isolated in And., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. **kaḡa* 1 freckle 2 drop: Bezht. *kāḡä 1,2*; Gunz. *kaḡa 2*.

PGB **kaḡa* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *kaḡa* 'drop, freckle').

| Lezg. **kālḡät* a small thing: Lezg. *kerkeḡ*; Tab. *keḡkeḡ* (*Khan.*); Rut. *kelkeḡ* (*Ams.*); Tsakh. *kerkeḡ*; Kryz. *kelkeḡ*; Bud. *keḡkeḡ*.

The meanings vary greatly, but generally imply some small thing: Lezg. "a small piece of wood"; Tab. "trigger (of a gun)"; Rut. "dung (of sheep)" (cf. also Rut. Khniukh. *kerkeḡ* id.); Tsakh. "ankle"; Kryz. "dung (of a donkey, horse)"; Bud. "small lumps".

An expressive reduplicated stem (*-t should probably be treated as an expressive suffix); all the listed forms are quite impossible to separate from each other, thus the supposition that Lezg. *kerkeḡ* and Tsakh. *kerkeḡ* are borrowed from Arm. *k:ark:it*: "hard" (Виноградова-Климов 1979, 158) is obviously wrong.

[] One of several PEC expressive roots with the structure **KVKV*, denoting some small thing (stone, grain, piece of dung etc.) and rather actively merging with each other (see also **kVrkV-nV*, **kāmḡV* etc.).

**kāsi* (~ -ə, -a) finger: Lak. *ḡis:a*; Lezg. **kās:-*; W.-Cauc. **ḡəsə*.

| Lak. *ḡis:a* finger.

Cf. Khosr. *ḡis:a*.

| Lezg. **kās:-* finger: Ud. *k:aša*.

Cf. also Nidzh. *k:ašä*. The root is preserved only in Ud. (but has external parallels), thus the PL reconstruction is tentative.

| W.-Cauc. **ḡəsə* little finger: Abkh. *a-na-čʷ-ḡəs*; Abaz. *mačʷ-ḡəs*; Ub. *ḡa(n)cʷ-a-ḡəs*.

PAT **ḡəsə*, used in a compound with **ma-cʷa* 'finger' or **ša-cʷa* 'toe' - in Ub., also a compound with the same root (PWC **cʷa* ~ **λʷa*). Cf. also Abkh. Bzyb. *a-na-čʷ-ḡəs* 'little finger'; Abkh. *a-ša-čʷ-ḡəs*, Bzyb. *a-ša-čʷ-ḡəs*, Abaz. *šačʷ-ḡəs* 'little toe'.

[] An archaic root with only relic reflexes in EC (in most languages superseded by innovations).

***k** a suffix (diminutive or singulative): Nakh. *-V**k**; Av.-And. *-**k**V; Lezg. *-**k**:(a); W.-Cauc. ***kə**.

| Nakh. *-V**k** a diminutive suffix: Chech. -V**g**; Ing. -V**g**; Bacb. -V**k**.

An extremely productive common Nakh suffix (usually diminutive, but in some cases neutralized).

| Av.-And. *-**k**V a diminutive suffix: Av. -**kə**.

A rather frequent derivative element (cf. *jas* 'girl', *jasi-kə* 'little girl, doll' etc.). It also has a variant -**kə** without glottalisation (*wac*: 'brother' - *wac:a-kə* 'little brother' etc.).

| Lezg. *-**k**:(a) a diminutive suffix: Lezg. -**g** / -**k**; Tab. -**g**; Rut. -**g**; Kryz. -**ng**; Bud. -**ng**.

An expressive nominal suffix (cf. Lezg. *furfal-ag* 'whipping top (children's toy)', Tab. *sum-ag* 'small lamb' (from **s:äm* 'lamb') etc. A variant *-**k**(a) is probably reflected in Lezg. -**k** (*biči-k* 'a small one' from *biči* 'small' etc.). See Алексеев 1985, III, 114.

| W.-Cauc. ***kə** a morpheme denoting singularity: Abkh. -**k(ə)**; Abaz. -**k(ə)**; Ub. -**k(ə)**.

PAT *-**kə**: here this morpheme is productive. It is used also within the numeral 'one' (Abkh. *a-kə*, Abaz. *za-kə*). In Ub. it survived only within some forms like *ca-kə* 'tooth' (*'a single tooth' = PAT *-**kə**) etc.

[] One of the very rare class of derivative suffixes, reconstructable for PNC. The morpheme is expressive, thus correspondences are not quite regular (sometimes glottalisation disappears). The suffix is still productive in Nakh and Abkh.-Abaz., but it has left numerous traces in other languages (including Tsezian and Dargwa).

***kəmh**V arc; an arched, curved body part: Av.-And. ***kam**V (~ -o-); Lak. *kurma-ti*; Darg. ***kimi** (~-e-); W.-Cauc. ***ka** (~ ***k**-).

| Av.-And. ***kam**V (~ -o-) 1 arc 2 horn: Av. *kamuri* 1; Cham. *čam* 2; Tind. *kama* 2; Botl. *kamu* 2; Bagv. *kama* 2.

Av. paradigm C (*karmi-l*, *karma-l*). The word also means "arc" in Akhv. (*kamu*, Tseg. *kamru*, Tlan. *kamuru* etc.; cf. also And. *kamur* 'window' [<*'arc'] where it is most probably borrowed from Avar.

| Lak. *kurma-ti* cantle; pommel.

| Darg. ***kimi** (~-e-) tail: Chir. *čime*.

| W.-Cauc. ***ka** (~ ***k**-) tail: Ad. *ča*; Kab. *ča*.

PAK ***ka**. No reliable parallels within WC, but some possible external correlates.

[] Lak. *kurma-ti* contains a suffixed dental; *kurma-* < ***kVmr**V- = Av. *kamuri* 'arc' (> Arch. *kummur* id.). The word probably denoted 'arc, curve' with a semantic development > 'curved part of body' ('horn' in PA, 'tail' in PD and PWC).

See Abdokov 1983, 76 (Darg.-WC).

***kəm**V / ***mək**V armful, handful: Av.-And. ***kam**V- (~ -č-, -o-); Tsez. ***mik**Vr; Lak. *kama*; Lezg. ***kem**(a) / ***mək**(a).

| Av.-And. ***kam**V- (~ -č-, -o-) haystack (*'armful of hay'): Cham. *čama-ra* (Gig.). Attested only in Cham., thus both ***k**- and ***č**- are possible in PA.

| Tsez. ***mik**Vr bundle: Gunz. *miķar*.

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *kama* handful; handle.

Cf. Khosr. *kama* id.

| Lezg. ***kem**(a) / ***mək**(a) 1 armful 2 sheaf of hay 3 stack 4 fist: Lezg. *kem* 1; Rut. *kam-ər* 2 (Khniukh.); Kryz. *kemä* 3; Bud. *mək* 4.

The original meaning (as confirmed also by the external evidence) must have varied between 'handful' (> Bud. 'fist') and 'armful' (meanings in other languages). Note that the Kryz. word has a specific meaning "a haystack which can be put up by one pitchfork" (= *'armful'). 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except for a rather frequent metathesis).

***kənf**V a k. of bird: Darg. ***kan**V-ri; Lezg. ***kän**.

| Darg. ***kan**V-ri quail: Ak. *kanari*.

Cf. also Ur. *kan* id.

| Lezg. ***kän**: jackdaw: Ag. *ked* (K.); Arch. *kan*. Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *kar* 'jackdaw', Burk. *ker* 'rook'.

[] A Darg.-Lezg. isogloss, phonetically quite plausible, but raising some semantic problems.

***kəlc**wi forelock, plait; horn: Nakh. ***kuč**; Av.-And. ***k**ič (~ ***k**ič^w); Lezg. ***kalč** / ***kalč**.

| Nakh. ***kuč** 1 forelock, tuft of hair 2 mountain top: Chech. *kuž* 1; Ing. *kuž* 1; Bacb. *kuč* 1,2.

Obl. base ***kuče**- (cf. Chech. *kūza*-, Ing. *kužo*). 6th class in all languages. Cf. also Khild. *kuž*, Ing. (Imnaishvili) *kuč*-, Chech. *kuž-al* 'fringe, forelock'.

| Av.-And. ***k**ič (~ ***k**ič^w) forelock: Cham. *kožul*; Tind. *kuči*.

In Cham. obviously a later dissimilation (*kož-ul* < *koč-ul*).

| Lezg. ***kalč** / ***kalč** 1 horn 2 plait, woman's hair: Lezg. *karč* 1; Tab. *karč* 1,2; Ag. *karč* 1; Rut. *kač* 1; Tsakh. *gač* 1; Kryz. *käč* 1; Bud. *kərč* 1.

The root reveals a strange vacillation of initial ***k**- (Tab., Ag.), ***k**:- (Tsakh.) and ***k**- (all other languages). The oblique base must be reconstructed as ***kalče**- (cf. Ag. *karči*-, Rut. *kači*-, Tsakh. *gače*-); medial *-l- is postulated because of the liquid's preservation in Kryz. and Bud. (*-r- should have vanished in this position). The word belongs to the 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh., but to the 4th in Kryz. and Bud. See Khaidakov 1973, 42.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Seems plausible semantically and phonetically (if we take into account usual assimilations in roots with two stops), except for the unexpected loss of labialisation in PL.

*kəm̥kV small stone, fruit stone; smallpox: Nakh. *kaki (~ *kēka); Av.-And. *kinkV; Tsez. *kōkV; Lezg. *kamk(a).

| Nakh. *kaki (~ *kēka) coals, live coals: Chech. *kēga*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *kinkV 1 nut 2 grape: And. *çiçil* 2; Cham. *çink*^v 1; God. *kiki* 2.

| Tsez. *kōkV fruit stone: Bezht. *kākā* (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *kōki*.

PGB *kōkV. The root should be distinguished from PGB *kaka 'drop' (although they regularly merged in Bezht., they are clearly distinguished in Gunz.).

| Lezg. *kamk(a) measles: Tab. *kamk-ar*; Ag. *gimik*: (*Shaumyan*).

The Ag. form is irregularly transformed (note that Shaumyan often records glottalised stops as tense, thus the real form is probably *gimiḱ* < *kamik, with insertion of epenthetic -i-).

[] One of several expressive roots with the structure *KV(R)KV, denoting small things (see *kVrkV-nV, *kāl̥kV etc.).

*kəm̥tV soft: Nakh. *kāti-n; Tsez. *koṭV; Darg. *kanṭi-.

| Nakh. *kāti-n soft: Chech. *kēda*; Ing. *kāda*; Bacb. *kaṭē*.

Cf. also Cheb. *kādē*, Akk. *kēdā* etc. The pure stem is preserved in Chech. *kad-dan*, Bacb. *kaṭ-dar* 'to soften'.

| Tsez. *koṭV good: Gunz. *koṭu*.

Isolated in Gunz., but with possible external correspondences.

| Darg. *kanṭi- soft: Ak. *kanṭi-si*; Chir. *kanṭi-ze*.

Cf. also Ur. *kanṭi*- id.

[] Basically a PN-Darg. isogloss. The isolated Gunz. *koṭu* 'good' is phonetically satisfactory, but raises semantic problems.

*khəl̥çV (~ -fi-, -ç-) hole; vulva: Av.-And. *kVrçV (~ -ç-); Tsez. *koç(o); Lezg. *ka(l)ç(a).

| Av.-And. *kVrçV (~ -ç-) 1 hole 2 vulva: Chad. *kórçu* 1; Akhv. *kaço* 2 (*Tseg.*).

Cf. also Av. Ants. (Mikailov 1959) *kurçu* 'hole'. Paradigm A in Chad. (*kórçu-l*, *kórça-l*).

| Tsez. *koç(o) B 1 hole, burrow 2 window: Tsez. *kiç* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *kōçō* 2 (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *koç* 1.

PGB *koç(o).

| Lezg. *ka(l)ç(a) 1 clitoris 2 penis (of a boy): Tsakh. *kaçani* 1 (*Mishl.*); Arch. *kaça* 2.

4th class in both languages. Medial *-l- is suggested by external parallels, but must have been lost both in Arch. and Tsakh.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In PL there occurred a semantic development (*'hole') > 'vulva' > 'clitoris'.

*khəri (~ -f-) bark, skin: Av.-And. *kVrV; Lak. *k:iri*; Lezg. *k:ar(a); Khin. *kir*.

| Av.-And. *kVrV lock, tuft (of hair, nap): Av. *k:or*.

Paradigm A (gen. *k:óri-l*). There are no Andian parallels, but rather probable external ones.

| Lak. *k:iri* bark, shell.

3d class. Cf. Khosr. *k:iri* id.

| Lezg. *k:ar(a) 1 shell 2 sore, scab: Lezg. *k:ar* 2; Tab. *gar* 1; Ag. *gar* 2 (*Burk.*).

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *guru* (with a *-j-suffix) 'scab; pimple' and, with reduplication, Kryz. *girgir* 'boil, furuncle' (probably reflecting the Ablaut grade *k:or).

| Khin. *kir* skin, hide.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for the Lak. vowel (-i instead of -a- or -u-; perhaps the Lak. form suggests rather something like *khawri, in which case the -i-reflex would be understandable), the correspondences are regular.

*kHūbV badger; hedgehog: Tsez. *koḅ:u A; Lezg. *qloḅlo-r.

| Tsez. *koḅ:u A badger: Tsez. *kuḅ* (*Kid.*); Gin. *kuḅ*; Khvarsh. *kuḅ* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *kuḅu*; Bezht. *koh*; Gunz. *ko*.

PTsKh *kuḅ(u); PGB *koh(u) (cf. also Bezht. *Tlad. kō*, *Khosh. koho*).

| Lezg. *qloḅlo-r hedgehog: Lezg. *qūḅur*; Tab. *qluḅlur*; Rut. *qlinḅlir* (*Khniukh.*); Kryz. *qūḅer*; Ud. *ḅlaḅlal*.

-n- in Rut. (*Khniukh*) is due to contamination with another root, PL *qiangVr q.v.; external evidence shows that they are quite distinct, although they tend to merge in Lezghian languages.

See Khaidakov 1973, 11.

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss. In PL we have to assume an assimilation: *qloḅlor < *koḅlor (which is rather natural phonetically).

*kHwençwV / *çHwenkwV naked, bare, bald: Nakh. *kunç-ul (~ -3-); Lak. *kaça-*; Darg. *çalnku-; Lezg. *çäk^v- / *käç^v-.

| Nakh. *kunç-ul (~ -3-) bald spot, bald head: Chech. *kunzal*.

Cf. also Lev. *kunzul*, Shar., Khild., Itumk. *kunzul* id.

| Lak. *kaça-* naked, bare.

Cf. Khosr. *kaça-s:a* id.

| Darg. *çalnku- naked, bare: Ak. *çalnku-* (*Tsud.*).

Cf. also Kharb. *çalnku-se* id.

| Lezg. *çäk^v- / *käç^v- 1 bald 2 naked, bare: Arch. *çek^v-* 1; Ud. *k:aç:i-n* 2.

The Udi form is cited from Khaidakov 1973 and thus not very reliable; but the Archi form is certainly genuine and points to the PL antiquity of the root.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Despite metathesis (quite usual in roots of this structure), the etymology seems quite satisfactory. On possible reflexes in PA see under PEC *-HiçAl.

*kirV knife, axe: Av.-And. *kirV; Lezg. *kir(a).

| Av.-And. *kirV big knife, hatchet: Av. *kerelo* (*Unt.*); Akhv. *keru* (*Tlan.*).

| Lezg. **kira* 1 hook, stick with a hook 2 fang 3 hatchet, small axe: Lezg. *kir* 1,2; Tab. *kir* 2; Rut. *kiruw* 3 (*Khnov.*); Tsakh. *ķera* 3; Kryz. *kir* 1; Bud. *kir* 1; Arch. *kiri* 3.

Obl. base **kirā-* (cf. the Tsakh. form and Tab. *ķira-*). Arch. and Rut. reflex a suffixed form **kirā-j* / **kiru-j* (> *kiruw*). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

[] An Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss.

**ķiʔwV* small: Nakh. **kaķ-*; Lak. *çi-i-*; Lezg. **ķiʔwV-*.

| Nakh. **kaķ-* small, minute: Chech. *keg-i* (pl.); Ing. *kegij* (pl.); Bacb. *kaķē*.

The root is also present in Chech. *kag-dan/keg-dan* 'break, destroy' ('make minute'), Ing. *kag-de*, Bacb. *kek-dar* id. Cf. also Chech. *kagī* 'small, minute', pl. *kagij*.

| Lak. *çi-i-* small.

Cf. Khosr. *çi-i-s:a* id.

| Lezg. **ķiʔwV-* small: Rut. *ķiʔ-di*; Tsakh. *ķi-lin*; Bud. *ķi-be*; Arch. *hoko-t:ut*.

In Arch. the word is considered a nursery word and is somewhat irregular (metathesis, irregular shift of **h* /that would be a normal reflex of **ʔw*/ to *h*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The peculiar root structure in Lak. (*çi-i-* < **ķi-i-*) is explained by the reinterpretation of **ʔw-* > **-was* a changeable class marker. The PN form is reduplicated (**kaķV-* < **ka-ķVH-* with dissimilation).

**ķiwɬV* mountain ridge; gorge, ravine: Nakh. **gul*; Av.-And. **ķ:alV* (~ -o-); W.-Cauc. **ķʷa-*.

| Nakh. **gul* mountain ridge: Chech. *gul*.

Obl. base *gula-*. Perhaps related is also Bacb. *gul* 'lump (of dough)', if we suppose a metaphorical usage of the original root in Bacbi.

| Av.-And. **ķ:alV* (~ -o-) ravine: Av. *ķ:al*; Akhv. *ķ:ʷā*; Cham. *ķ:al*; Tind. *ķ:al* (*Gudava*); Kar. *ķ:al*; Bagv. *kal*.

Av. paradigm C (*ķ:alā-l*, *ķ:āla-l*). Cf. also Kar. Tok. *ķ:eli* id. Some Andian forms may be borrowed from Avar.

| W.-Cauc. **ķʷa-* 1 small river 2 ravine: Abkh. *a-ķʷāra* 1; Abaz. *ķʷarə* 2.

PAT **ķʷa-rV* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-ķʷār* 'small river'). **-rV* is probably a suffix (cf. an analogous suffix in Abkh. *a-ķʷa-rā* 'rocky river bank' etc.).

[] Although not very widely represented, the root seems quite reliable phonetically and semantically. See Abdokov 1983, 94.

**ķuɬi* / **ɬiku* lock, bolt; key: Av.-And. **ķulV*; Lak. *ķula*; Lezg. **ķul* (~ -o-); W.-Cauc. **ləķʷə*.

| Av.-And. **ķulV* 1 key 2 lock: Av. *ķul* 1; Chad. *ķoló* 1; Kar. *ķula-laħa* 2.

Av. paradigm B (pl. *ķulā-l*; but Chad. C: *ķilī-l*, *ķula-l*). Kar. has a compound; for its second component see **raħa*.

| Lak. *ķula* key.

Cf. Khosr. *ķula* id.

| Lezg. **ķul* (~ -o-) lock: Arch. *λ:erum-ķul*.

A compound with some unclear first component. It is interesting to note the Shakhdagh word for 'lock': Kryz. *ķufir*, Bud. *ķuful*. These forms can go back to **ķul-λ:ʷVr*, consisting of the same components as Arch. *λ:erum-ķul*, but in different order.

| W.-Cauc. **ləķʷə* bolt, bar: Abkh. *a-ləķʷ*.

The word is attested only in Abkh., but has probable EC parallels.

[] Although not very widely spread (Av., Kar., Lak., Arch., possibly Shakhdagh, Abkh.) the etymology seems both phonetically and semantically satisfactory.

**ķumķV* cauldron: Av.-And. **gungul(V)*; Lak. *ķunķur*; Lezg. **ķumķum*

| Av.-And. **gungul(V)* cauldron: And. *gungul* (*Tsertsvadze*).

Attested only in Andian, but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *ķunķur* cauldron.

Cf. Khosr. *ķunķur* 'cylinder-shaped cauldron'.

| Lezg. **ķumķum* cauldron: Tsakh. *ķunķum*; Arch. *ķunķum*.

Cf. also Tsakh. Gelm. *ķumķum* id. 3d class in Tsakh., 3d / 4th class in Archi (3d for a bigger cauldron, 4th - for a smaller one). Cf. also a similar form in Kryz.: *ķiklā* 'small earthenware cauldron', which is, however, phonetically irregular.

See Khaidakov 1973, 85.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Deglottalisation in Andian is probably due to dissimilation. The word has different suffixes in all three subgroups (**-ɬV* in PA, **-rV* in Lak., **-mV* in PL - the latter possibly due to reduplication). Turkic forms (Az. *gumguma* 'flask, churn', Tat. *ķumķan* 'water mug') and Mong. *qumagan* 'jar' (see Radlov 2, 1049; Ramstedt 1935, 196) which are the source of different EC forms (e.g. Lak. *gungumi* 'brass jar, pitcher') are semantically different and hardly related to EC **ķumķV*.

**ķunʔV* handle: Nakh. **ķaj* (~ -ā-); Lak. *ķulj*; Lezg. **ķon(aj)*; Khin. *ķana*; W.-Cauc. **ķʷə*.

| Nakh. **ķaj* (~ -ā-) handle (of a cauldron, bucket): Chech. *ķaj*; Ing. *ķaj*.

3d class in both languages. Because there is no Bacb. parallel, several reconstructions are possible (with **-b-*, **-d-*, **-g-*, **-j-* or **-w-*); **-j* is chosen because of external evidence.

| Lak. *ķulj* handle.

Cf. Khosr. *ķulj* id.

| Lezg. **ķon(aj)* 1 handle 2 wood, firewood: Kryz. *ķinā* 2; Bud. *ķinā* 2; Arch. *ķon* 1.

4th class in all languages. Arch. pl. *ķon-ot* (showing that we have here a single -n-, not -nn-). The meaning 'wood, firewood' in Kryz. and Bud. is secondary: cf. Kryz. Al. *ķina* 'crossbeam, stick' (which is closer to 'handle' in Archi).

| Khin. *ķana* pole.

W.-Cauc. *kʷə handle: Ad. čə 1; Kab. čə 1; Ub. kʷə 1.

PAK *kə; Ub. def. a-kʷə. Reasons for delabialisation in PAK are not clear.

□ The comparison seems plausible both semantically and phonetically. See Abdokov 1983, 128 (attracting also several unrelated EC forms).

*kʷunHV kidney: Av.-And. *k:unʔi; Tsez. *kōbɔ A.

Av.-And. *k:unʔi 1 kidney 2 liver: And. k:unu; Cham. kũ 2; Tind. k:ũ 1; God. k:ũji.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. kũj.

Tsez. *kōbɔ A kidney: Gin. kubo; Bezht. koma; Gunz. koma.

PGB *koma.

□ An Av.-And-Tsez. isogloss. *-bɔ in the PTs form is an original plural suffix.

*k[u]rčV (~ -č-) dung, excrements: Av.-And. *kučV; Lezg. *k[u]rč(a); Khin. kič.

Av.-And. *kučV dung (of small animals): Av. kuč.

Lezg. *k[u]rč(a) dung: 1 of small animals 2 of birds 3 of sheep: Kryz. kăč, kăče 1; Bud. kiča² 2; Arch. kurč 3.

An expressive root with some violation of vocalic correspondences (Kryz. -ă- is irregular); Bud. and the Kryz. variant kăče reflect a suffixed form (with a rare laryngeal suffix). 4th class in all languages.

Khin. kič faeces; bird's excrements.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Vocalic correspondences are not quite clear (because of the root's expressive nature). In Khin. there occurred a dissimilative deglottalisation -č > -č̥ (usual in roots of this type).

The root probably denoted excrements of small animals or birds (cf. the semantic reflexes in most languages).

*kurVķV a k. of fruit (apricot, damson): Av.-And. *k:ur(u)ķ:-ul; Tsez. *kikVrV (~ -l-); Lak. k:urk:ul; Lezg. *kVrVķV-.

Av.-And. *k:ur(u)ķ:-ul 1 apricot 2 plum, damson: Chad. kurúk 1; And. kurkul 2; Cham. k:uk:ul 1; Tind. k:uk:ul 1.

Av. paradigm C (kurki-l, kúrka-l/kurúka-l). The And. form (MSU) may be a misrecording instead of *k:urk:ul. Cf. also Av. (Unt.) kalkuli 'damson'. And. (Tind.-Cham.) > Khvarsh., Inkh. kurkul 'apricot'; Av. > Akhv. kurake id.

Tsez. *kikVrV (~ -l-) damson: Tsez. kikili; Gin. kikili; Khvarsh. kīkaraku (Radzhibov); Inkh. kīkaraku.

The Tsez. and Gin. form may be borrowed from some Av. dialect (cf. Av. Unt. kalkuli 'damson'), but this is less probable for the Khvarsh. and Inkh. form (which is probably genuine).

Lak. k:urk:ul a sort of pears.

Cf. also Lak. k:uruk:i 'fruit, -s' - obviously a variant of the same root.

Lezg. *kVrVķV- 1 a sort of peach 2 damson: Arch. kurkuni 2; Ud. k:aramk:al 1.

An interesting Archi-Udi isogloss (not preserved in any other Lezg. language). Because of the root's peripheral distribution, it is hard to make a precise vocalic reconstruction.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Despite some expressive transformations, correspondences are basically regular and the root seems reliable.

The root was borrowed into Kumyk from some Caucasian language: Kum. kurägä 'apricot', whence it was loaned back into some EC languages (Tsez., Gin., Bezht., Gunz. kurak, Darg. Chir. qurek:a 'apricot') and Russian (кыпача).

*kūčwī (~ -ə, -ä) a k. of clothes: Nakh. *kōč; Av.-And. *kačV (~ -o-); Tsez. *kala-kač (~ -r-); W.-Cauc. *kačʷə.

Nakh. *kōč shirt: Chech. koč; Ing. koč.

Obl. base *kōču-, cf. Chech. kūča-, Ing. kočo. 4th class in both languages.

Av.-And. *kačV- (~ -o-) 1 sheepskin coat 2 shirt: Av. kač 1; Chad. kač 1; Akhv. kači 1; Cham. kač 2 (Gad.); Kar. kača 1.

Av. Chad. paradigm C (kiči-l, kača-l). Cham. (U.-Gakv.) kač and Tind. kači 'shirt' must be borrowed from some other Andian dialects (regularly we would expect kaš in Cham. and kači in Tind.).

Tsez. *kala-kač (~ -r-) long-sleeved sheepskin coat: Tsez. kalaḳač; Gin. kalkač; Khvarsh. qalakač (Radzhibov); Inkh. kalakač.

PTsKh *kaRa-kač (/q-) (a compound with an unclear first component).

W.-Cauc. *kačʷə 1 shirt 2 quilted jacket 3 ancient women's dress: Abkh. a-kač 1; Ad. čačə 3; Kab. čaš 2.

PAK *kačə. The formal coincidence of the root with PWC *kačʷə 'short' is probably fortuitous (cf. the external data). Despite Shagirov 2, 134 the Abkh. form is not a loan from Adygh (the meaning is different, and in the case of borrowing we would expect Abkh. č̣, not č̣̣).

□ A cultural root (meaning some kind of clothes for the upper body part); despite its cultural character, correspondences are regular (except for some usual assimilations) and the PNC reconstruction seems quite satisfactory.

*kVdwə (~ -o) bush; bunch(of grapes), ear(of corn): Nakh. *katV-r (~ -o-, -ō-); Av.-And. *kʷordo; Tsez. *kɔd; Lezg. *k:[i]t̪.

Nakh. *katV-r (~ -o-, -ō-) bush, shrub: Ing. kotar.

Attested only in Ing., but having probable external parallels. Nakh > Osset. kūtār / kotar 'bush', see Abayev 1958, 643.

Av.-And. *kʷordo grass: And. kʷordo.

Attested only in And., but having probable external parallels.

Tsez. *kɔd 1 bush, shrub 2 bunch of grapes: Tsez. kod 1; Gin. kod 2.

PTsKh *kod. Not quite clear is the relationship between this stem and PTs *kodV 'grape' (Tsez., Gin. kudi, Gunz., Bezht. kodo).

Lezg. *k:[i]t̪ ear (of corn): Ag. keṭ; Rut. giṭ; Tsakh. giṭ.

Obl. base *k:[i]t̪a- (cf. Tsakh. giṭe-). 3d class in Tsakh., but 4th class

in Rut. In Ag. there occurred an assimilation in glottalisation. Vocalism is not quite clear.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. As usual in roots with two stops, there occur metatheses of laryngeal features (PL *k:[i]/t < *k[i]/t:). The medial -r-in Andian is probably secondary (*k^wordo < *k^wodV-rV, cf. the PN form). Since there are problems with the PL vocalism, the PEC vocalic reconstruction is also not clear. Despite this, the etymology seems generally plausible.

*kVI²V (~ -t-, -s-) white: Nakh. *kVj-; Lak. *qalla-*; Lezg. *kVIV- ?.

| Nakh. *kVj- white: Chech. *kajn*; Ing. *kaj*; Bacb. *kujl*.

Vocalism not clear (old Ablaut?) The pure stem is represented in Chech. *kaj* "wall-eye", Bacb. *kuj-dar/kuw-dar* "to whiten".

| Lak. *qalla-* white.

| Lezg. *kVIV- ? wall-eye: Udi. *k:o-nak*.

The first syllable of the Udi word may represent the archaic root for "white" (cf. PN *kVj "white; wall-eye"). Very uncertain because of difficulties in morphological analysis and the isolation of the Udi form.

[] Essentially a Nakh-Lak. isogloss, because the isolated Udi parallel is not very reliable.

*kVm(V)cV lizard; fish: Av.-And. *konč:V; Tsez. *k[e]mVš:V; Darg.

*kas:.

| Av.-And. *konč:V lizard: And. *konč:u*; Akhv. *kāc:ara*; Cham. *kank^warac*; Tind. *kanč:i*; Kar. *kānč:i* (Tok.); Bagv. *kanš:w*.

An expressive root with some irregularities (cf. also *kača* in Cham. Gig. *taχ:e-kača* 'lizard'); however, the basic root *konč:V is clearly reconstructable.

| Tsez. *k[e]mVš:V lizard: Bezht. *kemusa*; Gunz. *kimišu*.

PGB *k[e]mVšV (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *kemüşä*, Gunz. Nakh. *kimišo*).

| Darg. *kas: fish: Chir. *kas:*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive root; the vocalism is hard to establish. PD *kas: reflects a variant *kVmčwV (with secondary labialisation).

*kVrkV(-nV) small stone, grain, egg: Nakh. *kikel; Av.-And.

*korkonV; Tsez. *keke; Lezg. *kākāl (~ -l:); W.-Cauc. *kanəka / *kakanə.

| Nakh. *kikel fruit: Bacb. *kikel* (Desh.).

The Bacb. word is isolated within Nakh, but has rather reliable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *korkonV 1 egg 2 grape, berry: Av. *korkónu* 2; And. *korkon* 1; Cham. *çačā* 1; Tind. *kekama* 1; Kar. *karkan* 1; Botl. *karkamu* 1; Bagv. *kakan* 1; God. *karḡanu* 1.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *kučan* 'egg'.

| Tsez. *kəkə roasted grain: Tsez. *kiki* (Radzhibov); Khvarsh. *kaka* (Radzhibov); Bezht. *keke*; Gunz. *keke*.

PTsKh *kəkə; PGB *keke. According to Y. Testelet, the shift *ə > e is regular in PGB in the position close to velar consonants.

| Lezg. *kākāl (~ -l:) 1 small stone, gravel 2 sheep's dung 3 dry clay: Lezg. *kāl* 1; Tab. *kekel* 1 (Dub.); Rut. *kākāl* 2; Tsakh. *kakalaj* 1; Kryz. *kikāl* 1; Bud. *kikāl* 3.

Cf. also Rut. Khn. *kikāl* 'small stone' (the meaning "sheep's dung" in Luch. is obviously a result of contamination with PL *kālkaṭ q.v.).

See Leksika 1971, 187; Khaidakov 1973, 72; Talibov 1980, 289.

| W.-Cauc. *kanəka / *kakanə 1 egg 2 nut: Abkh. *a-kakan* 2; Abaz. *kakan* 2; Ad. *čanča* 1.

Cf. also Shaps. *kāka* 'egg'. PAT *kakanə. An expressive word (semantical development is usual: *seed, *fruit-stone > a) nut; b) egg).

[] One of several EC and NC roots with the structure *KVKV denoting some small object. The root is expressive, and it is hard to reconstruct vowels; however, consonantal correspondences are quite regular and the root is well represented, thus it must be reconstructed for PNC. See Abdokov 1983, 134 (with some confusion of several roots mentioned above). Cf. Hurr. *kirikiri(j)annə* 'seed of pine-cone' (> Akkad. *kirkiriannu*), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 57.

Similar roots are known in Kartvelian (PK *kaka- 'nut', *kaka- 'fruit stone'); however, the supposition of a late loan of Lezg. forms from Georg. *kakali* 'walnut' (Klimov 1972, 352) or from Arm. *k:ak:al* id. (Klimov, Vinogradova 1979, 158) is unacceptable - both because Lezg. forms are very different semantically and because they fit well into the common NC root. The Armenian form itself is obviously a Caucasian loanword.

*kVwrV (?) smoke: Nakh. *kur.

| Nakh. *kur smoke: Chech. *kur*; Ing. *kur*; Bacb. *kur*.

Obl. base *kure-, cf. Chech. *kūra-*, Ing. *kuro*, Bacb. *kuri-*. 5th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing. and Bacb.

[] No correspondences in Dagestanian languages have been found, but cf. Hurr. *χubr-* "smoke" (< HU *kowr- ?), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 57.

*k(w)ančV stump, stick: Av.-And. *k^wanča-ra (~ o); Lezg. *kanč(a).

| Av.-And. *k^wanča-ra (~ o) stump: Tind. *k^wančara*.

Attested only in Tind., but having probable Lezg. parallels.

| Lezg. *kanč(a) 1 stump, block 2 stick for playing tip-cat: Lezg. *kanč* 1; Kryz. *känžel* 2; Arch. *kunčul* 2.

Arch. and Kryz. reflect a derivate in *-VI (Arch. *kunčul* < *kanč-ul).

[] An And.-Lezg. isogloss.

*k^warnV young (of an animal): Nakh. *kornV; Av.-And. *k^wanHi (~o-); Tsez. *q^wenu A; Lezg. *k^warV; Khin. *kuza*.

| Nakh. *kornV young (of an animal), nestling: Chech. *korni*; Ing. *korig*.

Cf. also Chech. (Uslar) *kornaj*. The Ing. form is probably a contraction of

**kornaj-ik* with elision of -n-.

| Av.-And. **kʷanHi* (~o-) 1 foal (less than 3 y. old) 2 steer, bull-calf: Akhv. *kʷani* / *kono* 1; Kar. *kʷaniλ:o* (*Archo*.) 2.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *kʷeni*, Tlan. *keni*, Ratl. *koni* 'foal'; Kar. Anch. *kʷaŋi* / *kʷeni* 'puppy'.

| Tsez. **qʷenu* A 1 sheep (1 y. old) 2 lamb (2 y. old) 3 bull-calf: Gin. *qʷinu* 1; Khvarsh. *qʷenu* 2; Inkh. *qʷeInu* 3.

PTsKh **qʷeInu*.

| Lezg. **kʷarV* young of domestic animals: Lezg. *qereχ*; Tab. *kari*, *kiriq*; Ag. *keruq* (*Fit.*); Rut. *karaqij* (*Khniukh.*); Tsakh. *kurukaj* / *kurij*; Kryz. *kʷarä*; Bud. *kora*; Ud. *arak*: (?).

The meanings vary greatly (Lezg. 'embryo, foetus; calf'; Tab. *kari* 'calf', *kiri-q* '1-y.-old calf', Ag. 'calf', Rut. 'dry, barren cow', Tsakh. 'foal', Kryz., Bud., Ud. 'bull-calf'), but all concentrate around the basic meaning "young of domestic animals". The Tsakh. forms are quoted from Ibragimov 1978, and the particular dialect is unknown; the Ud. form is all right semantically, but has undergone a rather strange metathesis, thus its belonging here may be doubted.

All forms are suffixed: either **kʷarV-j* (Tab. *kari*, Tsakh. *kurij*, Kryz. *kʷarä*, Bud. *kora*) or **kʷarV-q* (Lezg. *qiriχ* /with assimilation < **kiriχ*, cf. the more regular Khl. *kerax*/, Tab. *kiriq*, Ag. *keruq*, Rut. *karaqij*. Tsakh. *kurukaj* is a reduplicated form, exactly parallel to Rut. (*Khniukh.*, quoted by Ibragimov 1978) *kuruka* 'foal'.

| Khin. *kuza* bull-calf.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root contains a rare cluster of two resonants (it is not excluded that *-nV here is an old suffix). The uvular reflex in PTs (*qʷ-) must be explained by PTs pharyngealization (although its source is not quite clear). All other correspondences are regular, and the root seems quite reliable.

If we assume that *-nV is a suffix here, the root **kʷarV* could be linked with another Av.-And. derivate, **kʷVr-tV* 'young donkey' (Av. *kert*, Chad. *kert*, Cham. Gig. *korti*, Bagv. Tlond. *kortu*; Av. > Arch. *kelrt*, Bezht. *kerf*, Gunz. *kert*).

**kʷärV* a k. of earthenware vessel: Tsez. **kʷ(ʷ)era*; Lak. *kʷara*; Darg. **kʷarV*; Lezg. **kʷVr*.

| Tsez. **kʷ(ʷ)era* earthenware jar: Bezht. *keja*.

Cf. also Bezht. Khosh., Tlad. *kerä* id. Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *kʷara* big vessel for flour, bread; bread oven.

Cf. also Bartkh. (Khaidakov 1966) *kʷara* 'big vessel for flour', Khosr. *kʷara* 'bread oven'.

| Darg. **kʷarV* big earthenware vessel: Ak. *kuri*.

Cf. also Ur., Muir., Tsud., Sirg. *kʷara*, Kub. *kʷa* id. The Ak. form is somewhat irregular: it probably goes back to a suffixed form **kʷarVj* with secondary narrowing of the first vowel.

| Lezg. **kʷVr*- gutter, trough: Tab. *kuram*.

With metathesis cf. also Tab. Düb. *kunnur* (< **kurun* / **kurum*). Attested only in Tab., but with probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**kʷar(V)čV* (~č-) heel, sole: Av.-And. **kVrčV*; Lezg. **kʷarč*; Khin. *kučči*.

| Av.-And. **kVrčV* sole of a sock; (pl.) shabby woollen foot-wear: Av. *koroc* (*Ants.*).

Cited from Mikailov 1959. The pi. form is *korč-ar*, and the singular *koroc* is probably an analogical new formation instead of **korč*.

| Lezg. **kʷarč* 1 hoof 2 leg, foot: Lezg. *kʷač* 2; Rut. *kʷarč* 1; Tsakh. *korč* 1.

Obl. base **kʷarča*- (cf. Rut. *kʷarčä*, Tsakh. *korče*). 3d class in Tsakh. and 4th class in Rut.

See Leksika 1971, 119.

| Khin. *kučči* heel.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although not very widely spread, seems both semantically and phonetically reliable (in Av. there occurred an assimilation in glottalisation - **k*- > *k*-).

**kʷëkë* (~ä-, -i) edge, point, corner: Av.-And. **kʷikV-n*; Lezg. **kʷäk* / **käkʷ*; W.-Cauc. **kʷakə*.

| Av.-And. **kʷikV-n* teat, nipple: Cham. *kuḡun* (*Gig.*).

An isolated and expressive Cham. root; however, there are probable external cognates.

| Lezg. **kʷäk* / **käkʷ* 1 top, edge 2 point, tip: Lezg. *kuḡ* 1; Tab. *kaḡ* 1,2; Ag. *kekʷ* 1; Rut. *käʷ* 1; Bud. *kek* 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *kʷek*, Ag. Bursh. *kuḡ*, Rut. Ikhr. *kʷäk*, Shin. *kek* 'top' (in Rut. Luch. there occurred a dissimilation **käk* > **käʷ*). The obl. stem may be reconstructed as **kikʷa*- (cf. Lezg. *kuḡʷa*-).

Cf. Talibov 1960a, 300; Bokarev 1961, 74; Leksika 1971, 179-180.

| W.-Cauc. **kʷakə* corner: Abkh. *a-kʷák*.

The root is attested only in Abkh., but has probable external parallels.

[] A reduplicated root; attested not very widely, but reliable both phonetically and semantically.

**kʷëmṭi* (~ -ō) lip: Av.-And. **kʷiti*; Darg. **kʷenṭ*; Lezg. **kʷenṭ*; Khin. *kitir*.

| Av.-And. **kʷiti* lip: Av. *kʷet*; Chad. *kʷet*; God. *koṭi*.

Av. paradigm B (*kʷetä-lzul*, *kuṭ-bi*; Chad. *kuṭä-lzul*, *kuṭ-bi*).

| Darg. **kʷenṭ* lip: Ak. *kenṭ*.

Cf. also Ur. *kʷinṭ*, Kub. *kʷinṭ*, Tsud. *činṭ*, Kait. *čʷenṭ* etc.

| Lezg. **kʷenṭ* lip: Tab. *kʷanṭ*; Ag. *kenṭʷ* (*Bursh.*); Arch. *kʷenṭ*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *kanṭa*. See Bokarev 1961,62; Leksika 1971, 108; Giginayshvili 1977, 81.

| Khin. *kitir* nose.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular

(it seems probable that the Khin. word for 'nose' also belongs here - with a secondary dissimilative deglottalisation of the second consonant).

*k^wetV (~ -ä-) skein, hank: Av.-And. *k^wiṭi (~ *ku-); Tsez. *k^witV (~ i, ə, ku-); Lak. kuṭ; Lezg. *k^wäṭ(a).

| Av.-And. *k^wiṭi (~ *ku-) armful: And. kuṭi (*Khaidakov*).

Attested only in And., but having possible external parallels (if the meaning "armful" goes back to *"bundle" < *"skein, hank").

| Tsez. *k^witV (~ i, ə, ku-) skein (of threads): Tsez. kuṭi (*Imnaishvili*).

Attested only in Tsez., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. kuṭ skein, hank.

Cf. Khosr. kuṭ id.

| Lezg. *k^wät(a) 1 clew, skein, hank 2 lump 3 ball 4 bundle, package: Lezg. k^wat 1,2; Ag. g^wad (*Burk.*) 1; Kryz. k^wat / koṭ 3,4; Bud. koṭ 4; Arch. k^wet 1.

3d class in Arch. and Kryz., 4th class in Bud. Oblique stem unclear. In Ag. there occurred a secondary voicing (through dissimilation and then assimilation); other languages point unambiguously to glottalisation of both consonants in PL.

The root should be distinguished from a synonymous *kät (Lezg., Kryz., Bud. keṭ, Tab. kiṭ), which, however, has no EC etymology of its own (some old dialectal variant?).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for a dissimilation in Tsez. (kuṭi < *kuṭi), correspondences are regular.

*k^wədV a big vessel, jar: Nakh. *kuṭal; Lezg. *k^wad.

| Nakh. *kuṭal 1 big brass water jar 2 small jar: Chech. kudal; Ing. kudal; Bacb. kuṭal.

4th class in all languages. Since the word is undoubtedly common Nakh and has probable EC parallels, Georg. kuṭali 'small jar' must be regarded as a Nakh loanword.

| Lezg. *k^wad 1 measure for flour 2 big metal cauldron 3 barrel: Ag. k^wat: 1; Kryz. kädir 2; Arch. kadi 1; Ud. k:ud 3.

The word has frequent suffixes: *-Vj in Archi, *-Vr in Kryz. Both in Archi and Agul it denotes a big measuring vessel (for 1.5 kilograms). 3d class in Kryz, but 4th class in Archi.

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss. Tentatively one can compare also Lak. kart:aši (Balk. k^wart:ajš:i, Khosr. k^wart:aši) 'a big earthenware jar with wide mouth' - although the suffixation is quite strange, and the origin of medial -r- is unclear (this could be a distorted compound of *k^wat: + some obscure second component).

*k^wənḷV (~ -ḷ-) pitchfork: Av.-And. *k^wanḷa; Tsez. *k[o]ḷu.

| Av.-And. *k^wonḷa 1 pitchfork 2 scissors: Av. kuḷ:-maḥ: 2; Chad. k^weḷ:-maḥ 2; And. konḷa 1; Akhv. k^wāḷ:ela 2; Cham. k^wanḷa 1; Tind. k^wanḷa 1,2; Kar. k^wanḷ:e 1; Bagv. k^wanḷa 1,2; God. k^wanḷa 1.

Av. has a compound (with maḥ: 'iron'); in lit. Avar there is also a

variant k^weḷ:-maḥ:. Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. k^weḷ:-bil 'scissors', Ratl. k^wanḷ:i-bali, Cham. k^wanḷ:-be (Gig. kunḷ:ib), God. k^wanḷ:i-bi id. (the word for "scissors" has usually a plural suffix).

| Tsez. *k[o]ḷu 1 pitchfork 2 bifurcation: Tsez. qḷuḷu / qḷoḷu 1; Khvarsh. kuḷu 1; Inkh. koḷu 1; Bezht. qḷuḷo 2; Gunz. qḷuḷu 2.

PTsKh *koḷu; PGB *qḷuḷu. The irregular initial uvular in Tsez. and PGB must be explained either by the influence of PTs *qḷeL(:)e 'fork' (q.v.) or by the influence of the numeral "two" (Tsez. qḷa-no, Bezht. qo-na).

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss.

*k^wiṭṭ / *ṭik^wṭ spleen; intestine(s): Av.-And. *ṭik:^wa (~ -o); Darg. *kaṭ; W.-Cauc. *k^waṭ (~ *k^w-).

| Av.-And. *ṭik:^wa (~ -o) small intestine: Cham. ṣiq:^wa; Tind. c:ik:^wa.

Reason for the appearance of uvular -q:^w- in Cham. (cf. also Gig. ṭiq:a) is contamination with another PA root, *ṭiq:(^w)i / *ṭ:(^w)iṭ:i q.v.

An old loan from Tind. is Inkh. ṭik^wa 'intestine'.

| Darg. *kaṭ spleen: Ak. kaṭ.

Cf. also Kuḅ., Tsud. kaṭ.

| W.-Cauc. *k^waṭ (~ *k^w-) 1 entrails, intestines 2 meat: Abkh. a-k^wác 2; Ad. k^waṭ 1; Kab. k^waṭ 1.

PAT *k^waṭ (cf. Bz. a-k^wác); PAK *k^wác. In Abkh. we must suppose a dissimilative deglottalisation of the second consonant. The meaning 'meat' in Abkh. is obviously secondary (a-ḷə q.v. was the original name for meat). Different attempts to analyze the AK stem as a compound (see Shagirov 1, 217 with literature) seem rather arbitrary. It is probably best to regard the root as a whole.

[] The root should be kept distinct from PEC *q^wiṭV / *ṭiq^wV q.v., although they are constantly contaminating with each other (see the discussion under *q^wiṭV).

Similar forms are spread in Kartvelian languages: Georg. kuṭi 'intestines, stomach of birds', Svan. k^wiṭ 'bird's crop, craw'. A Kartvelian loan is Osset. gūṭa "bird's crop; throat". See Bouda 1950, 294; Abayev 1958, 526 (he also links And. ḅ^waḅ^waṭi "belly" which does not belong here); Shagirov 1, 217. However, Abayev's supposition about the Iranian origin of Caucasian forms (cf. Sogd. qwē, kwēk "mouth, throat", Kafir. kūc "belly") is hardly credible.

*k(w)inV small bone: Lak. kunu; Lezg. *k^wini-j (~ *k^winu-j); W.-Cauc. *kanə.

| Lak. kunu lot.

| Lezg. *k^wini-j (~ *k^winu-j) 1 ankle 2 knuckle-bone 3 hip, hip-bone: Lezg. kunuk 1 (*Khl.*); Rut. kuni 2; Tsakh. kunu 2; Kryz. k^wani 3.

3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. The form is reduplicated in Lezg., and has a *-j-suffix in other languages. In Rut. and Tsakh. it means specifically 'a knuckle-bone for playing, dice'.

| W.-Cauc. *kanə knucklebone: Ad. ṣan; Kab. ṣan.

PAK *kánə (in PWC both *k and *ḱ may be reconstructed).

[] Reasons for delabialisation in PAK are not clear; otherwise the correspondences are quite regular. Note that this root was specifically used to denote a small bone for throwing (Russ. 'альчик') - hence also the meaning 'lot' in Lak.

See Abdokov 1983, 74 (Tsakh.-WC).

**kʷirV* leg bone, leg (of animal): Nakh. **kurV-m*; Lezg. **kʷir(a)*.

| Nakh. **kurV-m* bone for playing dice: Chech. *kuram*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **kʷir(a)* 1 hoof 2 leg (of animal): Lezg. *kur* 1,2; Tab. *kuram* 1; Kryz. *kʷari* 2; Arch. *kʷiri* 2.

3d class in Arch. and Kryz. The suffixless form is reflected in Lezg. (cf. also Tab. Khan. *kur* 'wrist'); Tab. has a suffixed -m (former plural suffix), and Arch. and Kryz. reflect a common *-j - suffix (**kʷirVj*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Cf. also HU forms: Hurr. *u-krā*, Urart. *qurā* 'foot, leg' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 57).

**kʷikʷV* cake, cookie: Lezg. **kuḱV-*; Khin. *kuḱu*; W.-Cauc. **kʷakʷa-rə*.

| Lezg. **kuḱV-* 1 cake, cookie 2 a k. of fancy bread: Ag. *kaḱuḱaj* (Fit.) 1; Kryz. *kuḱ* 1; Bud. *kuḱ* 1; Arch. *kurḱuni* 2; Ud. *k:ok:oli* 1.

3d class in Arch., 4th class in Kryz. and Bud. The medial -r- in Arch. is probably secondary (*kurḱuni* must be an expressive modification of a form like **kuḱuri*), because other languages do not reflect any medial liquid.

| Khin. *kuḱu* cake, cookie.

| W.-Cauc. **kʷakʷa-rə* cake, cookie (made of dough): Abkh. *a-kʷakʷar*.

Attested only in Abkh., but with probable external parallels.

[] An expressive reduplicated root; despite this, correspondences are regular, and the PNC reconstruction seems rather probable. Cf. also Hurr. *kakkari* (> Akkad. *kakkaru*) 'a sort of sweetmeat', see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 56.

**kʷimḱ(w)ā* puppy: Av.-And. **kʷinḱ:i*; Tsez. **ḱucV* A; Lak. *kanḱa*; Lezg. **konḱol* / **korḱol*.

| Av.-And. **kʷinḱ:i* 1 puppy 2 bitch: Av. *ḱ:uḱá* 2; And. *ḱunḱ:i* 1; Akhv. *kūḱ:i* 1; Cham. *kuḱ*; Tind. *kʷinḱ:i*; Kar. *ḱunḱ:e*.

In Av. - a form with metathesis (*ḱ:uḱá* < **kuḱ:á*).

| Tsez. **ḱucV* A puppy: Tsez. *ḱuci*; Gin. *ḱuce*; Bezht. *ḱuco*; Gunz. *ḱucu*.

PTsKh **ḱuca*; PGB **ḱucu*.

| Lak. *kanḱa* puppy.

| Lezg. **konḱol* / **korḱol* puppy: Lezg. *gurḱul*; Tab. *kurḱil*; Ag. *kurḱul*; Arch. *konḱol*.

The reflexes reveal two basic structures of laryngeal features: a) with the initial voiceless *k- (Tab., Ag., cf. also Lezg. Kur. *kurḱul*, Khl. *krḱil*); with the initial glottalised *ḱ- (Arch. *konḱol*, cf. also Lezg. Kuba. *kurḱul*;

the literary Lezg. *gurḱul* is a result of dissimilation < **kurḱul*). External evidence shows that the original Anlaut is *ḱ-; forms with *k- are a result of early dissimilation in glottalisation. In Arch. the word belongs to the 4th class.

See Leksika 1971, 160; Giginayshvili 1977, 101; Talibov 1980, 206.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root should be distinguished from a similar **kīḱi* 'puppy' q.v. (although some contaminations are possible).

**kʷimhV* (~ -fi-) cloud, fog: Nakh. **ḱāw*; Tsez. **qima* A (~i- B); Lezg. **k:om:ol*; W.-Cauc. **naḱʷa*.

| Nakh. **ḱāw* rain mixed with snow: Chech. *ḱāw*; Ing. *ḱāw*.

4th class in both languages. Obl. base **ḱāwni-* (cf. Chech. *ḱāwna-*).

| Tsez. **qima* A (~i- B) 1 rain 2 clouds: Tsez. *qema* 1; Gin. *qema* 1; Khvarsh. *qema* 2; Bezht. *qimaro* 2 (*Khosh*).

PTsKh **qima*. In Bezht. only the original plural form (meaning 'clouds') is preserved.

| Lezg. **k:om:ol* 1 cloud 2 rheumatism: Lezg. *kp:ul* 2; Rut. *gibil* 1,2; Tsakh. *gumil* 1.

4th class in Rut. and Tsakh. (in Tsakh. free variants exist: *gimil*, *gumil* and *gumul*). Note the peculiar semantic shift: 'cloud' > 'damp,cold' > 'rheumatism'.

| W.-Cauc. **naḱʷa* fog: Abkh. *á-naḱʷa*.

Isolated in Abkh., but having probable parallels in EC.

[] A reconstruction **kʷimhV* (with secondary assimilation > **kʷimhV* in PEC and metathesis > **nhikʷV* > **naḱʷa* in PWC) is also not excluded. The Nakh form here is questionable (it can belong here only if PN **ḱ* can really reflect PEC **kʷ* which is somewhat dubious); all other forms belong together with a high degree of probability.

**kʷimḱe* freckle, mole: Nakh. **ḱāḱi*; Av.-And. **kʷinḱV*; Lak. *ḱunḱ*; ḱut-in; Darg. **ḱunḱ*; Lezg. **kʷimḱa*.

| Nakh. **ḱāḱi* 1 birth-mark, mole 2 spot: Chech. *ḱēda* 1; Ing. *ḱād* 2.

Initial **ḱfi-* also possible.

| Av.-And. **kʷinḱV* 1 freckles 2 spot 3 drop: Akhv. *ḱunḱa* 2; Tind. *kʷinḱa-bi* 1; Kar. *ḱunḱe* 3, -di 1.

Cf. also Akhv. Tlan. *ḱunḱi* 'spot'. The Tind. form in -bi and the Kar. form in -di are plurals.

| Lak. *ḱunḱ*; ḱut-in 1 dot, drop 2 rash.

Lak. *ḱunḱ* and ḱutin are hard to separate; we should probably take them for old dialectal variants. -t- in ḱutin is probably a result of (dialectal) dissimilation. Cf. also Khosr. *ḱunḱ* 'drop', *ḱunḱa ḱun* 'to drop'.

| Darg. **ḱunḱ* 1 freckles 2 drop: Chir. *ḱuḱ* 2.

Cf. Kub. *ḱunḱ-ri*, Kait. *ḱinḱ-ri* (with vowel assimilation) 'freckles' (-ri is a plural affix).

| Lezg. **kʷimḱa* 1 birth-mark, mole 2 drop 3 spot; freckle: Rut. *ḱud* (*Ikhr.*) 2; Tsakh. *ḱuda* (*Gelm.*) 1; Arch. *kʷanḱ* 1,3.

Arch. -n- : Rut., Tsakh. -0- before a dental point unambiguously to PL *-m-. In Rut. and Tsakh. a dissimilation (-t- > -d-) has occurred.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The meaning 'drop' in some languages (Kar., Lak., Rut.) is probably a result of partial contamination with another similar PEC root, *tHānkō q.v.

An EC source is probable for Georg. *kwinṭali* 'pimple', Osset. *kʷidīli* / *gudeli* 'wart' (see Abayev 1958, 646-7: Osset.-Georg.).

*kʷiñčV onion, garlic; bundle (of onions): Nakh. *kōncV- (~ -ō-); Av.-And. *kōnča; Lezg. *kūnč(a).

| Nakh. *kōncV- (~ -ō-) garlic: Chech. *kōncerg*.

The Chech. form is taken from Карасаев-Мациев 1978, where it is qualified as 'archaic dialectal'.

| Av.-And. *kōnča onion: And. *kōnča*; Tind. *kanča*; Kar. *kanča*; God. *kanči*.

An aberrant form is attested in Cham.: Gig. *anči* 'onion'. Since the original meaning of the root was probably "a bundle (of onions, garlics)", it may have contaminated with Cham. *anč* 'mane' (q.v.).

| Lezg. *kūnč(a) 1 bunch, bundle 2 sheaf: Lezg. *kūnč* 1; Kryz. *gunč* 2; Bud. *kunž-al* 2.

The root reveals as-/dissimilations of laryngeal features, rather typical for roots containing more than one stop.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PL form demonstrates an assimilation (*kūnč > *kūnč). We must mention also an isolated Tsezian form: Khvarsh. *kuca* 'onion'. It can not correspond to other forms for phonetic reasons, and may be an old Nakh loanword.

*kʷiñhV smoke: Av.-And. *kʷiñhi; Tsez. *qʷi (~*qo); Lak. *kuw*; Darg. *kʷaw; Lezg. *kʷun; W.-Cauc. *bʷA.

| Av.-And. *kʷiñhi smoke: Av. *kʷuj*; Chad. *kʷi*; And. *kʷoj*; Akhv. *kʷi*; Tind. *kʷi*; Kar. *kʷūji* (*Tok.*); Bagv. *kʷūj*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *kʷūj*. Av. paradigm A (*kʷūj-dul*, *kʷūja-l*).

| Tsez. *qʷi (~*qo) smoke: Bezht. *qo*; Gunz. *qo*.

PGB *qo.

| Lak. *kuw* soot.

4th class. Cf. Khosr. *kʷa* (gen. *ku-ra-l*) id.

| Darg. *kʷaw smoke: Ak. *gaw*.

Cf. also Ur. *gaw*, Gapsh. *kʷaw* etc.

| Lezg. *kʷun: 1 smoke 2 dust: Arch. *gun* 2; Ud. *kʷuin* 1.

Cf. also Arch. erg. *gunne* (for PL *-n-), Ud. (MSU) *kʷūjun*. 4th class in Archi. An important Arch.-Ud. isogloss, lost in other Lezghian languages.

| W.-Cauc. *bʷV smoke: Abkh. *á-l-ʷa*; Abaz. *lʷa*; Ad. *ʷə-ʷa*; Kab. *ʷə-ʷa*; Ub. *ʷa*.

PAT *lə-ʷa (for the etymology of *lə- see *La). PAK *ʷə-ʷa - a compound with an unclear first component. Resemblance to PWC *bʷa 'yellow' is of course quite coincidental (despite Шарпов 2, 161).

[] A widely spread common NC root. Correspondences are completely regular. See Abdokov 1983, 101. (Tsez.: WC).

*kʷōrfV urine: Av.-And. *kʷVrš:V; Lak. *ku-š-i*.

| Av.-And. *kʷVrš:V urine: Av. *kuš*; / *kurs*; Chad. *kurs*.

Cf. also Av. Gid. *kʷas* 'urine'. Used also as a verbal root: Av. *kuš-i-ze*, Chad. *kusix-zi* 'to urinate'.

| Lak. *ku-š-i* to urinate.

Ger. praet. *ku-x:u-nu*. Cf. also the derivate: *kuš-a-lu*, Khosr. *kuš-a-lu* 'urine'.

[] An Av.-Lak. isogloss; since, however, Lak. has -x:- (not -š:-) as a root consonant, it does not resemble a loanword.

*kʷV[c]V (/ *c]V kʷV) tail: Nakh. *čaku; Tsez. *kiç-; W.-Cauc.

*kʷača.

| Nakh. *čaku 1 tail 2 short tail: Chech. *čoga* 1; Ing. *čog* 1; Bacb. *čawku* 2.

3d class in all languages. Cf. also Khild. *čogu*, Cheb. *čagu* etc.

| Tsez. *kiç- sheep's tail: Tsez. *keç-maḥi*; Khvarsh. *keç-mehi* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *kiç-mihe*.

PTsKh *kiç-miḥe (a compound with *miḥe 'tail').

| W.-Cauc. *kʷača tail: Ub. *kʷača*.

Isolated in Ub., but with possible external parallels.

[] An expressive root, with violations of sound laws and not widely represented; the PNC antiquity is rather dubious.

*kʷVkV soft; to make soft, knead: Nakh. *keḭ-; Av.-And. *kʷVk-; Tsez. *kʷokV-; Lak. *kuḭ-lu*.

| Nakh. *keḭ- to mix, knead: Chech. *kēg-ō*; Ing. *kega-de*; Bacb. *keḭ-dar*.

The term. stem *kaḭ- (~ā-) is reflected in Bacb. *kaḭ-dar*.

| Av.-And. *kʷVk- 1 to rumple, make soft 2 to rub: Av. *kʷék-* 1; Chad. *kēk-* 2.

| Tsez. *kʷokV- soft: Tsez. *kokoru*; Gin. *kokoru*; Khvarsh. *kokoru* (*Radzhibov*).

PTsKh *kʷoko-ru (for labialisation cf. Tsez. Sagada *kʷakʷara*).

| Lak. *kuḭ-lu* soft.

Cf. Khosr. *kuḭlu-s:a* id.

[] A reduplicated root with assimilative / dissimilative processes. Despite them, the etymology seems rather probable.

A similar root exists in WC: PWC *kʷaḭIV 'to knead, mix' (PAT *kʷVha- > Abkh. *á-kʷaha-ra*, Abaz. *kʷha-ra* 'to knead', PAK *kʷəha- > Ad. (*zazaḭa*)-*kʷəha-n* 'to mix'), but the uvular -ḭI- here is a serious obstacle for the EC-WC comparison (unless we suppose that the the original form underwent assimilation as early as in PEC).

*kʷVIV3V / *gʷVIVçV weapons, armour: Nakh. *gerç (~ -ē-);

W.-Cauc. *kʷaləḭə (~ḭ-, -ḭ-).

| Nakh. *gerç (~ -ē-) weapons, arms: Chech. *gerz*; Ing. *gerz*; Bacb. *gerç*.

3d class in all languages. Obl. base **gerça-* (Chech. *gerza-*, Ing. *gerzo*). Cf. also Cheb., Lev. *gjerz*, It., Shar., Khild. *gjerz*, Ing. (in Imnaishvili's notation) *gjerc*-. Nakh > Osset. *garz* 'instrument' (see Abayev 1958, 508).

| W.-Cauc. **k^waləzə* (~*ž*-,*ž*-) armour: Abkh. *a-k^walžə*; Abaz. *k^walžə*.

PAT **k^waləzə* (or *-ž*-, because the Bzyb. form is unknown).

[] An interesting Nakh-WC isogloss.

**k^wVnV* mastix, tar: Av.-And. **k^wVnV*; Tsez. **q^wVni*.

| Av.-And. **k^wVnV* fir-tree: Av. *k^weni* (dial.).

Cited from Mikailov 1959.

| Tsez. **q^wVni* pine tar: Gin. *q^wlone*.

Attested only in Ginukh, but having possible external parallels.

**k^wVrkV* something round or rotating: Nakh. **kurkk-* (~*-ū*-); Av.-And. **k^warkV-*; Tsez. **kukV-* (~*-o-*); Lezg. **kVrkVr*; Khin. *karkir*; W.-Cauc. **k^wə^wk^wə*.

| Nakh. **kurkk-* (~*-ū*-) whirlpool: Chech. *kurk-mani*.

Obviously an expressive word, but with some possible external parallels.

| Av.-And. **k^warkV-* 1 clew (of threads) 2 whirligig, humming-top: And. *kaku* 2; Akhv. *kāka* 1; Cham. *čačan* (Gig.) 1; Tind. *kekān* 1; Kar. *karkan* 1.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *kakan*, Ratl. *k^wank^wa*. The vowel *-e-* in Tind. is unclear (conditioned by analogy with *kekama* 'egg' ?); cf. (with labialisation) the derivate *korka-lu-b* 'round'. Perhaps we should also compare Cham. *kuku-ra*, Gig. *kuku* 'a bunch of sheaves (in the field)'.

| Tsez. **kukV-* (~*-o-*) a small haystack: Tsez. *kukuj* (Kid.).

Isolated in Tsezian, but having probable external parallels (cf. in particular forms like Cham. *kuku-ra* 'bundle of sheaves').

| Lezg. **kVrkVr* (/ **kVmkVr*) 1 bundle, bunch 2 skein, clew 3 lump 4 humming-top: Lezg. *kuk-ruḥ* 1; Kryz. *kirkir* 2; Arch. *kemekəla* 4; Ud. *k:aInk:aIl* 3.

An expressive root with somewhat irregular correspondences. In Ud. there exists also a variant *k:aInk:ul*; cf. also *k:anak*: 'skein, clew' ?

| Khin. *karkir* skein, clew, hank.

| W.-Cauc. **k^wə^wk^wə* clew (of threads), skein: Abkh. *a-k^wə^wk^wəj*.

An expressive root; attested only in Abkhaz, but having probable EC parallels.

[] An expressive reduplicated NC root (one of a series of roots with the structure **KwVrV* / **KwVrKV* meaning 'round, circular'). Cf. especially the PNC verbal root **-ākūr* 'to roll, rotate'. The Khin. word may be borrowed from Kryz.

**k^wVrV* crawl, creep: Av.-And. **k^wiru*; Tsez. **q^wVr*.

| Av.-And. **k^wiru* crawl, creep: Akhv. *korō*; Tind. *koru*; Kar. *korō* (Rats.).

Cf. also Kar. L.-Enkh. *korō* id.

| Tsez. **q^wVr* 1 crawl, creep 2 throat: Gin. *q^war-bašu* 2; Khvarsh. *qur-na* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *qur* 1.

PTsKh **q^wVr* (the vocalism is not clear). Cf. also Inkh. *qir-baji* 'throat' (*qir* possibly as a result of contamination with another PTs root, cf. Tsez. *qen* 'crawl').

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez isogloss with somewhat confused correspondences, thus not very reliable. Initial uvular (instead of an expected velar) in PTs may be explained by contamination with another PEC root, **qwinV* q.v.

**k^wVtk^wVtV* / **q^wVtq^wVtV* a k. of bird (probably woodpecker): Av.-And. **k^wVtk^wVtV*; Tsez. **q^woq^woq^wV*; Darg. **qutquti*; Lezg. **k^wVtk^wVt* / **tVq^wtVq^w*.

| Av.-And. **k^wVtk^wVtV* woodpecker: Av. *k^wat^wat^w*.

The Avar word is cited from the Russian-Avar dictionary. Cf. also Unt. (Mikailov 1959) *ḡ^wet^wkuṣ* 'woodpecker'.

| Tsez. **q^waq^watV* woodpecker: Tsez. *qI^waqI^wadiru*; Gin. *q^waq^wadiru*; Inkh. *qoqoṭur*; Bezht. *qōqōṭō*; Gunz. *qōqōdu*.

PTsKh **qI^waqI^watV*, PGB **qoqoṭu*.

| Darg. **qutquti* woodpecker: Ak. *qutquti*.

| Lezg. **k^wVtk^wVt* / **tVq^wtVq^w* 1 hoopoe 2 woodpecker: Lezg. *kutkuṣ* 1; Tsakh. *taqtaqaj* 2 (Khaidakov); Ud. *tuktukal* 2 (Khaidakov).

An expressive reduplicated stem with somewhat irregular correspondences (see also under PL **ḡ^werḡ^wel-*).

[] An expressive reduplicated stem, reconstructed for the PEC level. Its reflexes mean for the most part 'woodpecker', but occasionally denote other birds similar in shape and size (hoopoe, partridge).

*lālce wall: Tsez. *rās:u; Darg. *lac; Lezg. *cala (~ -l:-).

| Tsez. *rās:u 1 wall 2 edge of an earthen roof: Gin. *lašu* 2; Bezht. *jōso* 1; Gunz. *nəsu* 1.

PGB *rās:u (cf. also Bezht. Khosh., Tlad. *roso*). The Gin. form probably belongs here, but the vowel is irregular (-e- would be expected).

| Darg. *lac wall: Ak. *lac*; Chir. *lac*.

Cf. also Tsud. *lac*, Kub. *las*.

| Lezg. *cala (~ -l:-) wall: Lezg. *cal*; Tab. *cal*; Ag. *cal*.

Obl. base *colā- (~ -l:-), cf. Tab. Kand. *cli*-, Düb. *cali*-, Ag. Bursh., Fit., Burk. *cali*-, Lezg. *cla*- (reduction in Tab. and Lezg. points to Ablaut *a/*o in PL: *cla*- < *cila- < *colā-). In Lezg. cf. also a derivate: Khl. *celem* 'stone for fastening roof edges'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Nasalisation in PTs points to medial resonant, lost in PD and PL: this could be only *-l- (lost by dissimilation). Correspondences are regular, except for metathesis in PL (which was rather recent, judging from the preservation of c- in word-initial position).

*lapV (~*l-) glitter, flash: Nakh. *lēp-; Darg. *ča-li[p]; Lezg. *čaj-lap(an).

| Nakh. *lēp- to glitter, to blaze: Chech. *lēp-a*; Ing. *lep-a*; Bacb. *lep-ar*.

| Darg. *ča-li[p] lightning: Ak. *ča-lip*: (*Kait*).

Cf. also Kub. *ča-lipān* id. The final labial of the root is hard to reconstruct (probably because of the influence of the initial glottalised ç-).

| Lezg. *čaj-lap(an) lightning: Lezg. *čajlapan*; Tab. *čajlapan*; Ag. *čäjälpan*; Rut. *cajalpan*.

Cf. also Ag. Burk. *čalp*, reflecting a form without the suffixed *-an.

[] Both in PD and PL the root is present within a compound with *čaji 'fire'. The PN reflects the root as a durative verbal stem (term. stem would be *lap-).

*lagū (~ -č-) ashes; dust: Av.-And. *rVq:V; Lak. *laχ*; Lezg. *laχ: (~ -ä-); W.-Cauc. *tq:~a (~ r-, l-).

| Av.-And. *rVq:V ashes: Av. *raq:ú*; Chad. *roqó*.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *raq:dá-l*, Chad. *roqó-l*).

| Lak. *laχ* ashes, dust.

3d class, gen. *luχ:a-l*. Cf. Khosr. *laχ*, *luχ:a-l* id.

| Lezg. *laχ: (~ -ä-) grain peelings: Arch. *laχ*.

Cf. erg. *leχ:i*. An isolated Arch. word, but with good parallels in Lak. and Avar.

| W.-Cauc. *tq:~a (~ r-, l-) 1 ashes 2 grey (hair): Abkh. *á-χ'a* 1,2; Abaz. *q'a* 1; Ad. *tχ'a* 2; Kab. *tχ'a* 2; Ub. *tχ'a* 1.

Cf. also Bzyb. *á-χ'a*; Ad., Kab. *tχ'ə-n* (with Ablaut) 'become grey (of hair)'. PAT *q'a, PAK *tχ'a/*tχ'ə. The cluster *tq:~ may in fact have been *rq:~ or *lq:~ (since the number of clusters in PWC is restricted), which would be a better match for the EC forms.

[] Correspondences are regular, and the EC-WC comparison seems quite satisfactory. It is, however, not quite clear whether PWC keeps a trace of the initial resonant (*l-) or has lost it, having later added a dental (class) prefix. See Dumézil 1933, 15, Abdokov 1983, 100.

*lärǰV log, stick: Tsez. *raǰV (~ž:,š,-ǰ-); Darg. *deǰV-la; Lezg. *lač:(a).

| Tsez. *raǰV (~ž:,š,-ǰ-) log: Bezht. *jažo*.

Attested only in Bezht., but having possible external parallels.

| Darg. *deǰV-la beam: Chir. *dežla*.

| Lezg. *lač:(a) slab: Rut. *laž*.

Attested only in Rut., with possible parallels in Darg. and Tsezian.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is reflected only in three languages from different subgroups, thus the reconstruction is not very reliable.

*laswĒ hair; wool: Av.-And. *rVsV; Tsez. *riz(:)V (~ l-, i-); W.-Cauc. *lašV.

| Av.-And. *rVsV hair: Av. *ras*; Chad. *raš*.

Av. paradigm C (*rasú-l*, *rása-l*). Isolated in Av., but with probable external correspondences.

| Tsez. *riz(:)V (~ l-, i-) string: Tsez. *rezi*; Khvarsh. *lizi* (*Radzhibov*).

PTsKh *Rizi.

| W.-Cauc. *lašV wool: Abkh. *á-lasa*; Abaz. *lasa*; Ub. *daš'á*.

PAT *laša (cf. also Bzyb. *á-laš*). Correspondences are regular.

[] Although the root is not widely spread in EC, the correspondences between Av., Tsez. and WC are quite regular, and the PNC reconstruction seems reliable. See Abdokov 1983, 83-84 (with some confusion of several EC roots, but containing the basically correct comparison of Av. *ras* and WC forms).

*lätV ~ *tälV kennel, trough: Av.-And. *tarV (~ -o-); Tsez. *tara (~ -l-); Lezg. *lat.

| Av.-And. *tarV (~ -o-) ditch: Tind. *λ:en-tar*.

A compound with *λ:en*- 'water'. The root -tar is isolated within Andian, but has probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *tara (~ -l-) kennel, gutter: Tsez. *tara*; Gin. *tara*; Khvarsh. *tala* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *tala*.

PTsKh *taRa.

| Lezg. *lat 1 stone trough for watering cattle 2 spring: Lezg. *lat* 1; Tab. *lat* 2; Rut. *lat* 1 (*Khniukh.*); Tsakh. *lat* 1 (*Tsakh.*);

Cf. also Tab. Kand. *lat* 'stone trough'. Obl. base **lata-*, cf. Tab., Lezg. *lata-* (the Tsakh. Tsakh. oblique base *lati-* is secondary). 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for the metathesis (a frequent phenomenon), the correspondences are regular.

**lār3V* (~ **lārçV*, 1-) a bundle (stack) of sheaves: Nakh. **lāzi* (~ -ç-); Lak. *lizu*; Lezg. **[ä]rc:-*.

| Nakh. **lāzi* (~ -ç-) a heap of wheat sheaves: Chech. *lēza*; Ing. *lāza*.

4th class in Chech., 3d class in Ing.

| Lak. *lizu* a heap of sheaves (stacked as a pyramid for drying).

Cf. Khosr. *lizu* 'bundle of sheaves'.

| Lezg. **[ä]rc:-* a branch-shelter for a bee-hive: Rut. *larzij*.

Attested only in Rut., but having probable external parallels. Rut. -anormally goes back to PL **a*, but in a stressless position (in a disyllabic word) can probably also reflect **ä*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**lēHwV* (~ 1-) word: Tsez. **lɔje* (~ r-); Darg. **luʕi*.

| Tsez. **lɔje* (~ r-) word, sound, voice: Inkh. *loje*.

Isolated in Inkh., with a possible Darg. parallel.

| Darg. **luʕi* number: Ak. *luʕi*.

[] An interesting Tsez-Darg. isogloss - although not very reliable (because it is preserved only in two languages). With a regular shift **l-* > PHU **t-* cf. perhaps also PHU **tiw-*: Hurr. *tiwe* 'word; thing'; Urart. *ti(j)-* 'to say', *ti-na* 'name' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 53). If this parallel is correct, then Darg. *luʕi* and Inkh. *loje* must be regarded as an archaism, lost in most modern EC languages. [Note that Av. *raʕi* 'word', cited ibid., does not belong here, being a derivate of *raʕi-ze* < **iqE* 'to hear'].

**lēkV* (~ 1-) grain, fruit stone: Nakh. **lak*; Lak. *lača*; Lezg. **ti-lek* (?); Khin. *li*; W.-Cauc. **ka* (~ **k-*).

| Nakh. **lak* fruit stone: Chech. *lag*.

Obl. base **laki-*, cf. Chech. *lega-*. Cf. also Lev. *lag*, Cheb. *lak*.

| Lak. *lača* wheat.

3d class (pl. *lak-ri*).

| Lezg. **ti-lek* (?) fruit stone: Tsakh. *filik*.

Probably an old compound; but although the second part (-*lik*) has a fairly good external etymology, the first part is not quite clear (cf., perhaps, PL **ti-* 'small' ?).

| Khin. *li* grain.

The word has lost final -*k* in nominative (cf. erg. *liki*, pl. *like-bir*).

| W.-Cauc. **ka* (~ **k-*) 1 seed, fruit-stone 2 egg: Ad. *ča* 1,2; Kab. *žadā-ča* 2.

PAK **ka* (in Kab. preserved only within the compound "hen's seed" = "hen's egg"). Comparison with Ub. *čā-* (present in several compounds) proposed by Shagirov (1,160; 2,132) is impossible phonetically.

[] The phonetic and semantic correlation between the PEC and PWC forms is quite satisfactory. The PWC form, however, may also correspond to another PEC root with the same scope of meaning (see **hāmki* 'grain, fruit-stone'). We must wait for some new evidence to resolve this question.

**lēkwV* (dried) stalk, fuel: Tsez. **rokv*; Lak. *laki-ja*; Lezg. **lekV-n*.

| Tsez. **rokv* root: Tsez. *roko*; Gin. *roke*; Khvarsh. *roko*; Inkh. *roko*. PTsKh **rokv*.

| Lak. *laki-ja* fuel (straw, dried stalks etc.).

| Lezg. **lekV-n* birch bark: Tsakh. *luḡon*.

Isolated in Tsakh., but having possible external parallels.

[] Phonetically the correspondence between PTs **rokv*, Lak. *laki-ja* and Tsakh. *luḡon* is exact; semantically these words can be united, if we assume the original meaning 'stalk' (> 'dried stalk and other materials used as fuel' (birch bark is very good for firing)).

**lēmžī* garlic: Av.-And. **raži* (~ -o-); Lak. *lači*; Lezg. **lā(m)č:-*; W.-Cauc. **b-žə(-nə)*.

| Av.-And. **raži* garlic: Av. *razi*; Chad. *nizi-per*; And. *razi*; Akhv. *razi*; Cham. *lazi* (*Gig.*); Tind. *razi*; God. *razi*.

All Andian forms (except Cham. with a secondary shift r- > l-) can be borrowed from Av. (however, since the correspondences are regular, some of them may be genuine, too).

Av. paradigm B-C (gen. *razi-dul*). The Chad. form (where per = 'onion') and Gid. *nizi* (cited from Mikailov 1959) point probably to medial nasal in Proto-Av.-And. (***ranzi*). Tind. (or Avar lit.) > Inkh. *razi* 'garlic'; Av. dial. > Gunz., Bezht. Tlad. *nizi*, Khosh. *nezi*.

| Lak. *lači* garlic.

Lak. > Arch. *lači* id.

| Lezg. **lā(m)č:-* ramson: Tab. *liž-ar* (*Dub.*).

Attested only in Tab., but having reliable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **b-žə(-nə)* onion: Abkh. *a-žəmsā*; Abaz. *žəmsā*; Ad. *bžənā*; Kab. *bžən*; Ub. *zʷamλā*.

The pure stem (with an old suffix *-nə) is present in PAK **bžənā*. Ub. and PAT (and PAK with the meaning 'garlic') reflect old compounds **bžənā-pəλā* 'red onion' (= "onion") and **bžə(nā)-lʷə* 'white onion' (= "garlic") with the following reflexes:

a) **bžənā-pəλā* > PAT **žən(ə)-pəšā* > **žəməšā* (Abkh. *a-žəmsā*, Abaz. *žəmsā*); Ub. **zʷan(ə)-pəλā* > *zʷamλā*;

b) **bžə(nā)-lʷə* > PAT **žə-sə* > (with assimilation) **žəšə* (Abkh. *a-žəš*, Abaz. *žəš*); Ub. **zʷa-sʷa* > (with assimilation) *zʷásʷa*; PAK **bžənā-xʷə* (Ad. *bžənaf*, Kab. *bžənəxʷ*).

See Rogava 1956, 16-17, 77-78.

Although it was obviously a folk etymology, already in PWC the root of these compounds was associated with PWC **bžV* 'to fry' (q.v.). Since in Ub. the PWC verb **bžV* was superseded by a reflex of **zʷV* 'to roast' (q.v.) > Ub. *zʷa-*,

*b³V- was changed to z^wa- also in the name of onion/garlic (which explains the irregular reflex z^w instead of expected *³-).

Not quite clear is the status of the syllable *-nə in PWC. Shagirov (1,91) tries to explain it as an instrumental morpheme, thus treating PAK *b³ənə as 'smith. to be fried'. However, this *-nə is certainly absent in the Ub. and PAT word for 'garlic' (Ub. z^wās^wa, PAT *³əšə), and may have been originally just an optional connecting morpheme (possibly an original obl. base marker).

[] The PWC form has a frequent labial prefix *b(ə)-. The etymology seems both phonetically and semantically satisfactory. We must note that the Av. final -i more often goes back to *-ē (in this case we would have *ē:, not *³ in PWC); sometimes, however, it may reflect the nominal suffix *-Vj, which is probably the case here.

See Abdokov 1983, III-III2.

*lēqV a k. of vessel: Av.-And. *roqō; Tsez. *rōqV A; Darg. *laqu-r; Lezg. *laq(a) (~ -ā-).

| Av.-And. *roqō 1 earthenware pitcher 2 vessels, plates and dishes: Av. ra^o l; Chad. ra^o l; And. roqō (Tsertsvadze) l; Akhv. raqa 2; Tind. rā-la 2.

Av. paradigm C (plur. rā^oa-l; Chad. ra^oi-l / ru^oé-l, rā^oa-l). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. ra^oa, Kar. Tok. ra^oa 'pitcher'.

| Tsez. *rōqV A plates and dishes (collect.): Tsez. roj; Gin. koto-roqe; Khvarsh. loqa (Radzhibov); Inkh. loqo; Bezht. rāqō (Khosh.); Gunz. zami-raqu (Gunz.).

PTsKh *RoqV (in Gin. a compound with koto 'plate, vessel' q.v.); PGB *raqu (in Gunz. a compound with zami 'plate'). Cf. also Bezht. Tlad. rāqō id. In PGB we should expect *rōqu; perhaps the notation -a- in Gunzib is a misspelling (instead of -ō-).

| Darg. *laqu-r cradle: Ak. laquj (Kub.).

| Lezg. *laq(a) (~ -ā-) 1 trough 2 trunk, box: Tab. laq l; Rut. laq 2. Obl. stem unknown.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*ler^twe hollow; pit, foundation: Nakh. *lar^t (~ -ā-); Av.-And. *rit^wV; Tsez. *ro^tV (~ j-, -ə-); Lak. rat; Darg. *lu^ti; Lezg. *ler^t (~ -ā-).

| Nakh. *lar^t (~ -ā-) foundation: Chech. lard; Ing. lard. 4th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *rit^wV shallow, sand-bar: Cham. ru^ti-l (Gig.).

Cf. also Cham. Gad. jil^wi id. Attested only in Cham., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *ro^tV (~ j-, -ə-) hole in the wall: Bezht. jofo.

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. rat ravine, river-bed.

Cf. also Khosr. rat 'brook, stream'.

| Darg. *lu^ti bottom; hoof: Ak. lu^ti.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. lu^ti, Kub. lu^te id.

| Lezg. *ler^t (~ -ā-) foundation: Tab. šib-rit; Ag. šeb-re^t (Fit.).

Both Tab. and Ag. reflect a compound *λ:ep:i-ler^t (with *λ:ep: 'foundation' as

the first component). Cf. also Tab. Düb. šarwa^ta (with metathesis < šaw-ra^ta) and especially Khür. š:aw-lu^t 'foundation', preserving the original l- and pointing directly to PL *ler^t (in other dialects l- > r under the influence of *-r-).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PN form and the variation l-/r- in other languages indicate PEC initial *l- and medial *-r-.

*lēχV / *lēχV chain, bracelet: Av.-And. *laχa (~ o); Tsez. *rəχ:u; Darg. *k^wi-leχ:a; Lezg. *lāχa.

| Av.-And. *raχa (~ o) lock: Kar. raχe (Tok.).

Attested only in Kar., cf. also Kar. Archo. raχaj, Anch. kula-laχa (with assimilation r > l after kula- 'key').

| Tsez. *rəχ:u 1 chain 2 chain for hanging pans: Gin. reχu l; Bezht. joχo 2.

| Darg. *k^wi-leχ:a bracelet: Ak. kuleχa; Chir. qilaχ:^wa.

The Chir. form reflects assimilation (qilaχ:^wa < *k^wilaχ:a); cf. also Ur., Kub., Muir. kulixā id.

| Lezg. *lāχa 1 bracelet 2 woman's breast ornament: Tab. kulix l; Ag. kuleχar 2 (Bursh.); Tsakh. lāχa l (Tsakh.).

The Tab. and Ag. forms reflect a compound *k^wil-lāχa with *k^wil- 'hand' q.v.; cf. also (with assimilation) Tab. Düb. quliq 'bracelet' - and possibly also, with further suffixation and assimilatory processes - Ud. q:oxl-ang 'bracelet'.

See Leksika 1971, 212.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is mostly preserved within compounds (for the most part with *kwil^oi 'hand' q.v.), which explains the vacillations in vowel length and tenseness (the original form was probably tense - *lēχV, but could become lax after the lax *kwil^oi).

*lhem^lwⁱ earth: Nakh. *moχk; Av.-And. *rVλ:V; Lak. luχč:i; Lezg. *nelλ:^w; W.-Cauc. *λ^wA.

| Nakh. *moχk 1 earth, country 2 country: Chech. moχk l; Ing. moχk 2; Bacb. moχk l.

Obl. base *maχki- (Chech. meχka-, Ing. meχko). 6th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *rVλ:V earth, ground: Av. raλ.; Chad. raλ.

Av. paradigm C (raλ:u-l, rāλ:a-l). Av. > Gin., Bezht., Gunz. raλ 'floor'.

| Lak. luχč:i earth, land.

Cf. also Khosr. luχč:i '(mountain) pasture'.

| Lezg. *nelλ:^w field, cornfield: Lezg. nik; Tsakh. nek; Kryz. nik; Bud. nik.

Obl. base *nelλ:^wi- (cf. Lezg. ni^{ki}-, Tsakh. nek:i-); cf. also Tsakh. Gelm. noIk (noIki-) which points to labialisation of *λ:^w and pharyngealisation in PL. 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241 (suggesting also a relationship with And. =eλ:- 'to plough' - which is probably wrong, see PEC *-er^lV).

| W.-Cauc. *λ^wA earth: Ad. čə; Kab. šə; Ub. jə-c^wā.

PAK *čə. Its regular Ub. correspondence is present in Ub. jə-c^wā- 'on the

earth' (preverb); reasons for deglottalisation of -čʷ- in the Ub. noun (which is certainly representing the same root) are not yet clear. This root is to be strictly kept apart from PAK *ča 'bottom' which has quite different external parallels.

[] Despite the complicated pattern of resonant variation (due to interaction of *l- and *-m-), correspondences are regular and the etymology seems reliable. The Lak. form fits here if we suppose luxč:i < *luxk:i < *luk:i-χV with an original locative suffix.

*l(H)apV to throw, a throw: Lak. laIp; Lezg. *lap(a).

| Lak. laIp a moment.

| Lezg. *lap(a) to throw: Arch. lap:us; Ud. lap:.

Arch. lap:us < lap bos, cf. dur. lapar. The root is actually nominal ('a throw'), forming a compound verb both in Archi and Udi.

[] An expressive Lak-Lezg. isogloss. The root, however, may be archaic if it is related to Urart. nāp-aχ- 'to overthrow, to subdue' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 19).

*lHaχV (~ t-) black: Lak. luhi-; Lezg. *laχI:V- /*loχI:V-.

| Lak. luhi- black.

Cf. Khosr. luhi-s:a.

| Lezg. *laχI:V- /*loχI:V- black: Rut. liχIdi; Kryz. lähā; Bud. la^ca; Arch. beχ:Iet:ut.

In Arch. b- is probably a class marker, which has replaced the original initial *l- (its authenticity is proved by external data).

See Khaidakov 1973, 104.

[] An exact Lak-Lezg. isogloss.

*lHīq̄wĀ / *lHīq̄wĀ (~ t-) a k. of bird: Nakh. *l(h)ēq̄; Tsez. *laluq̄V (~ r); Lak. lillux:i; Darg. *[?]iχI-liq̄an; Lezg. *liq̄I[?]; W.-Cauc. *la(r)q̄a.

| Nakh. *l(h)ēq̄ quail: Chech. leq̄; Ing. leq̄.

Cf. Chech. obl. lēqa-. 3d class in Chech., but 4th in Ing.

| Tsez. *laluq̄V bat: Tsez. lalulqi.

A reduplicated stem; attested only in Tsez., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. lillux:i bird.

Lak. lillux:i (3d class) is very probably a transformation of a form like *liχI-luq̄li where the first part is the verb liχ:Ia- 'to fly' (cf. the Darg. form iχI-liq̄an).

| Darg. *[?]iχI-liq̄an bird: Chir. iχIliq̄lan.

Cf. also Kub. iχIliq̄an id. The word is a compound (the 1st part of it is iχI- 'to fly').

| Lezg. *liq̄I[?] eagle: Lezg. leq̄; Tab. luq̄I; Ag. liq̄I; Rut. liq̄I; Arch. liq̄I.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. läIq̄, Tab. Düb. luq̄lu, Ag. Bursh. laq̄I, Fit. lürq̄I (with a secondary -r-), Burk. la², Tp. le², Arch. pl. loq̄I-or. 3d class in Rut. and Arch.

See Talibov 1980, 307.

| W.-Cauc. *la(r)q̄a 1 raven 2 rook 3 pigeon: Abkh. á-laḥ^wa 1; Abaz. laḥ^wa 2; Ad. thār^wq̄a 3; Kab. tharēq̄a 3; Ub. daχ^wá 3.

PAT *laḥ^wa; PAK *thar(ə)q̄a^w; Ub. def. á-daχ^wa. The correspondence PAT *l- : PAK *th- : Ub. d- points to PWC *l-; PAT *h^w- : PAK *q̄^w- - to PWC *q̄^w. Ub. χ^w instead of expected q̄^w may be explained by a special development within the cluster: *larq̄a > *darq̄a > *darχ^wa > daχ^wa.

See Klimov 1967, 302; Shagirov 1977, 84.

[] The comparison seems quite plausible, despite some irregularities (usual for bird names in many linguistic families). It is hard to guess which particular bird was denoted by the name *lHīq̄wĀ in PNC, but most semantic reflexes point to some big or medium-sized bird ("eagle" ~ "jackdaw"/"rook" ~ "pigeon").

For phonetic reasons the PWC root can not be compared with PEC *līnλwē 'pigeon', pace Klimov (1967,302), Abdokov (1983, 121); also improbable are the etymologies of Abkh. laḥ^wa by Lomtadidze (1961, 121) and of PAK *thar(ə)q̄a^w by Shakryl (1968,48-49).

*līwĒĒ / *līwĒV man, male: Nakh. *-law; Av.-And. *IV; Lak. lak:-; Darg. *gal(i); Lezg. *λ:ilV-; Khin. ligild; W.-Cauc. *λA.

| Nakh. *-law a suffix denoting profession: Chech. -lo; Ing. -lo; Bacb. -law.

Cf. derivatives like Chech. řema-lō 'warrior', belχa-lō 'worker' (Ing. bolχ-lo), Bacb. komsomol-low 'member of Komsomol' etc. The morpheme originally meant simply "man" (cf. the analogous use of -vi in Lezg., -ž'i in Tab. < *č^wijo "man" etc.).

| Av.-And. *IV address to a man: Av. le.

Originally must have meant simply "man", confer derivatives like lé-bal-λi "manhood, courage" (lébal is an original plural form). Preserved only in Av., but has reliable external parallels.

| Lak. lak:- Lak (ethnonym).

| Darg. *gal(i) son, boy: Chir. řale.

Cf. also Kad., Kub. gal, Sirg., Tsud. gali etc.

| Lezg. *λ:ilV- 1 male 2 man 3 men (pl.): Tab. zilir 2; Ag. ile-f 1; Arch. λele 3.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 242.

| Khin. ligild man.

| W.-Cauc. *λA 1 male 2 testiculus: Abkh. á-ḡa 1; Abaz. -ḡ 1; Ad. řa 2; Kab. řa 2; Ub. -za.

PAT *řa / *řa (the latter form is used in compounds, cf. Abkh. a-tḡ-ḡ, Abaz. tḡ-ḡ 'ram', Abkh., Abaz. abḡ-ḡ 'he-goat'; also in the meaning "seed, egg", e.g. Abkh. a-k^wtḡ-ḡ, Abaz. k^wtḡaḡ '(hen's) egg'). PAK *řa.

Ub. has also a word řa 'testiculus', but it is obviously an AK loanword. The genuine reflex of PWC *λA is Ub. -za in t^wá-za 'he-goat' (= Abkh. abḡḡ), tḡ-za 'ram' (= Abkh. a-tḡḡ) and ba-za 'penis'.

[] Cf. also Hurr. tur-oχχḡ 'male' (with a regular reflex t- < *l-, -r- < *l-), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 52. The meaning 'man' changed to ethnonym 'Lak' in Lak.

(typologically a frequent phenomenon). This root may have something to do with the PN and PAT words for 'slave' (if we assume that a self-denomination for Eastern Daghestan dwellers **lak*:(V) could be borrowed by the Nakh and through them, possibly, by Western Caucasians with the meaning 'slave'): PN **lag* (Chech., Ing. *laj*, Bacb. *lag*), PAT **laga* (Abkh. *a-lag*, Abaz. *lag*). Since these words have a velar, they can not be connected with another EC name for 'slave', Av. *lað* etc. (see on its possible origin under **ʔVɬV*).

Of obvious Caucasian origin is Osset. *läg* 'man, male' (see Abayev 1973, 20).

**lɪnɬwē* (~ **ɬ-*) pigeon: Av.-And. **mik*:V; Lak. *x:i*; Darg. **lanxʷa*; Lezg. **linɬʷa*.

| Av.-And. **mik*:V pigeon: Av. *mik*:i; Chad. *miki*.

Av. paradigm B (*mik*:i-*dul*, *mak*:a-*l*; Chad. *miki*-*l*, *maka*-*l*).

| Lak. *x:i* pigeon.

Cf. Khosr. *x:ʷi* id.

| Darg. **lanxʷa* pigeon: Ak. *laha*; Chir. *nexʷa*.

Cf. also Ur. *lawha*, Muir. *lahʷa*, Kait. *laxʷa*, Kub. *naxʷa*. Initial *n-* in Chir. and Kub. clearly points to original medial nasalisation in this root.

| Lezg. **linɬʷa* pigeon: Lezg. *lif*; Tab. *luf*; Ag. *luf*; Rut. *lirxʷaj*; Tsakh. *nurxa(j)* (*Gelm.*); Kryz. *lif*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *lif*, Tab. Düb. *luf*, Ag. Bursh. *luf* (all forms pointing to weak **-ɬʷ-* in PL). PL **-r-* before laterals disappears in Rut., Tsakh.; the fact that they have *-r-* here, plus nasalisation *l-* > *n-* in the *Gelm.* dialect (cf. also Rut. *Ikhr. nurfäj*) point undoubtedly to medial **-n-* in PL. The word has a very strange shape (if it belongs here at all) in other Tsakh. dialects: Tsakh. *qlinerke*, Mik. *qlinēke* (unclear is the syllable *qli-* and the reflex *-k-*). 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh., but 4th class in Kryz.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The initial root structure is well preserved in PD and PL. As for the Av. and Lak. forms, they reflect a result of regular shifts of nasality+labialisation: **lɪnɬwē* > **lɪmɬwē* > **mɪɬwē* (with subsequent regular loss of initial **mɪ-* in Lak.).

The presence of both a lateral resonant **l-* and a lateral affricate **ɬ* in the root has resulted in a somewhat irregular development of **ɬw* here (a weak reflex **ɬʷ* in PL, and, to the contrary, a strong *x:ʷ* in Lak; a delateralised *k:* in Av.) - the same type of irregularity as in another similar root **ɬwētʔē* 'mould, pus' q.v.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 240.

**lōmVɜɪ* (~ -*ě*) dirt, earth: Nakh. **lätte*; Av.-And. **riç:i*; Lak. *luç*; Darg. **laImzi*; W.-Cauc. **ləməzə* (~ -*3-*).

| Nakh. **lätte* 1 earth, 2 rubbish, litter: Chech. *latta* 1; Ing. *lätta* 1; Bacb. *latt* 2. 3d class in all languages.

| Av.-And. **riç:i* pus: Av. *reç:*; Chad. *reçi*; Akhv. *reç:i*; Kar. *reç:i* (*Anch.*); God. *rec:i*.

Av. paradigm B~C (gen. *roç:ō-l*).

| Lak. *luç* slime.

3d class.

| Darg. **laImzi* dirt, mud: Chir. *laImze*.

Cf. also Kub. *laImde*.

| W.-Cauc. **ləməzə* (~ -*3-*) 1 swamp 2 sand: Abkh. *á-ps-ləmɜ*; Abaz. *ps-ləmɜ*.

PAT **pəsə-ləmɜzə* (cf. also Bz. *á-ps-ləmɜ*). The first component (**pəsə-*) is not quite clear.

[] The comparison seems valid both semantically and phonetically; preservation of *-m-* in PWC suggests that the original form may have been trisyllabic (**lōmVɜɪ*) with a contraction to **lōmɜɪ* in PEC. [Quite strange is Tab. Düb. *linɜi* 'clay, clay mortar'.]

**lōɜV* bright metal: Av.-And. **rizV*; Tsez. **lɔs* (~ *-r-*, *-s-*); Lezg. **lac*:V-; W.-Cauc. **c:a* (~ **č:-*).

| Av.-And. **rizV* brass: Av. *rez*; Akhv. *lezi*.

Akhv. *lezi* 'bronze' reflects a suffixed variant **rizi-l*. This form is attested only in Northern Akhvakh; other dialectal forms (Tseg. *izi*, Tlan. *ezi* etc.) are obviously borrowed from Turkic (cf. Kum. *jez*).

| Tsez. **lɔs* (~ *-r-*, *-s-*) bolt, bar: Inkh. *los*.

Attested only in Inkh., but having probable external parallels (if we assume a rather usual semantic development 'metal, iron' > 'bolt').

| Lezg. **lac*:V- 1 white 2 iron: Lezg. *lac:u* 1; Tab. *lizi* 1; Rut. *liz-* 1 (*Khniukh.*); Kryz. *läzi* 1; Bud. *läzu* 1; Arch. *lac:ut* 2.

The original meaning is preserved in Archi (cf. external parallels); in other languages we observe a semantic shift *'light metal' > 'light, white'.

See Talibov 1980, 268.

| W.-Cauc. **c:a* (~ **č:-*) tin, zinc: Ad. *cafa*; Kab. *zaxʷ*.

PAK **c:a-xʷə* (a compound with PAK **xʷə* 'white', see Shagirov 1, 167). Despite Balkarov (1965, 49) the root **c:a-* is not related to PAK **p:c:a-* in the word for 'lead' (q.v.).

[] Although not very widely spread, the root seems quite reliable both phonetically and semantically.

**lugV* (~ **ɬ-*) ear (of corn): Darg. **luk:i* (~ -*g-*); Lezg. **lok*:(a).

| Darg. **luk:i* (~ -*g-*) ear (of corn): Ak. *lugi*.

Cf. also Mek., Ur. *lugi* id.

| Lezg. **lok*:(a) ear (of corn): Arch. *lok*.

Cf. erg. *lak:a*, pl. *lok:or*.

[] A Darg-Lezg.isogloss. Since within Lezghian the word is present only in Archi, it may be a Darg. loanword - thus the root's antiquity is dubious.

**lujɜV* clay: Nakh. **lujst*; Av.-And. **rizi*; Lezg. **lojc*: / **jolc*:.

| Nakh. **lujst* 1 sheep's dung 2 thick, dense: Chech. *lüst* 1, *lusta* 2; Ing. *lista* 2; Bacb. *jupsĩ* 2.

The noun **lujst* must have meant 'thick, clayish substance' (whence 'dung' in Chech.). The Bacb. form is interesting, because it demonstrates the original *-j- which had been shifted to Anlaut (**lujsti-n* > **ljuwsti-n* > *jupstī*); another trace of PN *-j- here is the Chech. vowel -ū- in the direct stem *lūst*; cf. also dialectal forms like Shar. *lujstī*, Khild. *lwistī* 'thick, dense'.

Abayev (1973, 57-58) considers the Nakh adjective to be borrowed from Osset. *list(āg)* / *list(āg)* 'small, thin'. This is hardly the case because of the non-trivial phonetic structure of the Nakh root (the semantic side also raises doubts).

| Av.-And. **rizi* bread: Cham. *rezi* (*Gig.*).

Attested only in Cham., but having probable external parallels. For the meaning 'bread' cf. Rut. *lizid* 'dough', going back to the same EC root (*'clay' > 'dough' > 'bread').

| Lezg. **lojc*: / **jolc*: 1 clay (for plastering walls) 2 white: Lezg. *lu3* (*Nūt.*) 1; Tab. *lurz* 1; Ag. *luz* 1; Rut. *liz* 1; Kryz. *luzu* (*Al.*) 2; Bud. *luzu* 1.

Cf. also Tab. Khan. *jul3* 'clay' (demonstrating the original *j; the lit. form *lurz* (as well as Ag. Bursh. *lurz*) is obviously a development < **lolc*: < **lojc*: with assimilation); Rut. *lizi-d* 'dough'. The Kryz. word is a result of contamination with PL **lac*:V- 'white' (q.v.), reflected as *läzi* in Kryz proper. The closely related Budukh language makes a clear distinction between *läzu* 'white' and *luzu* 'clay'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The original meaning 'clay, thick substance' explains well all the diverse meanings in daughter-languages.

**IVjsV* (~ 1-, -cw-) narrow: Lak. *lis:u*; Lezg. **is:al*(:)-.

| Lak. *lis:u*- narrow.

| Lezg. **is:al*(:)- narrow: Tab. *isel* (*Khaidakov*); Ag. *isal-f*.

Khaidakov writes *is:al-f* for Agul (obviously a form from some -s:-preserving dialect), so we must reconstruct *-s:- for PL.

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss. Except for metathesis in PL (usual in adjectival roots), correspondences are regular.

**IVnsV* (~ 1-) a k. of grass: Av.-And. **nVs*:V; Lezg. **lors*:^w; W.-Cauc. **IVsV* (~r, r̄, -s-).

| Av.-And. **nVs*:V thistle: Akhv. *nas:t*.

Attested only in Akhvakh, but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **lors*:^w 1 sorrel 2 a k. of weed: Lezg. *lis* 1 (*Khl.*); Tab. *lis*^w 1; Rut. *lis* 2; Kryz. *lurs* 1; Bud. *lurz* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Kur. *lurs-ar* 'sorrel'. In PL labialisation of consonants was neutralized after -o-, thus **lors*: may be reconstructed as well. 3d class in Rutul, but 4th class in Kryz. and Bud. Obl. stem unclear.

See Khaidakov 1973, 63.

| W.-Cauc. **IVsV* (~r, r̄, -s-) fern: Abkh. *á-ras*.

Attested only in Abkhaz (Abzh. dialect), thus there are several possible reconstructions for PWC.

[] The root is not widely represented (mostly in Lezghian languages), but seems plausible both phonetically and semantically.

**IVχV* (~ 1-) low: Nakh. **laχu-n*; Lak. *lah*-.

| Nakh. **laχu-n* low: Chech. *loχa*; Ing. *loχa*; Bacb. *laχū*.

Cf. also Cheb. *laχū*, Shar., Khild. *loχū*, Akk. *loχā* etc.; Chech. adv. *laχa* 'down, below'. Cf. the pure root in Chech. *laχ-alar* 'to descend, come down', Bacb. *laχ-dar* 'make low'.

| Lak. *lah*- low.

[] A Nakh-Lak. isogloss.

***ladV** a k. of berry: Av.-And. ***la[d]i** (~ -o-); Darg. ***lada**.

| Av.-And. ***la[d]i** (~ -o-) 1 strawberry 2 bilberry: Akhv. *laji* 1; Cham. *laj* 2; Tind. *lā* 2.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *laj* 'bilberry'.

| Darg. ***lada** strawberry: Ak. *lada* (Kub.).

[] An And-Darg. isogloss. The phonetic development in Andian languages seems to be the same as in PA ***ča²i** 'rain' < ***čadV** q.v. (perhaps *-d- > PA *-ʔ-(-j-) before *-i? - but there are too few examples for stating this rule firmly).

***lamV** licking, to lick: Av.-And. ***lam-**; Lak. *lança*; Darg. ***lemç**; Lezg. ***lam**.

| Av.-And. ***lam-** to lick: And. *lam-*; Cham. *nan-*; Tind. *dan-d-*; Kar. *lam-* (Tok.).

Cham. (cf. also Gig. *nann-*) and Tindi have assimilated forms: ***lam-d-** > ***lan-d-** > *dan-d-* / *nan-d-* (*nann-*).

| Lak. *lança* to lick.

Cf. Khosr. *lança tun* id. (a compound verb with a nominal component *lança*).

| Darg. ***lemç** to lick: Ak. *limçi-kes*; Chir. *lemç barqī*.

A compound verb (nominal component ***lemç**).

| Lezg. ***lam** to lick: Arch. *lam-(mus)*; Ud. *lam*.

An expressive Archi-Udi isogloss; however, it has good external parallels.

[] An expressive root with an exceptional phonological structure RVRV. The tendency to avoid such root structures probably had led to adding the suffix ***-čV** in the Lak-Darg. area. We can now only guess as to its original meaning: cf. perhaps PNC ***-içA** 'to give, put' (cf. expressions like Rut. *miz wis* 'to lick' = 'to give tongue' etc.). Anyway, it is hard to separate the And. and Lezg. forms (going back to ***lamV**) from Lak-Darg. (going back to ***lVmçV**).

The front vocalism in PD ***lemç** could have been conditioned by the influence of PD ***mec**: 'tongue' (see ***mēlzi**). It is interesting that the stem ***lemç**, in its turn, had influenced the root for 'tongue' in PD which gave rise to the coexistence of two stems: ***mec**: and ***lec:mi** (***lemc:i**) in Dargwa dialects.

***ławqV** (/ ***-ławqV**) many, enough: Nakh. ***duqa**; Tsez. ***laχ:i** (~ -b-); Darg. ***-aqal**; Lezg. ***[a]wχ-**; W.-Cauc. ***q:V**.

| Nakh. ***duqa** many: Chech. *duqa*; Ing. *duqa*; Bacb. *duq*.

| Tsez. ***laχ:i** (~ -b-) much, very: Gunz. *laχi*.

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. ***-aqal** many: Ak. *d-aqal*.

| Lezg. ***[a]wχ-** 1 much, many 2 to a large extent: Lezg. *luχ* 2; Arch. *labχ-an* 1.

There are some problems with vocalism (perhaps, ***a/o** Ablaut), but otherwise a quite reliable comparison.

| W.-Cauc. ***q:V** 1 to suffice 2 large, big: Abkh. *á-z-χa-ra* 1; Abaz. *na-qa-ra* 1; Ad. *-qə* 2; Kab. *-q:* 2.

PAT ***qa** (used only with preverbs) 'to suffice, be enough'; cf. also Abkh. *á-mč-χa-ra* 'sufficient strength'. In PAK the root is used only in compounds: Ad. *nəba-q*, Kab. *nəba-q*: 'pot-bellied', Ad. *ca-mə-q*, Kab. *za-mə-q*: 'with large teeth' (see Kuipers 1975, 64). The semantic correlation "sufficient" : "large, big" is quite common.

[] Initial ***l-** is proved by the PL and Gunz. forms. In PN and PD class prefixes were added which led to the shift of ***l-** to the stem's end; the inanimate class prefix ***r-** > ***d-** was later petrified in PN. Processes like this are quite usual for adjectival and verbal roots. In general the etymology seems quite plausible.

***lakā** bone, leg-bone: Av.-And. ***ligV**; Lak. *lič:a*; Darg. ***lik:a**; Lezg. ***lāk**.

| Av.-And. ***ligV** 1 body organ; body, stature 2 shins, shanks: Av. *lagá* 1; Cham. *gele* (pl.) 2.

The Cham. form is metathesised. Av. paradigm B (*logó-l*, *lug-bí*). The Av. word is borrowed in many languages: And., Cham., Tind., Inkh., Tsez., Gin. *laga* 'body'.

| Lak. *lič:a* bone.

4th class. Obl. base *lik:u-ra-*. The plural form *lik-ri* also means 'feet, legs'.

| Darg. ***lik:a** bone: Ak. *liga*.

Cf. Ur. *liga*, Kub., Tsud. *lik:a* etc.

| Lezg. ***lāk** 1 foot, leg 2 bone: Tab. *lik* 1; Ag. *lak* 1; Arch. *lek:i*.

Obl. base ***lāki-** or ***lāke-**, to judge from the Ag. form *laku-*. In Ag. cf. also Bursh. *lek*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. Av. *laga* 'body' was probably twice borrowed in Arch.: first as **lagə* > *lāgi* 'belly' (with a shift of meaning) and more recently as *lagá* 'body, body part'.

***lč²wnī** (~ -ʔ-) skin (of an animal): Nakh. ***neħ**; Av.-And. ***IVbV**; Lak. *lu*; Lezg. ***le²**.

| Nakh. ***neħ** 1 skin 2 skin (for making soles): Chech. *ne²*; Ing. *niħ*; Bacb. *niħ*.

Obl. stem ***naħa-ra-** (cf. Ing. *naħaro*, Chech. with vowel levelling *ne²ara-*). 3d class in all languages.

| Av.-And. ***IVbV** sole: Av. *lab*.

Cf. also Av. *láb-ci* id., Av. Ants. *lab* 'skin'. Paradigm not clear (only Av. pl. *lábca-bi* is known).

| Lak. *lu* skin, sheepskin; book.

| Lezg. *le² skin: Lezg. *li*; Tab. *li²*; Ag. *le²*; Rut. *le²* (*Khniukh.*); Tsakh. *le-k²a*; Kryz. *le²*; Bud. *lā²*; Arch. *ili*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *li²*, Tab. Düb. *li²i*. In Tsakh. there is an obscure suffix -k²a (cf. Darg. Chir. *dik²a* 'skin of cattle?'). Obl. base *le²i- (cf. Khl. *li²i-*, Ag. *le²u-*); 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. The root primarily means 'skin of cattle' (only in Kryz. it designates 'skin' in general).

See Talibov 1980, 268.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The cluster *-²wn- has to be reconstructed to account for the otherwise unclear nasalisation in PN.

*tēHte (~-i) ear: Nakh. *la; Darg. *lehi; W.-Cauc. *LA- / *lA-.

| Nakh. *la ear: Chech. *lerg*; Ing. *lerg*; Bacb. *lark*.

The early PN paradigm must be reconstructed as *la, *lari-. The first form is preserved in Chech. *la-dība/-dōba*, Ing. *la-duwba* 'to listen'. The second form gave rise to the diminutive *lari-k which has survived as the basic word for 'ear' (cf. also Cheb. *larig*, Shar. *lerig* etc.). This form belongs to the 3d class in Chech., Ing. and to the 8th class in Bacb.

| Darg. *lehi ear: Ak. *lihi*; Chir. *lāl*.

Cf. also Ur. *lihi*, Kait. *lal²*, Kub. *lalj*, Tsud. *lahi* etc.

| W.-Cauc. *LA- / *lA- ear: Abkh. *a-lámha*; Abaz. *lámha*; Ad. *thak²am*; Kab. *thak²ama*; Ub. *Lak²ama*.

There are two PWC roots, which are probably later differentiated variants of one original root for 'ear':

a) *LA- in compounds meaning 'ear': PAT *lā-māha (where -ha must be the same root as PAT *ha 'to hear' q.v.; see Lomtadze 1955, 824); PAK *thá-k²ama and Ub. *Lá-k²ama* (etymology of the second component obscure);

b) *lA- in compounds meaning 'to listen': PAT *-²zā-rā² (Abkh. *á-²zā²-ra*, Bz. *á-²zā²-ra* /with metathesis/, Abaz. *zā²-ra*); PAK *da-²a- (Ad., Kab. *da²a-n*); Ub. *La-²ā²*. Here Shagirov (1, 150) thinks that PAT *²z corresponds to PAK *d - this is certainly wrong, because in this case (PWC *b²) we should expect d², and not L in Ubykh. PAT *²zā in this verb is probably a modification of the reciprocal version prefix *-²zā (which is semantically rather plausible). The element corresponding to PAK *d and Ub. L here must be PAT *r (*-rā²) which (despite Shagirov ibid.), of course, can not be considered a causative prefix (the verb has no causative semantics at all). For the second part of this PWC compound see *q:l²ā². The root *da- (< *la-) is present in another PAK compound *da-g²ā² 'deaf' (where -g²ā² is a privative suffix: 'earless'), see Shagirov 1, 145. Judging from the external evidence, the variant with the resonant *lA is original; reasons for its transformation into a lateral affricate in the word for 'ear' are yet to be investigated.

[] See Abdokov 1983, 77. Cf. also Hurr. *lela* 'ear' (Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 53) which fits well as a reflex of the reconstructed NC form (actually, the Hurr. form is the reason for reconstructing *t and not *l in PEC).

The cluster *-Ht- is reconstructed tentatively; if -lə in the Hurr. form is a suffix, we could also reconstruct *tēHe.

*tHimgV shame, anxiety: Av.-And. *lim[q]V; Lak. *liχ:alwu*; Lezg.

*liwql / *riwql.

| Av.-And. *lim[q]V guilty look: Av. *limhi*.

Cf. also the verb *limh-* 'to look guilty'.

| Lak. *liχ:alwu* anxiety, alarm.

A suffixed form; with another suffix the root was borrowed (from some Lak. dialect) into Arch. *laχ:lā-ti* 'anxiety'.

| Lezg. *liwql / *riwql shame: Lezg. *reḥu*; Rut. *riql*; Kryz. *reh*; Arch. *libχl*.

In Arch. cf. also *libχl* i 'to be ashamed'. The variation *l-/*r- is unclear.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Despite some irregularities (Av. -h- instead of the expected -q-, variation *l-/*r- in PL), the PEC reconstruction seems probable.

*tVmbagV sheep: Av.-And. *lVmbagV; Lezg. *lamp:ak:.

| Av.-And. *lVmbagV 1 sheep 2 sheep (1 y. old): Av. *lémag*; Akhv. *lāgi*.

Av. paradigm A (*lémagul*, *lémagal*). Cf. also Av. Kuyad. *nebag* 'sheep' (suggesting the protoform *lVmbagV), Akhv. Tlan. *langi*, Ratl. *lamagi* id.

| Lezg. *lamp:ak: a common word for sheep and goats: Lezg. *lap:ag*; Tsakh. *nabag*;

The Tsakh. word is quoted from Aslanov 1975, 257, where it is glossed as 'sheep slaughtered in its turn by the flock's owners or share-holders after the exhaustion of meat resources'. We can not exclude the possibility of its borrowing from some southern Avar dialect; however, the Lezg. word seems to be genuine.

[] The root is rather restricted geographically and has a peculiar shape (as well as non-standard reflexes of medial *-mb-), thus old borrowing is not excluded (however, the source is not clear).

***λanā** (~ -ə-) bottom: Lak. *hanu*; Lezg. ***λ:ana** (~ λ-).

| Lak. *hanu* foundation.

Cf. Khosr. *hanu* id.

| Lezg. ***λ:ana** (~ λ-) bottom: Tsakh. *xane*.

The root is isolated in Tsakh. (cf. also Gelm. *xanä*; its precise meaning is 'bottom (as seen from below)', as opposed to *kan* 'bottom (as seen from above)'), with a probable Lak. parallel.

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss.

***λarV** (~ x-) wind, breeze: Av.-And. ***λ:arV** (~ -o-); Lezg. ***λ:ar**.

| Lezg. ***λ:ar** 1 wind 2 rheumatism: Lezg. *gar* 1; Tab. *xar* 1; Kryz. *xar* 1,2; Bud. *xer* 2.

Obl. base unclear (Lezg. *garu-*, but Tab. *xara-*). 3d class in Kryz. and Bud. Semantically cf. PL ***λop:ol**.

[] An And-Lezg. isogloss.

***λā[ɪ]çV** (/ ***λwāçV**) to sift, to filter: Nakh. ***liɬ-**; Av.-And. ***xVç:V-**; Tsez. ***λ:aca-ri** (~L-, -ɔ-); Lak. **x:ʷi-çi-**; Lezg. ***çel:ʷi-**.

| Nakh. ***liɬ-** to filter: Chech. *litt-*; Ing. *litt-*; Bacb. *liɬ-*.

The verb stem is both terminative and durative in all languages.

| Av.-And. ***xVç:V-** to filter: Av. *xuç:ú-*.

| Tsez. ***λ:aca-ri** (~L-, -ɔ-) sieve: Bezht. *lacari* (*Khosh.*).

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. **x:ʷi-çi-** to wring out, squeeze out.

G. pr. **x:i-çunu**.

| Lezg. ***çel:ʷi-** 1 to settle (of liquids) 2 to suck 3 to sift: Lezg. *al-cif-* 1; Ag. *cufi-* 2 (*Bursh.*); Tsakh. *gi-çe=x:ʷa-* 3.

Loss of glottalisation in Lezg. is probably secondary.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PL form is metathesized. The PN form reflects the original shape ***λāmcV** (without labialisation of the first consonant, and with *-ɬ- pointing to a cluster with nasal); all other languages reflect a secondary form ***λwāçV** with metathesis of labialisation. Despite these peculiarities (explained by the rare verbal ***CVRCV-** root structure), the etymology seems reliable.

***λĀI(H)V** arrow: Av.-And. ***λirV**, ***λir-βV**; Lezg. ***λāl(:)**; W.-Cauc. ***λə**.

| Av.-And. ***λirV**, ***λir-βV** bow: Akhv. *leço*; Cham. *leβil* (*Gig.*); Tind. *leβan* / *leβʷan*; Kar. *leβer*.

The Akhv. word is a compound ***λirV-çinHu** 'bow+arrow': the most archaic shape of it is preserved in Akhv. Ratl. *lar-çijō* (*çijō* 'arrow'). Other languages

reflect a derivate ***λir-βV-** with a not quite clear suffix (or component). Cf. also Kar. Tok. *heβir*; Tind. *leβançu* / *leβʷançihu* 'bow' which is used synonymously with *leβan* and is parallel to the Akhv. form.

| Lezg. ***λāl(:)** arrow: Lezg. *xel*.

Obl. base *xile-*; cf. also Khl. *xel* (*xila-*) id. Attested only in Lezg., but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. ***λə** arrow: Abkh. *a-xə*; Abaz. *xə*; Ad. *ša*; Kab. *ša*; Ub. *ša*.

PAT ***xə** (cf. also Bzyb. *a-xə*); PAK ***čə**. The correspondence PAT ***x** : PAK ***č** : Ub. *š* points to PWC ***λ**. In all modern languages the word developed also a secondary meaning 'bullet'.

See also under ***č:ə** about the PAT compound ***xə-č:ə**.

[] One of the cases of PEC front fricatives corresponding to WC affricates, which is probably explained by a fusion of the root with a prefix in PWC (***λə** < ***T-λə**). Otherwise correspondences are regular, and the comparison seems reliable. Note also the exact parallelism of the compounds: PAT ***xə-čə** = PA ***λir-çinHu** < PNC ***λĀI(H)V** + ***çānHV**.

***λēthV** foot, track: Nakh. ***lar**; Av.-And. ***λoli**; Tsez. ***λolə** A; Lak. *ša*; Darg. ***x:V-ra**; Lezg. ***λ:āl** (~l-); W.-Cauc. ***λa**.

| Nakh. ***lar** track, footprint: Chech. *lar*; Ing. *ler*.

4th class in both languages. The root has a variation in the obl. stem: ***laru-** (Chech. *lora-*) / ***lari-** (Ing. *lero*, whence with vowel levelling the direct base *ler*).

| Av.-And. ***λoli** 1 track, footprint 2 horseshoe 3 hoof: Av. *la-k* 1; And. *lol* 1,2,3; Akhv. *lali* 1,2; Cham. *lal* 2,3; Tind. *lali* 1,3; Kar. *lal-da* 1; Botl. *hali* 1,2; Bagv. *hal* 1,2; God. *lali* 1,2.

In Av. *la-k* < ***lar-k** < ***lal-k** (with an archaic diminutive suffix), cf. by Uslar: *lark* (paradigm A: *lārki-l*, *lārka-l*). Cf. also Kar. Tok. *lali*, Anch. *lale* 'track', Cham. *Gig. lali* id.; Av. *lél-go* 'by foot', *léla-b* 'id. (adj.)', Akhv. *lalo-da-be* id.

| Tsez. ***λolə** A foot: Tsez. *rori*; Gin. *rore*; Khvarsh. *lola*; Inkh. *lolo*; Bezht. *halo* (*Bezht.*); Gunz. *həle*.

PTsKh ***RoRə**, PGB ***həl[ə]**.

| Lak. *ša* track, footprint, step.

3d class. An archaic form is Lak. *ax-t:a* 'by foot' (< ***xV-t:V-**, whence an old Archi loanword *let:é-jt* id.).

| Darg. ***x:V-ra** by foot, foot-walker: Ak. *xura*.

Cf. also Tsud. *xi-ra* id. Darg. -ra is probably an old oblique base marker (or a locative morpheme).

| Lezg. ***λ:āl** (~l-) 1 track, footprint 2 barefooted: Lezg. *gel* 1; Tab. *šil* 1; Ag. *xil* 1; Rut. *xāl* 1; Tsakh. *xil'-cejr* 2; Kryz. *xel* 1.

Obl. base ***λ:ilV-**, cf. Rut. *xil-*, Ag. *xilu-*, Lezg. (with vowel levelling) *gele-*. Cf. also (for the reflexes of ***λ:-**) Tab. Khür. *š:il*, Ag. *Bursh. š:il*, Tsirikh. *x:il*. 3d class in Rut. and Kryz. The Tsakh. form probably reflects the original meaning 'foot'.

Cf. Talibov 1980, 321; Giginayshvili 1977, 122.

| W.-Cauc. **la* foot: Abkh. *a-ša-pə*; Abaz. *ša-pə*; Ad. *lā-q:wa*; Kab. *lā-q:wa*; Ub. *lā-pá*.

PAT **ša-pə* (-pə the same as in **na-pə* 'hand'). PAT **ša* 'foot' is frequent in compounds (**ša-xʷa* 'shin', **ša-məqA* 'knee', **ša-cʷə* 'toe' etc.). Cf. also the preverb **ša-/šə-* 'from the foot, on the foot'. The root is employed also in PAT **ša-ta* (Abkh. *á-šata*, Abaz. *šata*) 'root' ('foot part').

PAK **la-q:ʷá*; meaning of the element -q:ʷa is not quite clear (possible interpretations see in Шагиров 1, 246). The root is used also separately in Kab. *la* 'foot' and in a lot of compounds (**la-pádə* 'stocking', **la-gʷá(n)ʒa* 'knee', **la-sə* 'barefooted' etc.).

In Ub. -pa = PAT **-pə*. Cf. also *la* in compounds (*la-pəçə* 'barefooted', *la-qá* (*á-laqá*) 'trace, footprint' etc.). See Trubetzkoy 1922, 188-189, Шагиров 1, 246. Note that despite Lomtadze (1966, 157-158, 161) the PAK **-q:ʷa* has nothing to do with PAT **-pə* and Ub. -pa.

[] Correspondences are fully regular. See Abdokov 1983, 77. Note that the alternative comparison of PAK **laq:ʷá* with other Lezg. forms (Ag. *lak*, Tab. *lik*) - see Trombetti 1923, 366, Bouda 1950, 293 - is absolutely untenable.

**lənV* (~ *l-*) fat, butter: Av.-And. **lonV* (~*l-*, -a-); Lezg. **lVnV* (~*l-*); W.-Cauc. **lənə*.

| Av.-And. **lonV* (~*l-*, -a-) fat (n.): Cham. *lan*; Tind. *lana*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *lani*.

| Lezg. **lVnV* (~*l-*) butter: Tsakh. *xināl*.

The form contains a suffix *-wal, cf. Tsakh. Gelm. *xina-wal*. The root is isolated within Lezghian, but has rather probable external correspondences.

| W.-Cauc. **lənə* bird's fat: Ad. *lənə*; Kab. *lənə*.

PAK **ləná*.

[] The root is not widely represented, but seems phonetically and semantically quite reliable. See Abdokov 1983, 77 (And.-WC).

**lhiwta* (~ -e) a k. of cereal; straw: Nakh. **l(h)ɔt* (~ -s-); Av.-And. **xʷVtV*; Lezg. **l:ɪwta* (~ -tʷ-).

| Nakh. **l(h)ɔt* (~ -s-) waste of corn (corn lost during transportation): Chech. *lod*.

Obl. base *loda-*. Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **xʷVtV* straw: Av. *xut*.

Av. paradigm A (gen. *xúti-l*).

| Lezg. **l:ɪwta* (~ -tʷ-) 1 barley 2 boiled wheat 3 sty: Lezg. *giť* 2; Rut. *xit* 1; Tsakh. *xita* 1; Bud. *fiť* 3.

Cf. also Lezg. Kur. *jiť* 'boiled wheat'. 3d class in Rut., Tsakh. and Bud. Obl. base **l:ɪwta-* (besides Tsakh. *xita-* cf. also Rut. *xita-*). Labialisation (either -wt- or -tʷ-) must be reconstructed to account for the labialized Bud. reflex f- (*fiť* < **xʷit* < **xiwt*); however, there is no way to reconstruct **l:ʷ-* in this root, because of uniformly non-labialized reflexes in all other languages.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root must have meant some cereal of inferior quality (cf. the meanings in Chech. and Av.). Correspondences are regular.

**lhiwta* (~ -ě-) a k. of tree: Av.-And. **l:VIV*; Lak. *halu*.

| Av.-And. **l:VIV* yew-tree: Av. *l:alú*.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *l:alú-dul*).

| Lak. *halu* grove.

Lit. *halu* < **xʷallu*, cf. Arak. (cited from Khaidakov 1966) *xʷallu* id.

[] An Av.-Lak. isogloss.

**liHmV* roe, mountain goat, deer: Nakh. **lVwV*; Av.-And. **l(:)ama* (~ o); Lezg. **l(:)ij* (~ -i-); W.-Cauc. **la*.

| Nakh. **lVwV* roe: Chech. *lū*; Ing. *lij-g*.

3d class in Chech. and Ing. (the Ing. form is a diminutive < **lVw-ik*). Cf. also Chech. Lev. *lū* 'mountain goat'. Since there is no Bacb. form, the Inlaut is not quite clear (theoretically, *-w-, *-b-, *-d- or *-g- may be reconstructed).

| Av.-And. **l(:)ama* (~ o) mountain goat: Cham. *lama*.

The Cham. word (isolated within Andian) is recorded with *l-* both by the MSU expedition and by Bokarev. However - since the confusion between *l* and *l:* in Cham. records is very frequent - there are reasons to suppose a misspelling (instead of *l:ama*).

| Lezg. **l(:)ij* (~ -i-) roe, chamois: Tab. *fuj*.

Isolated in Tab., but having possible external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **lə* deer: Ub. *lə*.

Ub. def. *a-lə*. The word is attested only in Ub., but has probable EC parallels.

[] The root is not widely represented, but the regular correspondences between PN, Cham., Tab. and Ub. justify the reconstruction of PNC **liHmV* (in Tab. we must suppose a frequent metathesis of labialisation).

Some EC languages also have names for roe or mountain goat which are hard to separate from this root and are possibly derived from it:

a) **lim-kV* (> **lwinkV* or **linkwV*) reflected in Av. *l:inkʷá* 'mountain goat', Cham. *lūka* (Gig. *lunka*) 'roe, chamois'. Note the same notation *l-* (as in *lama*) in Cham. (only MSU recordings of the word are known to us; the strong *l:-* in Av. presupposes the same consonant in Andian languages). A recent loan from Andian (Cham. or Tindi, where the root is not attested) is Inkh. *lunka* 'roe'. Less clear is the origin of PGB **liga* 'roe' (Bezht., Gunz. *liga*) - is it an irregular development (with voicing -k- > -g-) from **lim-kV*; or is it a Nakh loan (cf. Ing. *lijg* 'roe' with a diminutive suffix -g)?

b) **lim-tV* (> **lwintV*) reflected in PD **xʷinta* (Ak. *hinta* 'doe', Ur. *hinta*, Kub. *xʷinta*, Kait. *sʷenta* 'roe'). Borrowed from Darg. are Lak. *hinta* 'chamois, gazelle' and (from an Old Darg. form **finta*) Av. *pintá* 'gazelle, antelope' (Chad. *butá* id.).

The proposed derivation of **limkV* and **limtV* seems probable to us; however, we must note that suffixes **-kV* and **-tV* are very rare, and more checking is needed to make a final decision on this etymology.

**lila* (~-e) wing: Av.-And. **liru*; Tsez. **lir(V)* (~ l-, -l-); Darg. **dux:ala*.

| Av.-And. **liru* 1 feather 2 wing 3 butterfly: Av. *mīlir* 2; Chad. *mitir* 1; And. *liru* 1,2; Akhv. *liro* 2; Cham. *liw* 3; Tind. *liru* 1,2; Kar. *liru* 2; Bagv. *hil* 2; God. *leru* 2.

Av. paradigm C (pl. *mīlra-l*); the origin of the initial m(i)- is not clear (perhaps, analogy with names for body parts like *mehéd* 'breast' etc.). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *liru/leru* 'wing', Kar. Tok. *leru* id.

| Tsez. **lir(V)* (~ l-, -l-) wing: Tsez. *lel*; Gin. *lela*; Khvarsh. *lil*; Inkh. *lilu*. PTsKh **lil(V)*.

| Darg. **dux:ala* wing: Ak. *duxala* (Ur.).

Ur. *duxala* should be kept apart (for phonetic reasons) from PD **dukala* q.v.

[] Reconstructed for the EC level. In PD the stem was modified (obtained the prefix du-) under influence of the synonymous **dukala* 'wing; bosom'.

**lɪnɪV* (~ -ɪ-) woman, female: Darg. **x:unul*; Lezg. **λ:in:(ol)*.

| Darg. **x:unul* woman: Ak. *xunul*.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud., Kub. *xunul*.

| Lezg. **λ:in:(ol)* 1 woman 2 female: Ag. *xidul-f* 2; Rut. *xidildi* 1; Tsakh. *xuna-s:e* 1; Kryz. *xidil* 2; Bud. *xidli* 2; Arch. *λ:on:ol* 1; Ud. *χuni* 2.

**-ol* is a common nominal suffix. In Ud. cf. also *χūjār*, (Vart.) *χinar* 'girl, daughter'. Cf. Leksika 1971, 130; Gigueyshivili 1977, 73, 128.

[] A Darg-Lezg. isogloss (should be distinguished from PEC **λ(w)ir-dV* q.v.). Cf. Trubetzkoy 1922, 239.

**λwəɬʔV* wind, to blow: Nakh. **fow* (~ -ō-); Av.-And. **λ^wilHV*; Lak. *haw*; Darg. **x:ul*; Lezg. **λul*; W.-Cauc. **pəλ:^wa*.

| Nakh. **fow* (~ -ō-) fresh wind, breeze: Chech. *hō*; Ing. *fo*.

Obl. base **fow-nV-* (Chech. *hō-na-*, Ing. *fo-no*). 3d class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **λ^wilHV* wind, breeze: Akhv. *λ^wē* / *λoji*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tlan., Tseg. *λel*, Ratl. *λ^wel*. The word is isolated in Akhvakh, but has reliable external parallels.

| Lak. *haw* cold wind.

3d class.

| Darg. **x:ul* hope: Ak. *xul*.

Darg. > Av., Lak. *xul* id.

| Lezg. **λul* 1 shivering, chill 2 prayer 3 hope: Lezg. *ful* 1; Rut. *xul* 2 (*Shin.*); Arch. *λul* 3.

The original meaning of the root had been 'wind' (cf. the external evidence), hence the divergent meanings (> a/ 'cold, chill', b/ 'hope, prayer'). However, for the Arch. word borrowing from Av. or Darg. is not excluded.

| W.-Cauc. **pəλ:^wa* 1 wind 2 blow: Abkh. *a-pšá* 1; Abaz. *pša* 1; Ad. *ja-pšá-n* 2; Kab. *ja-pšá-n* 2; Ub. *ʔa-psa* 1.

PAT **pəša*. PAK **pš:^a-* (Bzhed. *-pš:^a-*) with different preverbs means both 'blow (in gen.)' and 'blow (of wind)'. The component *ʔa-* in Ub. is unclear; *-psa* < **-ps^wa* (< **pəλ^wa*) with secondary dissimilatory delabialisation. See Шарипов 1, 175-176).

[] A common NC root with good semantic and phonetic correspondences. PWC has a frequent labial prefix.

**λwirdi* manure; pus: Nakh. **far-* (~ -ā-); Av.-And. **x^wVrdV*; Tsez. **λ:ar*; Lezg. **λ:^wirt:*.

| Nakh. **far-* (~ -ā-) sheep's dung: Ing. *far-ast*.

The Ing. word is a compound; the second component is most probably a distorted PN **lujsɬ* 'dung, sheep's dung'.

| Av.-And. **x^wVrdV* pus, matter: Av. *x^werd*.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. *xordó-l*).

| Tsez. **λ:ar* sheep's dung: Bezht. *λār* (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *lar* (*Gunz., Nakh.*).

PGB **λar*.

| Lezg. **λ:^wirt:* 1 manure, dung 2 cow's dung: Lezg. *fid* 1; Ag. *furd* 1; Rut. *xid* 1; Tsakh. *xid* 1; Kryz. *xid* 2; Bud. *xid* 2; Arch. *λ:^wit* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. erg. *füt:e-di*; Khl. *fid* (*ft:i-*), Akht. *zud*, Nüt. *xud*, Kur. *wid*; Arch. erg. *λ:ut:i* (forms, demonstrating the reflexes of PL **λ:^w* and **t:*). Obl. base **λ:^wirt:i-*, cf. Lezg. Khl. *ft:i-*, Ag. *furdi-*, Rut. *xidi-*, Tsakh. *Gelm. xidi-*. 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Leksika 1971, 175; Talibov 1980, 323.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular, except for the PTs vowel (**λir* would be expected): this is most probably explained by the influence of semantically close PTs **sar* 'faeces' and **tar* 'dung'.

**λwitλwitV* lizard: Av.-And. **λ^wiλ^wil*; Lezg. **λ^witλ^wil(:)* (~ λ:^w).

| Av.-And. **λ^wiλ^wil* lizard: Cham. *λoλol*.

Attested only in Cham, with probable Lezg. parallels.

| Lezg. **λ^witλ^wil(:)* (~ λ:^w) lizard: Lezg. *ftfil* (*Khl.*); Rut. *xutxul*.

[] An expressive reduplicated And.-Lezg. isogloss.

**λwɪʔwV* millet: Nakh. **foʔ*; Lak. *š^wa*; Lezg. **λ^wɪʔ^w(a)*; W.-Cauc.

**λ^wə*.

| Nakh. **foʔ* 1 grain 2 egg 3 grain forage: Chech. *hoʔa* 2, *hoʔ* 3; Ing. *fuʔ* 1,3; Bacb. *oʔ* 1.

The two words in Chech. are hard to separate, although words meaning 'egg' belong to the 3d class, and words meaning 'grain' - to the 6th class in Chech. and Ing. (in Ing. *fuʔ* 'grain forage' vacillates between 5th and 6th classes,

and in Bacb. *o*? 'grain' belongs to the 5th class). The original meaning is probably 'grain, grain forage' (cf. the external evidence) with a secondary development of meaning 'grain > egg'. The Chech. form *ho*?*a* is obviously a result of a secondary analogy with the obl. stem *ho*?*a*- (Ing. *fu*?*o*). The vowel -u- (instead of -o-) in Ing. (cf. also Chech. *hu*?*a*, Pharch. *hu*? 'egg') is due to the strong labializing influence of initial *f-.

| Lak. *s*?*a* mown crops.

| Lezg. **λ*?*i*?*w*(*a*) bread: Lezg. *fu*; Rut. *xiw*; Kryz. *fu*; Bud. *fu*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *fi*?. Obl. base **λ*?*i*?*w**a*- or **λ*?*i*?*w**ä*-, cf. Lezg. *fa*-, Khl. *f*?*a*-, Rut. *xiwa*-. 4th class in Kryz., Bud. and Rut.

See Khaidakov 1973, 67.

| W.-Cauc. **λ*?*a* 1 millet 2 bread: Abkh. *a-sä* 1; Abaz. *šar-za* 1; Ad. *fä-b*?*a* 1; Kab. *x*?*a* 1; Ub. *s*?*ä-b*1*a* 2.

PAT **sä* (the Abaz. form goes back to a compound with PAT **žV* 'grain', with the auxiliary linking morpheme -rə-, lit. 'millet grain'). PAK **x*?*a* (Ad. *fä-b*?*a* means literally 'yellow millet'; cf. also Ad. *fä-g*? = Kab. *x*?*a-g*? < **x*?*ä-g*? 'pounded millet'). In Ub. cf. also *s*?*a-pä* 'flour' (the meaning of the second components -bla, -pə is not quite clear).

The correspondence PAT **s* : PAK **x*? : Ub. *s*? points unambiguously to PWC **λ*?. All other comparison attempts within WC (PAK **x*?*a* : Ub. *χ*?*a* 'millet, grain' - see Mészáros 1934, 386; PAT **sä* : PAK **mačä* - see Shakryl 1968, 53, 98; PAK **x*?*a* : PAT **q*?*ä-žä* 'pounded millet' - see Rogava 1956, 121) are unacceptable and unnecessary. Ad. *fä-g*? > Osset. (Dig.) *fagä* 'pounded millet' (see Shagirov 2, 108).

[] A significant common NC cultural term. Correspondences are quite regular (except that in Lak we have to suppose a delabialisation **λw*?*i*?*wV* > **λi*?*wV* > **xawa* > *s*?*a* [with reduction]). See Abdokov 1983, 112 (Lezg. : WC; the author, however, cites also some totally unrelated forms like Arch. *i*λ, Av. *ro*λ: and Ud. *šum*).

**λwindV* (~ -i-, -ä-) wood, firewood: Av.-And. **λundV*; Tsez. **λ*?*i*d*V* A.

| Av.-And. **λundV* wood, firewood: And. *λudi*; Akhv. *λuda*; Cham. *λunni*; Tind. *λuji*; Kar. *λuda*; Botl. *hudi*; Bagv. *hur* (Kvan.); God. *λudi*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *λudi*, Bagv. Tlis. *λuda*.

| Tsez. **λ*?*i*d*V* A wood, firewood: Tsez. *redu*; Gin. *rede*; Khvarsh. *lida*; Inkh. *lido*; Bezht. *hūdo*; Gunz. *hūdu*.

PTsKh **RidV*; PGB **hūdu* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *hudo*).

[] An And.-Tsez. isogloss. A perfect phonetic match is Lak. (Khosr.) *x:undu-ti* 'a stick for working leather', but the meaning raises some doubts.

λ(w)irV* / **λ(w)ir-dV* woman, female: Av.-And. **λ*:*VdV*; Lak. *š:ar*; Darg. **xadi*; Lezg. **λir* (~λ*:).

| Av.-And. **λ*:*VdV* wife: Av. *λ:ádi*.

Irregular accent paradigm in Av.: gen. *λ:ádu-l*, pl. *λ:ud-bí*.

| Lak. *š:ar* wife.

Cf. also *š:ar-s:a* 'woman, wife'.

| Darg. **xadi* woman: Chir. *xade*.

Isolated in Chir., but with good external parallels.

| Lezg. **λ:ir* 1 woman 2 female 3 *wife: Lezg. *ir* 3; Ag. *xir* 1; Tsakh. *xiwil'na*

2.

The Lezg. word is preserved only in compound kinship terms: *iran-buba* 'father-in-law' (*wife's father'), *iran-dide* 'mother-in-law' (*wife's mother'), *iran-stxa* 'brother-in-law' (*wife's brother'), *iran-wax* 'sister-in-law' (*wife's sister'), with dialectal (Yark.) variants *jaran*-. The oblique base can be, therefore, reconstructed as **λ:ira*- or **λ:irä*-. (One should note that the Ag. -r- here is present in all dialects, cf. Fit., Burk. *xir*, and thus can not go back to *-n:-; it also corresponds quite regularly to Tsakh. -w-. Thus this root must be kept apart from PL **λ:in*:-q.v.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is also attested in HU: Urart. *lutu* 'women' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 27). The meaning of the Urartian form sheds light on the nature of the element *-dV in EC (present in Av., Darg. and Urart.): this is most probably an original plural formant.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 239. Despite Abdokov (1983, 89), the EC root can not be related to WC **s*?*a*(*mä*)*çV* 'woman' q.v.

*λājV time, day: Av.-And. *λaji- (*λaHi-); W.-Cauc. *λV.

| Av.-And. *λaji- (*λaHi-) 1 year 2 in the daytime 3 today: Av. λá'e-l 1; And. λa-l 2, ze-λa-l 3; Akhv. λalige 2, zeλa 3; Cham. λaj-l 2, jaλel 3; Tind. e-λe 3; Kar. λaji-l 2, e-λel3; Botl. hēle 2, e-hel 3; Bagv. e-he-li 3; God. λē-l 2, he-λe 3.

In Av. cf. also λá'i-ze 'to live a year', λá'i 'anniversary'. The original meaning is not quite clear ('time' in general?); cf. the same situation in WC.

| W.-Cauc. *λV 1 year 2 day: Abkh. šə- 2; Abaz. šə- 2; Ad. jə-λa-s 1; Kab. jə-λa-s 1.

PAT *šə- in compounds: Abkh. á-šə-bž, Abaz. šə-bž-a-n 'noon' (< *šə-bəža, see *bəža 'half'); Abkh. á-šə-ž 'morning', Abaz. šažə 'early in the morning'. In the AK word (*jə-λá-sə) jə- is a pronominal prefix; meaning of the final component (-sə) is not quite clear (cf. *-sa in *pá-sa 'early?'). Shagirov's (1, 185) hypothesis of a Turk. origin seems, anyway, very improbable.

The original meaning of the root is not clear ('time' in general?). Note that the corresponding root in Avaro-Andian languages has the same range of meanings.

[] An interesting Av.-And.-WC isogloss; parallels in other languages are as yet unknown. Abdokov (1983, 95) cites also Chech. se-lxa-na 'yesterday' (the etymology of which see under *rVmλA) and Kryz. išib 'light' (which is obviously a recent Turkic loanword). The Av.-And. form is compared by Abdokov with WC *λV 'light, white', which seems less probable for phonetic reasons.

*λāmçV a biting insect: Av.-And. *λa[m]ç:V; Tsez. *Lācu (~ *L:-); Darg. *humc:.

| Av.-And. *λa[m]ç:V 1 ant 2 bug, bed-bug: And. λanç:i 1; Akhv. λaç:u 1,2 (Tlan.); Kar. λarç:e 1; Bagv. harç:a (Tlis.) 1; God. λabc:a 1.

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. λas:i 'ant, bed-bug' (pointing to *λ), Kar. Anch. λaç:a, Tok. harç:a / harç:a. The variation -n-(-r-) / -b- in Inlaut points probably to PA *-m-. The Akhv. (Ratl.) form λas:i is a contamination of *λa[m]ç:V 'ant' (which is obviously the first and basic meaning of this root) and *λars:V 'bug' (the form λars:i 'bug' exists independently in Ratl.)

| Tsez. *Lācu (~ *L:-) bug, bed-bug: Tsez. λacu; Bezht. gī'is-naco.

The component gī'is- in the Bezht. compound is not clear. Khaidakov 1973 cites Gin. naco 'bed-bug', but the standard Gin. word is tawsa; thus, this is either a loan from Bezht., or more probably a mistake (Gin. instead of Bezht.).

| Darg. *humc: gadfly: Ak. hunz, humuz.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The initial consonant in PTs is not quite regular (one would expect a *λ:-) - probably because of the expressive nature of the root.

*λāmVçV (~ *x-) saliva; pus: Av.-And. *λa(m)ç:V (~*λ-, -o-); Tsez.

*λ:amaçV (~ L(-)).

| Av.-And. *λa(m)ç:V (~*λ-, -o-) saliva: Tind. λac:i.

The Tind. word is obviously a contamination with PA *haç:i 'saliva' q.v.; thus the PA reconstruction in this case is not certain.

| Tsez. *λ:amaçV (~ L(-)) pus: Tsez. λaçi; Gin. λamaçi.

PTsKh *λamaçe / *λāçe. It is not clear how these forms are related to PGB *z[ɔ]ç 'pus' (also irregular: Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. zöz /with assimilation/, Gunz. zāç).

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss, very poorly represented - thus the reconstruction is rather uncertain. This may be an expressive variant of PEC *lōmVzi 'dirt, pus' q.v.

*λ[a]rçV (~ -ž-) movement of air: Av.-And. *λorç:u; Tsez. *λ:acV.

| Av.-And. *λorç:u voice, shout: And. λoç:u; Akhv. λāç:o; Cham. λaš"; Tind. λač:u; Kar. λarç:u; God. λač:u.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. λač:o, Ratl. λarç:o (in N.-Akhv. Magomedbekova has an erroneous recording λ:aç:u), Cham. Gig. λač:u, Kar. Tok. harç:u, God. Zib. λarç:u.

| Tsez. *λ:acV wind: Tsez. λaci; Gin. λaci; Khvarsh. λaca; Inkh. haca.

PTsKh *λacV (with an obscure change *λ > h in Inkh.).

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss. The semantic correlation 'wind' < 'voice, shout' recurs in several cases and is explained by the common semantic component 'movement of air'.

*λErV (~ -l-) river, rivulet: Av.-And. *λir-s:o; Tsez. *λ:eλ:erV (~L(-),l); W.-Cauc. *λa-.

| Av.-And. *λir-s:a 1 brook, rivulet 2 river: Av. λar 2; Chad. tar 1; And. λ:enso 2; Akhv. λes:a 2; Cham. λes:a 2; Tind. λes:a 2; Kar. λers:a 2; Bagv. λ:ers:a 2; God. λ:ins:a 2.

Av. paradigm C (λarā-l, λāra-l; Chad. tarā-l, tāra-l). The Andian forms go back to a suffixed (or compound?) form *λir-s:o (some forms: And. λ:enso, God. λ:ins:a - to a variant *λir-s:on). The suffix (or compound) -s:o is etymologically not clear. Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. λes:a, Ratl. λers:a, Cham. Gig. λes:a, Bagv. Tlis. hes:a. Tense λ:- in And., Bagv. and God. is secondary (assimilated to -s:-).

| Tsez. *λ:eλ:erV (~L(-),-lV) mill trench, gutter: Tsez. λiliro; Khvarsh. λeλedaro (Radzhibov).

PTsKh *λeλero (Khvarsh. λeλedaro < *λeλero-dV ?).

| W.-Cauc. *λa- rivulet: Ad. λaħa (Shaps.).

See Kuipers 1975, 45. The component -ħa is etymologically not clear.

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez.-WC isogloss. The etymology is possible, but not secure enough: the uncertainty is caused by problems of morphological analysis of Andian forms (unclear component -s:o(n)), Tsezian reduplication and the isolated character of the Shapsug form within WC (also with an etymologically unclear component -ħa).

*λHē three: Av.-And. *λob-; Tsez. *λ:ɔl- A; Darg. *hab-; Lezg. *lep-i-; W.-Cauc. *λ:V.

| Av.-And. *λob- three: Av. λáb-go; Chad. táb-gu; And. λob-gu; Akhv. λʷadabe/λo-dabe; Cham. λa-λa-da; Tind. λab-da; Kar. λab-da; Botl. habu-da; Bagv. λab-da; God. λabu-da.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. λad-da, Ratl. λab-i, Bagv. Tlond. hab-da. The Cham. form is reduplicated, but cf. also Cham. Gig. λabu-da.

| Tsez. *λ:ɔl- A three: Tsez. λoIno; Gin. λono; Khvarsh. λona; Inkh. hono; Bezht. λana; Gunz. λono.

PTsKh *λol-na, PGB *λɔ-na (-na is a numeral suffix).

| Darg. *hab- three: Ak. halb-al; Chir. ʿalb-al.

Cf. also Ur. halb, Kub. ʿalb.

| Lezg. *lep-i- three: Lezg. p:u-d; Tab. šubu-b; Ag. xibu-d; Rut. xibi-d; Tsakh. xebi-llä; Kryz. šibi-d; Bud. šubu-d; Arch. λeb; Ud. xib.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. šibbu-b, Ag. Bursh.šibu-r. The Lezg. form p:u-d is a contraction < *xp:u-d < *lep-i-. Arch. λibi 'thirty' < *lep-i-j. Cf. Giginayshvili 1977, 76.

| W.-Cauc. *λ:V three: Abkh. x-pa; Abaz. x-pa; Ad. šə; Kab. šə; Ub. ša ~ šə.

PAT *xə (cf. also Bzyb. x-pa); PAK *š:ə 'three' (cf. also Bzhed. š:ə), *š:a 'thrice' (Ad. ša, Bzhed. š:a, Kab. ša). The correspondence PAT *x : PAK *š: : Ub. š reflects only PWC *λ:.

[] Some languages (PA, PD, PL) contain the final labial *-b- which is obviously an original plural suffix (there is no trace of it in the PTs and PWC forms).

The strengthening *λ > *λ: in PWC is in this case possibly related to the loss of laryngeal (the presence of which is confirmed by the PTs and PD forms); regularly we should expect a weak *λ (the vowel is short in PEC). Besides, the EC evidence points to a front *e vowel in the root, while in WC there is no palatalization. Maybe we should reconstruct some vowel variation in this root for PNC. In any case, the common origin of the word for 'three' in PEC and PWC is indisputable.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 238, 243; 1930, 274; Abdokov 1983, 154.

*λHɪbV wind, breeze: Lak. x:ilw; Lezg. *λop:ol.

| Lak. x:ilw breeze.

| Lezg. *λop:ol 1 wind 2 rheumatism: Lezg. kp:ul 2; Rut. xibil 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Akht. kip:il 'rheumatism' (the semantic shift is quite common in Caucasian languages; cf. PL *λ:ar). 3d class in Rutul.

[] A Lak.-Lezg. isogloss.

*λHwemV liquid (adj.): Av.-And. *λ:imV-; Lak. xulmu-; Darg. *xalim-; Lezg. *λ:älmä-.

| Av.-And. *λ:imV- liquid: Av. λ:amí-ja-b; Chad. λamá-ja-b; And. λ:emi;

Akhv. λ:eme-da-.

| Lak. xulmu- liquid.

Cf. Khosr. x:ulmu-s:a (a misspelling instead of xulmu-s:a ?).

| Darg. *xalim- wet, liquid: Chir. šalm-ze.

| Lezg. *λ:älmä- liquid: Lezg. zimi; Tab. šmi; Ag. š:ume-r (Bursh.); Rut. ximi-l-di; Tsakh. ximal-n; Arch. λ:alma-t:u-.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. šemi.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. See Trubetzkoy 1922, 239. Abdokov (1983, 148) adduces a Kabardian word: xʷānla 'liquid; boiled (e.g. egg)' which we were unable to confirm in existing sources.

*λōrosV bundle; besom: Nakh. *kurs; Lezg. *λoro[s].

| Nakh. *kurs (~ -ū-) bundle, bunch: Chech. kurs; Ing. kurs.

4th class in both languages. Cf. also Lev. kurs, Shar., Khild. kurc (with secondary -c).

| Lezg. *λoro[s] besom: Ag. kuruš (Bursh.); Rut. xiris;

Similar forms are also attested in Lezg. Khl. (xris) and Tsakh. (xiris). Since initial *λ- would have yielded other reflexes in these languages, we must think that those are loanwords from Rutul.

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss. Nevertheless, correspondences are quite satisfactory and the etymology seems probable. The Nakh form is the source of Abaz. kʷris and Osset. kʷirīs 'sheaf, bundle' (see Abayev 1949, 106; 1958, 611).

*λwāhni wool: Nakh. *kān; Av.-And. *λunʔi; Tsez. *λ:ū; Lezg. *λ:aj;

Khin. ka.

| Nakh. *kān wool (shorn in spring): Chech. kan; Ing. ka.

Obl. base *kāne- (Chech. kēna-, Ing. kano). 3d class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *λunʔi 1 hair 2 skin: Av. λ:uh (?) 2; And. λin 1; Kar. λūji 1; Bagv. huha 1.

The Av. word is attested only in the compound λ:uh baq:ize 'to tear the skin off'. In PA *λ: would be expected; the reason for weakening of *λ: is not yet clear. [Cf., perhaps, And. λuna 'soft' < *λuna, which could have influenced the word for 'hair, wool' ?]

| Tsez. *λ:ū wool: Gin. λu-s; Bezht. λū; Gunz. λū.

PGB *λū (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. λu with loss of nasalisation).

| Lezg. *λ:aj wool (of sheep): Tab. xa; Ag. xej; Tsakh. xa; Arch. oλ; Ud. xa.

Obl. base *λ:aji- (cf. Tab. xaji-, Ag. xej-, Tsakh. xaji-, Ud. xaje 'woolen'). Cf. also Ag. Fit., Burk. xej (xeju-), Bursh., Khud. š:i, Tab. Düb. xaj, Khür. x:aj. 3d class in Tsakh., but 4th class in Arch.

See Leksika 1971, 216.

| Khin. ka wool (of sheep).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. All reflexes are regular, except *λ- in PA (regularly *λ:- would be expected). See Trubetzkoy 1922, 239.

**λwājčā* (~ -ā) skin, bark: Nakh. **kābst* (~-t); Av.-And. **x^wVč:V*; Darg. **kabc:*.

| Nakh. **kābst* (~-t) bark (of a tree): Chech. *kowst*; Ing. *kost*.

Obl. base **kābstV-* (Chech. *kowsta-n*, Ing. *koasto*); 4th class in Chech. and Ing.

| Av.-And. **x^wVč:V* skin (for making soles): Av. *x^wač:á*.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *x^wač:í-l*).

| Darg. **kabc:* skin: Ak. *kabc*.

Cf. also Kub. *kabc* (pl. *kubc:e*, which allows to reconstruct tense **c:* for PD).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level.

**λwěł?ě* (~ -ǎ) mould: Av.-And. **k:olHV* (~ -a-); Lezg. **λ^wela* (~ -l:-).

| Av.-And. **k:olHV* (~ -a-) mould: Av. *k:al*; Chad. *kel* (?); Akhv. *xali*; Kar. *k:al*; God. *k:aji-χ:ir*.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. *xali* id. The cluster *-lH- is suggested by a special development in the suffixed God. form: *k:aji* < **k:alHi*. The MSU recording *kel* (Gen. *kelí-l*) in Av. Chad. is rather strange (*kel* would be expected).

| Lezg. **λ^wela* (~ -l:-) 1 mould 2 boil, furuncle: Lezg. *x^wel* 2; Rut. *xul* 1; Tsakh. *xiwa* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Kur. *fall* 'boile, furuncle'; Tsakh. Gelm. *xowa* 'mould'. 4th class in Rut. and Tsakh.

[] An Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss. For the specific development of **λw* cf. comments to PEC **lĩnλwē* 'pigeon'.

**λwilčwV* dirt; bog, marsh: Av.-And. **λi(r)č:V*; Lak. *kunča*.

| Av.-And. **λi(r)č:V* bog, marsh: And. *λenč:u*; Akhv. *λiç:i*; Kar. *λiç:u*; God. *λ:inc:u*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *λiç:i*, Ratl. *λirç:i*. Regular are the Akhv. and Kar. forms; in God. an assimilation in strength (**λ-* > *λ:-* or **λ-* > **λ+* > *λ:-*) has occurred (cf. also And. dial. *λ:ec:u*). Some problems are raised by And. and God. -n-; it may be a result of an old contamination with another root, PEC **xwimčwi* q.v.

| Lak. *kunča* bog, marsh.

[] A Lak-Andian isogloss. It should be distinguished from **xwimčwi* (q.v.), although partial contaminations have occurred in some languages. See Trubetzkoy 1922, 239-240.

λwilV* (HiλwilV*) elbow: Av.-And. **i-λilV* (~-rV); Tsez. **hōru* A; Lezg. **λ^wil*.

| Av.-And. **i-λilV* (~-rV) elbow: Akhv. *eλelo*.

Isolated in Akhv., but having possible external parallels. *eλelo* is the MSU notation; Magomedbekova writes *eλ:elo* which is probably wrong (a misprint or misrecording), since she also notes *eλelo* in the Tsegob dialect (where **λ* > *λ:*, but **λ:* > *λ:*).

| Tsez. **hōru* A elbow: Tsez. *horu*; Gin. *horu*; Khvarsh. *hal* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *hol*; Bezht. *hajo*; Gunz. *hōru*.

PTsKh **hoRu* (with an unclear vocalic reflex in Khvarshi), PGB **hōru* (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *haro*).

| Lezg. **λ^wil* elbow: Tab. *qur-sil*; Ag. *q:ar-xil*; Rut. *fil-äg* (*Khnov.*).

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *ar-sil*, Fit., Burk. *q:ar-xil*. Ag. and Tab. reflect a compound with some not quite clear first component (is it a distorted PL **χ:il* 'hand?' or **q:Iun* 'arm?'). Labialisation (clearly reflected in the Rut. form) was early lost in Ag. and Tab.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The reconstruction is not very reliable for several reasons: an isolated position of the Akhv. reflex within Andian; a unique reflex **λw-* > **h-* (through **x-* ?) in PTs (although this is the only case and there are no contradicting examples); generally sparse reflexation of the root.

**λwĩn?i* (~-e) belly, stomach: Av.-And. **bVx^wVn*; Lak. *ku*; Darg. **k^wani*; Lezg. **uo-λwin* / **ro-λwin*.

| Av.-And. **bVx^wVn* abomasum: Av. *maxá*.

Isolated in Av., but with reliable external parallels.

| Lak. *ku* stomach; paunch.

3d class. Obl. base *kuni-*.

| Darg. **k^wani* belly: Ak. *kani*.

Cf. also Ur., Kad., Kharb. *k^wani*, Tsud. *kuni* etc.

| Lezg. **uo-λwin* / **ro-λwin* belly: Lezg. *rufun*; Tab. *fun*; Ag. *fun*; Rut. *uxun*; Tsakh. *wuxun*; Kryz. *fān*.

One of several body part names with probable class prefixation (the Lezg. form points to **r-* as opposed to other languages reflecting **u-*). 3d class in Rut., Tsakh. and Kryz.

Cf. Trubetzkoy 1922, 240; Leksika 1971, 109.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In most languages the root is prefixless, but Av. and some Lezg. languages show traces of old class prefixation (common in PNC for names of body parts).

**λwĩri* ~ **rĩλwi* wheel, vehicle: Nakh. **lārV*; Av.-And. **rokV* (~ -a-); Lezg. **λ^wir*.

| Nakh. **lārV* oval cradle runners; fan of the mill wheel: Chech. *lāra*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **rokV* (~ -a-) wheel: Tind. *raku*.

Isolated in Tind., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **λ^wir* 1 cart 2 wheel: Tab. *fur* 1; Ag. *fur* 2.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *fur* 'cart', *fur-kuł* 'wheel'; Ag. Bursh. *fur* 'wheel'. Obl. base **λ^wire-* (cf. Tab. *fra-*, Düb. *furi-*, Ag. *furu-*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is not widely spread, but seems both phonetically and semantically quite reliable.

**λwĩrV* horn; braid, mane: Nakh. **kur*; Av.-And. **λ:VrV*; Lezg. **λ:ĩr* (~-λ^w-).

| Nakh. **kur* 1 horn 2 arc: Chech. *kur* 1; Ing. *kur* 2.

Obl. base **kure-* (Chech. *kūra-*, Ing. *kuro*). The word means specifically 'horn of wild animals' (as opposed to *ma^a*) in Chech. 6th class in Chech., 5th class in Ing.

| Av.-And. **λ:VrV* horn: Av. *λ:ar*; Chad. *λ:ar*.

Isolated in Avar (but with good Nakh parallels). Av. paradigm B/C (*λ:arā-l*, *λ:úr-dul/λ:arā-l*); Chad. C (*λ:arí-l/λ:arā-l*, *λ:ára-l/λ:ár-dul*).

| Lezg. **λ:ir* (~*λ^w-*) 1 mane 2 braid, plait (of grass): Lezg. *firi* 1; Rut. *xiri* 1 (*Khniukh.*); Bud. *fur* 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *firi* 'mane'. Lezg. and Rut. reflect a suffixed form **λ(:)irV-j*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

λ

**λačā* (~*-č-*, ~*-ě*) leaf; a k. of plant: Av.-And. **λačV* (~*-o-*); Lezg. **λača*.

| Av.-And. **λačV* (~*-o-*) 1 leaf 2 some edible plant: Av. *ṭamáč* (*dial.*)1; Akhv. *λača* 2.

The Av. form (paradigm C: plur. *ṭánčā-l*) is quoted from Mikailov. It is probably a contamination of the expected **ṭač* (= Akhv. *λača*) with the more common Av. *ṭamáχ* 'leaf' (q.v.).

| Lezg. **λača* 1 stem, stalk 2 leaf 3 grain 4 pod 5 straw: Lezg. *qáč* 1; Tab. *kaž* 2; Ag. *kez* 2; Rut. *qáč* 3; Tsakh. *kača* 4; Kryz. *qáč* 1; Bud. *qáč* 5; Arch. *kači* 2; Ud. *k:áč* 3.

In Ag. and Tab. there occurred a dissimilatory deglottalisation after the initial glottalised consonant; other forms go back regularly to PL **λača*, obl. **λačā-* (cf. Tab. *kažu-*, Ag. Tp. *keži-*, Tsakh. *kača*).

See Leksika 1971, 165; Giginayshvili 1977, 104; Talibov 1980, 299.

[] An Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss; correspondences are regular, and the PEC antiquity of the root seems probable. Rather aberrant is the Lak. form *k:iž* 'tops (of plants)'; it is similar, but absolutely irregular phonetically, and one feels tempted to consider it a loan from some Agul or Tabasaran dialect (see above) - although other cases of borrowing in that direction are unknown to us.

**λālū* stone: Av.-And. **λalV*; Tsez. **λolu*; Lezg. **λVI-* (~ *k-*).

| Av.-And. **λalV* 1 rock, rocky plateau 2 layer 3 lid 4 (paper) leaf: Av. *ṭálu* 1, *ṭalá* 2; Chad. *ṭalá* 3; And. *lala* 3; Akhv. *ḡala* 3; Tind. *ala* 3,4; Kar. *ḡala* 4.

Av. *ṭálu* has paradigm C (*ṭalú-l*, *ṭála-bi*); *ṭalá* - paradigm B (*ṭalá-dul*, *ṭul-bí*; Chad. *ṭoló-l* / *ṭilí-l*, *ṭalá-l* / *ṭulá-l*). Av. *ṭalá* has several meanings: 'layer; bee-hive; chimney; floor, tier' (cf. also Kuyad. *ala* 'chimney' pointing to **λ* in Proto-Avar). The whole variety of meanings in Avar and Andian languages must be explained by the original semantics 'flat stone, stone layer'.

| Tsez. **λ[a]lu* 1 stone 2 trap: Tsez. *ḡul-uq* 2; Gin. *ḡal* 1; Khvarsh. *ḡar* 2; Bezht. *ḡalo* 1; Gunz. *ḡolu* 1.

PTsKh **λaR* (the semantic shift 'stone' > 'trap' /probably through 'stone plate, lid'/ is rather common, cf., e.g. the development of PEC **qwiłV* 'rock, stone' in Andian languages). PGB **λolu* (~*-o-* is not quite clear: -a- would be normally expected).

| Lezg. **λVI-* (~ *k-*) stone for fastening the roof: Ag. *kele-ḡan* (*Bursh.*).

Attested only in Bursh., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although not widely represented, the etymology seems secure enough.

***λānpV** lip: Tsez. ***λipu** (~i-, ~-); Lezg. ***λamp-** (~*k-).
 | Tsez. ***λipu** (~i-) lip: Tsez. *λepu*; Gin. *λepu*.
 PTsKh ***λipu** (~i-); nasalisation also possible.
 | Lezg. ***λamp-** (~*k-) lip: Ag. *kamp-úr*.
 Cf. also Ag. Fit. *kampur* id. Isolated in Ag., but with possible parallels in PTs.
 [] A Tsez.-Lezg. isogloss, reflected only in three languages - thus not very reliable.

***λānxwV** ruins; cobble-stone(s): Av.-And. ***λanχ^wa** (~ o); Tsez. ***λex^w-** (~ -χ^w-).
 | Av.-And. ***λanχ^wa** (~ o) ruins: Akhv. *λaxa* (*Ratl.*); Cham. *aχ^wa*; Tind. *aχa*.
 Cf. also Cham. Gig. *aχa*, Akhv. Tseg. *taxo*, Tlan. *tanχa* (Magomedbekova writes: *taxo*, *tanχa*, which is obviously a misspelling instead of t-).
 | Tsez. ***λex^w-** (~ -χ^w-) cobble-stone: Gin. *λiχ^win*.
 Attested only in Gin., but having probable Andian parallels.
 [] An And-Tsez. isogloss.

***λāpi** (~-e) leaf: Av.-And. ***λapV** (~ -o); Lak. *čapi*; Darg. ***ka[p]i**; W.-Cauc. ***La(m)pa** (~*l-).
 | Av.-And. ***λapV** (~ -o) leaf: Cham. *apal*.
 Cf. also Cham. Gad. *lapā* which unambiguously suggests PA ***λap-**. The root is isolated within Andian, but has reliable external parallels.
 | Lak. *čapi* leaf.
 Cf. Khosr. *čapi* id.
 | Darg. ***ka[p]i** leaf: Ak. *kapi*; Chir. *kap:ara*.
 The original *-p- is well preserved in Ak.; however, other dialects reflect secondary assimilated forms ***kapi** (cf. Kad., Ur., Muir. *kapi*, Mek. *kape*) or ***kap:i** (cf. Kait., Tsud. *kap:i*, Kub. *kap:e*; the Chir. form is an original plural from this variant).
 | W.-Cauc. ***La(m)pa** (~*l-) leaf: Ad. *thāp*; Kab. *thampa*.
 PAK ***thá(m)pa**. Abitov's and Shagirov's (2, 83) explanation ('ear'+ 'front part') is clearly a folk etymology. The word has quite reliable parallels in EC languages. AK > Osset. (Dig.) *tafä* 'leaf', see Abayev 1979, 350..
 [] Correspondences are quite regular (except the secondary voicing ***λ-** > ***Ł-** in PWC, which is a frequent phenomenon).

***λāqO** (~-G-) jaw: Tsez. ***λaqa**; W.-Cauc. ***ŁaβI^wa**.
 | Tsez. ***λaqa** jaw: Gin. *λaqa*; Bezht. *λaqa*; Gunz. *λaqa*.
 PGB ***λaqa**. The Gin. form may be genuine or borrowed from Bezht.
 | W.-Cauc. ***ŁaβI^wa** jaw: Abkh. *a-c-lamh^wá*; Abaz. *c-lamh^wa*; Ub. *LáβI^wa*.
 PAT ***cə-laməh^wa** (a compound with ***cə** 'tooth'; cf. also Bzyb. *a-clamh^wá*); -mə- is a secondary insertion, probably due to the influence of PAT ***žamə^wa** 'cheek' q.v.
 [] An interesting Tsez.-WC isogloss. Correspondences are regular.

See Abdokov 1983, 78 (listing also several unrelated EC and WC forms).

***λarq^we** forehead; (put on forehead:) cap: Av.-And. ***λaq^wara**; Tsez. ***λoq^o A**.
 | Av.-And. ***λaq^wara** cap: Av. *taβúr*; Chad. *tuβúr*; And. *laq^wara*.
 Av. paradigm C (*tarβí-l*, *tárβa-l*; but Chad. B: *tuβrí-l*, *tuβrá-l*). Cf. also And. dial. *raG^wara*, Mun. *λa^oara*.
 | Tsez. ***λoq^o A** 1 forehead 2 cap: Tsez. *λoq^o I*; Gin. *λoq^o I*; Khvarsh. *λoq^o* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *λoq^o I*; Bezht. *λaq^oalo* 2; Gunz. *λoq^ol* 2.
 PTsKh ***λoq^o** 'forehead', ***λoq^o-l** 'cap' (cf. Tsez. *λoq^ol*, Gin. *λoq^oon*); PGB ***λoq^o-l(u)** 'cap'.
 [] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss. PTs ***λoq^o** is probably a result of vowel assimilation < ***λaq^o**.

***λa** up, above (an adverbial stem): Av.-And. ***λa**; Tsez. ***λ(o)**; Lak. *ka*; Darg. ***ʔi-k**; Lezg. ***IV** / ***ʔal:V**.
 | Av.-And. ***λa** 1 up, above 2 locative suffix (of series Super): Av. *ta-d* 1, -d- 2; And. -*λa* 2; Akhv. -*λ-* 2 (*S.-Akhv.*); Cham. *hi-la-h* 1 (*Gig.*); Tind. -*la* 2; Kar. -*λa* 2; Bagv. -*la* 2; God. -*la* 2.
 Cf. also Av. Ants. *λa-d* 'up, above'; in the function of the locative morpheme voiced -d- is also secondary in Av. (dialects have regular reflexes -t, -ʔ or -l). The adverbial usage (cf. also Av. *tá-s:a* 'up, from above'; And. *hi-la*, Akhv. *λa-do* 'up, above') clearly reflects the original status of the morpheme as a locative adverb (particle).
 | Tsez. ***λ(o)** locative suffix (series Super): Tsez. -*λ(o)*; Gin. -*λo*; Khvarsh. -*λo*; Bezht. -*λa*; Gunz. -*λ(o)*.
 PTsKh ***-λo**; PGB ***λo**. Cf. also PTs ***λV-** as an adverbial stem: PTsKh ***λə-Rə** (Tsez. *λiri*, Gin. *λere*, Inkh. *λolo*), PGB ***λo-do** (Bezht., Gunz. *λodo*) 'up, above'.
 | Lak. *ka* that (above the speaker).
 Cf. also Khosr. *k^wa* id. (labialisation is probably secondary, *k^wa* < ***kV-wa**).
 | Darg. ***ʔi-k** that (above the speaker): Ak. *ik*; Chir. *ik*.
 Cf. also Chir. *ka-^o* 'this, that (above the speaker)'.
 | Lezg. ***IV** / ***ʔal:V** 1 preverb 'above' 2 above (adv.) 3 dem. pronoun: Lezg. *al/-el-* 1; Tab. *Vl-* 1; Ag. *al-* 1; Rut. *l-* 1, *la-ʔ* 2; Tsakh. *ali-d* 2; Kryz. *li* 3; Bud. *al(ad)* 3; Arch. *jat* 2; Ud. *ala* 2.

The morpheme is very frequent in Lezg. languages. It is, first of all, used as an adverbial stem with the meaning 'up, above' (in Arch. as a compound with the pronominal stem *ja-*) (besides Tsakh. *ali-d*, Arch. *jat* and Ud. *ala* cf. also Bud. *la-χa*). Second, in several languages it is used as a spatial preverb ('above, from above etc.') (Lezg., Ag., Tab., less frequently in Rut.). In most languages it is also used as a locative suffix of the series Super ('above smth.'), cf. Lezg. -*al/-el*, Tab. -*ʔil* (a dialectal form, in lit. Tab. -*ʔin* with secondary nasalisation), Ag. -*l*, Rut. -*l* (with semantic transformations: presently it is used within the elative marker -*l-a* / -*il-a*), Arch. -*t* / -*t:i*.

Finally, in some languages ***IV** (***ʔal:V-**) became just a demonstrative

pronoun 'that' or 'this' (which is obviously a late semantic development < 'that (above the speaker)'), thus in Ag. *li* 'that', Kryz. *li* 'this', Bud. *al(ad)* 'that'. See Алексеев 1985, 75.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular, except for the PL form: here also **lV* would be expected, but it had irregularly developed into **lHV* > PL **l:V*, which must be explained by the auxiliary status of the morpheme.

laɦl̥a* (~-a) lamb: Av.-And. **l:idir* (pl.l:ili*); Tsez. **lile* A; Lak. *çi*; Lezg. **l:al*; Khin. *ku*.

| Av.-And. **l:idir* (pl.**l:ili*) lamb: Av. *l:e'er*; Akhv. *l:eye*; Cham. *l:ili*; Tind. *l:er*; Kar. *l:ider*; Botl. *l:etir*; Bagv. *l:erer*; God. *l:idir*.

Av. paradigm B (*l:a'ri-l*, *l:a'i*). Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *l:ider* (the North. form *l:eye* < **l:idi-r*).

The original PEC form is best preserved in PA plur. **l:ili* (cf. Kar. *l:ili*, Bagv. *l:ili*, Cham. Gig. *l:ila*; in the U.-Gakv. dialect the sing. form *l:ili* is probably a secondary analogy to plural, cf. Gig. sing. *l:edir* - pl. *l:ila*). The singular form **l:idir* contains a peculiar infix -dV- common to some other names of young animals (**ɬadaɬa* 'calf', **l:idir* 'kid'); Avar has -s- in these cases (but note that the Av. pl. *l:a'i* reflects directly the PEC *-ɦl̥-).

| Tsez. **lile* A lamb (less than 1 year old): Tsez. *l̥eli*; Gin. *l̥eli*; Khvarsh. *l̥ili*; Inkh. *l̥ile*; Bezht. *l̥ile*; Gunz. *l̥ile*.

PTsKh **liRe*, PGB **lile*.

| Lak. *çi* lamb.

Obl. base *çilu-*. 3d class. Cf. Khosr. *çi* id.

| Lezg. **l:al* lamb (less than 6 months old): Lezg. *kel*; Tab. *ɬ:il*; Ag. *k:el*; Rut. *gäl*; Tsakh. *gew*; Kryz. *kel*; Bud. *kel*; Arch. *l:al*; Ud. *q:al*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *k:el*. Obl. base **l:ila-* (Tab. *ɬ:ila-*, Rut. *gili-ri-*, Kryz. *kil-*; with vowel levelling Lezg. *kele-*, Ag. *k:ela-*, Tsakh. *gewa-*). 3d class in Rut., Tsakh., Kryz., Bud., but 4th class in Arch.

See Leksika 1971, 160; Giginayshvili 1977, 69.

| Khin. *ku* lamb.

Erg. *kui* / *kul-li*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241.

**leɦl̥e* a k. of bird: Av.-And. **l:Vɦl̥:V*; Lezg. **l:eɦl̥:(a)*; Khin. *kaɦid*.

| Av.-And. **l:Vɦl̥:V* a k. of song-bird: Av. *l:iɦl̥:i*.

Cf. also *l:iɦl̥:i-diro* 'a k. of variegated bird'.

| Lezg. **l:eɦl̥:(a)* 1 cock 2 partridge: Lezg. *kek* 1; Ag. *k:ek* 1; Kryz. *käkäl* 2; Bud. *kakil* 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *k:ek* (pl. *k:ek:-er*), Ag. Burk. *k:ek*: id. In Kryz. and Bud. -a suffixed form with a frequent nominal suffix *-l. Semantically Proto-Shakhdagh **käkV-l* was probably influenced by Azer. *käklik* 'partridge' (although a loan from Azer. is excluded for phonetic reasons).

| Khin. *kaɦid* partridge.

[] Since we do not know what bird is meant by Av. *l:iɦl̥:i*, the comparison is questionable (although the phonetic match is exact).

**leɦpV* stone plate or shed: Nakh. **lapa*; Av.-And. **labV* (~ -o-); Tsez. **boɦV*.

| Nakh. **lapa* shed; peak of cap: Chech. *laba*; Ing. *laba*.

4th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **labV* (~ -o-) 1 stone 2 mill-stone, whetstone 3 plate, slab: Av. *leɦ* (Ants.) 1; Chad. *teɦ* 2; Cham. *abul* (Bokarev) 3; Tind. *aba* 3.

Chad. paradigm B (*toɦo-l*, *taɦa-l*). Cf. also other Antsukh dialectal forms: *teɦ*, *toɦ* (all cited from Миканлов 1959); Cham. Gig. *abul*, Gad. *labul* 'stone plate, slab'.

| Tsez. **boɦV* stone plate, stone for fastening the roof: Khvarsh. *boɦo*; Inkh. *boɦo*.

PTsKh **boɦo*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for the metathesis in Inkh., correspondences are regular.

**lamV* roof: Av.-And. **lomV*; Tsez. **l̥o* A.

| Av.-And. **lomV* 1 skin 2 roof: Av. *tom* 1; Chad. *tom* 1; And. *lom* / *lom* 2; Akhv. *lami* / *l̥o* 2; Cham. *am* 2; Tind. *ami* 2; Kar. *lame* 2; Botl. *am* 2; Bagv. *ama* 2; God. *lam* 2.

Av. paradigm C (*tomó-l*, *tóma-l*). The root means both 'roof' and 'skin' in several languages: in Av. cf. Chad. *tom*, Gid. *lom*, Ants. *lom* / *tom* 'roof'; in Akhv. cf. N.-Akhv. *lami* 'roof', Tlan. *tama* 'skin', Ratl. *lami* 'roof; skin'. Cf. also Bagv. Kvan. *lama*, Cham. Gig. *am*, Gad. *nabu* (< **lam-bu*), Kar. Tok. *am'i*. There is certainly no reason to separate forms meaning 'roof' from those meaning 'skin' ('roof of body').

| Tsez. **l̥o* A roof: Tsez. *lu*; Gin. *lu*; Khvarsh. *l̥u*; Inkh. *l̥u*; Bezht. *lama* (Tlad.); Gunz. *lome* (Gunz.).

PTsKh **l̥u*; PGB **lomV* (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *lamo*). Gunz. (Bokarev) *lame* 'roof' is obviously a misspelling instead of *lome*. The PTs paradigm must be reconstructed as **l̥o*, **lomV*- (with the oblique base preserved as direct in PGB; Tsez. *l̥imi* 'stone for fastening the roof' is also possibly derivable from this stem).

[] An Av.-And.-Tsezian isogloss; no parallels in other languages as yet found.

**leɦrHV* (~ -l-) sour cream; yeast, leaven: Nakh. **lo* (~ -o-); Av.-And. **l̥ir(H)V*; Tsez. **l̥o(ro)* (~-l-).

| Nakh. **lo* (~ -o-) yeast, leaven: Ing. *lo*.

Attested only in Ing., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **l̥ir(H)V* sour cream: Av. *tórax*; Chad. *toráx*; And. *lel*.

Cf. also And. (Khaidakov) *l̥el* (pointing to **l̥-*); -l is obviously a result of assimilation (< **-r*). The Av. form may be analysed as 'top' (*to-*, cf. *ta-* 'up, above' q.v.) + *rax* 'milk'; this is probably a folk etymology (which had, however, influenced

the expected form **tor* or **tora* by adding a secondary -x). however, influenced the expected form **tor* or **tora* by adding a secondary -x).

| Tsez. **λo(ro)* (~-l-) 1 sour cream 2 cream: Tsez. *λuIru* / *λuru* 1; Khvarsh. *λuru* (*Lomtadze*) 2; Inkh. *λuru* 1,2; Bezht. *λa* (*Lomtadze*) 2; Gunz. *λo* (*Lomtadze*) 2.

PTsKh **λuRu*; PGB **λ[o]*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The stem may be originally a derivate from **λā* 'up, above' q.v.

**λhwaχV* stick, chip: Av.-And. **λ:Vχ:V*; Tsez. **λiχ*: (~ -b); Lezg. **λ:axl* (~ -χ:l).

| Av.-And. **λ:Vχ:V* stubble: Av. *λ:ox*.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. *λ:ox:i-l*).

| Tsez. **λiχ*: (~ -b) chip, shaving: Bezht. *λiχ*; Gunz. *λiχa*.

PGB **λiχ* (Gunz. *λiχa* reflects the oblique base, cf. Bezht. Khosh. *λiχ*, *λiχa*).

| Lezg. **λ:axl* (~ -χ:l) hook, fishing-rod: Ag. *k:ah* (*Tp.*); Rut. *gixl*.

The Rut. form probably reflects the vocalism of the oblique base **λ:ox:IV-* (with secondary delabialisation > **λ:ox:IV-*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**λimV* (~ -ā-, -ī-) tops (of plants): Av.-And. **λimV*; Tsez. **λimV* (~ -i-).

| Av.-And. **λimV* 1 leaf 2 tops (of plants) 3 root-crop 4 parsley: Av. *λamáχ* 1, *tin* 3; Chad. *λamáh*; Akhv. *λimi* 2; Cham. *im* 4; God. *lima* 2.

Av. *tin* belongs to paradigm B or C (gen. *λimá-l*); the suffixed form *λamáχ* (gen. *λanχí-l*; Chad. *λamhí-l*, *λámha-l*) goes back to **λim-ax*. Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *timi*, Ratl. *λimi* 'tops', Cham. Gad. *nim*, Gig. *em* 'parsley'.

| Tsez. **λimV* buckwheat 1: a k. of plant (купырь): Bezht. *holo-λime* 1, *sī-λime* 2; Gunz. *stj-λimi* 2.

PGB **λimi*. The first component is *holo* 'pea(s)' or **sīh* 'bear'.

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss.

**λi* below, down (an adverbial stem): Nakh. **ka-l(e)*; Av.-And. **λ:i*; Tsez. **λi-*, **λ*; Lak. *luw*; Lezg. **λ:i-*, **λ*.

| Nakh. **ka-l(e)* down, below (adv.): Chech. *kel*; Ing. *kal*; Bacb. *kikel*.

In Bacb. the root is reduplicated; cf. also Bacb. *kiklī* 'lower'.

| Av.-And. **λ:i* locative suffix (series Sub): Av. -*λ*; And. -*λ:i*; Akhv. -*λ*; Cham. -*λ:i*; Tind. -*λ:i*; Kar. -*λ:i*; Botl. -*λ:i*; Bagv. -*λ:i*; God. -*λ:i*.

| Tsez. **λi-*, **λ(ɔ)* 1 down, below 2 locative suffix (series Sub): Tsez. -*λ(o)* 2; Gin. -*λ* 2; Khvarsh. -*λ* 2; Inkh. -*λ* 2; Bezht. *λi-* 1, -*λ(a)* 2; Gunz. *λi-* 1, -*λ* 2.

As an adverb the root is preserved in PGB **λi-rə* > Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *λiro*, Gunz. *λirə* 'down, below'; all languages also preserve the morpheme as the locative suffix of the Sub series.

| Lak. *luw* down, below.

Khosr. *lū* id. Cf. also Lak. -*l-* - locative suffix of the series Sub; *la-* in *la-ik'a-*

'to hide' (lit. 'to be below').

| Lezg. **λ:i-*, **λ*: 1 below, down 2 locative suffix (Sub series): Lezg. -*k* 2; Tab. -*k*: 2; Ag. -*k*: 2; Rut. -*k* 2; Tsakh. -*k* 2; Kryz. -*k* 2; Bud. -*k* 2; Arch. -*λ*: 2; Ud. *oq:a* 1.

In the adverbial use the root **λ:i-* is preserved only in Archi and Budukh (Arch. *λ:i-r*, Bud. *ko-rə* with a not quite clear vowel reflex). All languages reflect the stem in the function of the locative suffix (in Udi - only within the adverb *o-q:a* 'below', formed from a pronominal stem). Most languages also reflect the same morpheme as a preverb (meaning 'below'): Lezg. *k(ʷ)-*, Tab. *k:-*, Ag. *k:-*, Rut. *g-*, Tsakh. *g-*, Kryz. *k-*.

See Alekseyev 1985, 55, 119 (Alekseyev lists also the Bud. preverb *č-*, which is probably different in origin: cf. Bud. *ače*, Kryz. *áčä* 'below').

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. In most subgroups (Av.-And., PTs, PL, Lak.) the morpheme is used as a suffix of the locative case (series Sub). Nakh languages have lost this usage, but it can be shown that they once also had it: cf. cases like PN **muβ* 'tail' - **muβ-le* 'strap under horse's tail' (lit. 'under the tail') > Bacb. *mujβlī*, Chech., Ing. *mulba* (= Av. *mašáλ*: id.).

**λ[i]lī* ear (of corn): Av.-And. **λora*; Tsez. **λ[ə]ra*; Lak. *čali*; Lezg. **λil* (~ -l:); Khin. *kil*.

| Av.-And. **λora* ear (of corn): Av. *tor*; Chad. *tor*; And. *rola*; Akhv. *λara*; Cham. *ā*; Tind. *ara*; Kar. *λara*; Botl. *ara* / *ʔara*; Bagv. *ʔara* (*Tlis.*); God. *lala*.

Av. paradigm C (*toro-l*, *torá-l*). Cf. also Av. Andal. *or*, And. (And., Tsertsvadze's recording) *lora*, Kvanth. *λora*, Gag. *ʔora*; Bagv. Kvan. *λara*, Cham. Gad. *lā* ('maize'), Gig. *ara*; Kar. Tok. *ara*. And. > Tsez. *λara*, Inkh. *λala*.

| Tsez. **λ[ə]ra* ear (of corn): Gin. *λila*; Bezht. *λōwa*; Gunz. *λara* (*Nakh*).

PGB **λara*. Some recordings are problematic: Bokarev had recorded Bezht. Tlad. *λera* and Gunz. *λera*; all MSU recordings, however, are in accordance with Madieva's Bezht. *λōwa* (cf. Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *λora*, Gunz. Nakh. *λara*).

| Lak. *čali* ear (of corn).

Cf. Khosr. *čali* id.

| Lezg. **λil* (~ -l:) ear (of corn): Lezg. *qil*; Tab. *kul*; Ag. *kil*; Kryz. *qil*; Bud. *qil*.

Obl. base **λile-* (~ **λili-*), cf. Lezg. *qili-*, Tab. *kuli-*, Ag. *kili-*. The root can not be distinguished within Lezg. from the reflexes of PL **woλul* (q.v.) 'head'; historically, however, these are two absolutely different roots which had merged in individual languages probably already after the split of PL.

| Khin. *kil* ear (of corn).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The vocalism is aberrant in PTs and Av. (we would rather expect *lar*); otherwise all correspondences are regular, and the etymology is quite reliable.

**λōrə* (/ **rōλə*) hand, hand-bone: Av.-And. **riλa*; Tsez. **riλa* A; Lezg. **λorap*.

| Av.-And. **ri*la 1 hand 2 front leg: Av. *ra*tá 2; Chad. *ra*tá 2; And. *re*la 1; Akhv. *re*la 1; Cham. *je*la 1; Tind. *re*la 1; Kar. *re*la 1,2; Botl. *re*?a 1; Bagv. *re*la, *le*la 1; God. *le*la 1.

Av. paradigm B (*ro*tó-l, *ru*t-bí; Chad. *ro*tó-l, *ra*tá-l). Cf. also Av. Kuyad. *ra*l'a 'shoulder-blade', Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *re*ta, Cham. Gig. *je*la, And. Mun., Kvankh. *re*la, Gag. *re*l'a, Zil. *re*?a, Kar. Tok. *re*l'a 'hand'.

| Tsez. **ri*la A 1 hand 2 sleeve 3 foreleg: Tsez. *re*la 1; Khvarsh. *le*la 1; Inkh. *li*la 1; Bezht. *ri*la 2,3; Gunz. *ri*la 2.

PTsKh **ri*la, PGB **ri*la.

| Lezg. **lor*ap: bone: Lezg. *kar*ab; Tab. *kur*ab; Ag. *kar*ab (*Fit.*); Rut. *qir*ib; Kryz. *kär*äp; Bud. *ke*reþ.

Rut. and Tab. point to *-o- in the first syllable; other languages reflect a common assimilation of the first vowel to the second. 4th class in Rut., 3d class in Kryz. and Bud.

See Talibov 1960a,295; Leksika 1971, 114.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except for a rather usual metathesis).

**lor*χwV sprout: Av.-And. **li*χ:~i / **χ*:~i_{li}; Tsez. **le*χ: (~ -χ); Lak. *kur*χ.

| Av.-And. **li*χ:~i / **χ*:~i_{li} flour made of young sprouts, oat flour: Av. *te*χ;; Chad. *te*χ; Cham. *χ*:ol; Tind. *χ*:oli.

Av. paradigm B-C (gen. *to*χ:ó-l). Cf. also Av. Obokh. *e*χ: (proving that Av. † < **λ*).

| Tsez. **le*χ: (~ -χ) bough: Gin. *li*χ.

| Lak. *kur*χ sprout.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for occasional metatheses in Av.-And., correspondences are regular. Phonetically a good match is Arch. *ki*χI:i 'fork' (with a possible PL form **lor*χI:(~)Vj), but semantically it is not quite clear (perhaps, the original meaning in PL was 'forked bough').

**λ*V:χV shed: Tsez. **lu*χ;; Darg. **γ*ax:a.

| Tsez. **lu*χ: 1 ceiling 2 on the ceiling: Tsez. *le*χe-λ 2; Gin. *le*χe-λ 2; Bezht. *lu*χ 1 (*Khosh*).

PTsKh **li*χə (~ -i, -ə) reflects the old oblique base (with Ablaut) **li*χ:ə (cf. also Tsez. *le*χu 'thin log').

There exists also a PTs variant **lu*χ(u), reflected in Gin. *lu*hu 'beam' and PGB **lu*β (**lu*β) > Bezht. Tlad. *lu*β 'ceiling', Gunz. *lu*hi 'on the ceiling'. It is interesting to note Avar forms: Av. *lu*βúr, Chad. *lu*hur 'planking (for the ceiling)' - which in this case are probably old borrowings from the neighbouring Tsez languages (genuine relationship is excluded for phonetic reasons).

| Darg. **γ*ax:a shed: Ak. *ja*χa; Chir. *i*χ:a.

Cf. also Ur. *ja*χa 'kennel'.

[] A Tsez-Darg. isogloss, thus it is rather difficult to reconstruct vocalism.

**λ*VćV log; pole: Av.-And. **λ*:i(r)ćo; Tsez. **le*š:(a).

| Av.-And. **λ*:i(r)ćo 1 log 2 pole(s) for planking ceiling, thin log: And. *λ*:erćo 1; Akhv. *λ*:eča 1; Cham. *λ*:eča (*Gig.*) 2; Kar. *č*erλ:a (*Tok.*) 1.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *λ*:eče, Ratl. *a*č:eλ:en (with the same metathesis as in Kar., and with assimilation *ć > *č: > č:) 'log'.

| Tsez. **le*š:(a) 1 pole(s) (for planking the ceiling) 2 board; step of stairs: Tsez. *li*š 1; Gin. *li*š 1; Bezht. *le*šə 2 (*Tlad.*).

PTsKh **le*š.

[] An And-Tsez. isogloss (early borrowing, before the assimilation *ć > *č > *č in PA, is not excluded).

**λ*VhVmV (/ **λ*VhVnV) shelf: Av.-And. **λ*:VHVn (~ -m); Tsez. **li*n (~ -i); Lak. *č*amu.

| Av.-And. **λ*:VHVn (~ -m) shelf: Av. *λ*:o^šen.

Av. paradigm B ~ C (gen. *λ*:o^šá-dul).

| Tsez. **li*n (~ -i) shelf: Tsez. *len* (*Imnaishvili*); Khvarsh. *len* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *li*n.

PTsKh **li*n. Since the word is no doubt related to Av. *λ*:o^šen, it can not be regarded as a loan from Tind. *na*λ:u 'shelf'; we should rather suppose the opposite direction of borrowing (although metathesis in Tindi is strange in any case).

| Lak. *č*amu shelf.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. There is not enough evidence to reconstruct the vocalism, but otherwise the comparison seems quite reliable.

**λ*VλV a k. of insect, larva: Av.-And. **λ*:Vλ:V; Lezg. **λ*:eλ:- (~ -ä-).

| Av.-And. **λ*:Vλ:V silkworm eggs: Av. *λ*:iλ:i.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *λ*:iλ:i-dul).

| Lezg. **λ*:eλ:- (~ -ä-) a k. of worm (двухвостка): Arch. *λ*:eλ:u.

Attested only in Archi, with a probable Avar parallel.

[] An Av.-Lezg. isogloss.

**λ*VχwV (~ *λ*-) rake: Av.-And. **λ*:iχ:wV-q:Vrχ:V; Tsez. **λ*oχ:- (~ -b-).

| Av.-And. **λ*:iχ:wV-q:Vrχ:V rake: Av. *λ*:oχ:órχ:o; Akhv. *λ*:oχ:oχ:oro; Kar. *λ*:oχ:oroχ:.

An expressive stem. Cf. also Kar. Tok. *λ*:oχ:uχ:ur, Anch. *λ*:uq:uraq:. It is probably a distorted compound of **λ*:iχ:wV- + **q*:anχ:a (**q*:Vlχ:V); the second component see under **qa*Hlaxi.

| Tsez. **λ*oχ:- (~ -b-) 1 rake 2 curry-comb: Bezht. *la*χdami (*Khosh*) 1; Gunz. *la*χlalaru (*Gunz.*) 2.

PGB **λ*oχ- (with unclear second parts both in Bezht. and in Gunz.; in Bezht. *Khosh*. two variants are recorded by MSU: *la*χdami and *la*χami). The same root is used in compound verbs: Bezht. *la*χa gul- 'to scrape, scratch', *la*χ-λ- 'to comb' (trans.),

laχ-dah- id. (intrans.).

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss. In both families the root is part of compounds.

**λwār*(fi)ǝ boundary: Av.-And. **λ*:(*ʷ*)VrV; Darg. **γara*; Lezg. **λ*:(*ʷ*)ar(a) / **λ*:(*ʷ*)ar(a).

| Av.-And. **λ*:(*ʷ*)VrV garden-bed; terrace; row, rank: Av. *λ:er*.

Paradigm A or C (pl. *λ:úr-dul*). Isolated in Av., but having reliable Darg. and Lezg. parallels.

| Darg. **γara* furrow: Chir. *jara*.

Attested only in Chir., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **λ*:(*ʷ*)ar / **λ*:(*ʷ*)ar 1 boundary (between fields) 2 line: Tab. *kʷar 1,2*; Ag. *k:(*ʷ*)ar 1*.

Close semantics and phonetics does not allow to separate the Tab. form from Ag. They reflect a PL variation between **λ*:(*ʷ*) (> Ag. *k:(*ʷ*)*) and **λ*:(*ʷ*) (> Tab. *kʷ*). Judging from the external parallels, original is the first variant; reasons for the affricate's weakening in Tab. are yet unclear (contamination with some other root?).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although not very widely spread, the word seems reliable both phonetically and semantically.

**λwēhlū* (~ *Ł*-, -*r*-) rock, cliff: Nakh. **laʔ* (~ -*a*-, -*ʔ*-); Av.-And. **λ*:(*ʷ*)irHV / **λ*:(*ʷ*)ir-dV; Tsez. **λ*orV (~ -*u*-, -*l*-).

| Nakh. **laʔ* (~ -*a*-, -*ʔ*-) mountain pass: Bacb. *laʔ* (*Matsiyev*).

Attested only in Bacb., with probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **λ*:(*ʷ*)irHV / **λ*:(*ʷ*)ir-dV rock, cliff: Av. *λ:urú*; Chad. *λúri*; And. *λ:uri*; Akhv. *λ:edo*; Cham. *λ:od*; Tind. *λ:ʷā*; Kar. *λ:eda*; Bagv. *λ:or*; God. *λ:udu*.

Av. paradigm C (*λ:urú-l*, *λ:úra-bi*; Chad. id.). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *λ:udu*, Kar. Anch. *λ:era*, Tok. *λ:uri*. PA *-r(H)- is reflected in And. and Kar. dialects (Bagv. -*r*- can reflect both *-*r*- and *-*d*-); other languages reflect the variant **λ*:(*ʷ*)ir-dV > **λ*:(*ʷ*)idV.

| Tsez. **λ*orV (~ -*u*-, -*l*-) gorge, ravine: Gin. *λoro*.

Attested only in Gin., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**λwēlλwV* (~ *Ł*-) woodpecker: Av.-And. **λ*:onλ:V (~ -*a*-); Lezg. **λ*:(*ʷ*)erλ:(*ʷ*)el-.

| Av.-And. **λ*:onλ:V (~ -*a*-) woodpecker: Akhv. *λ:anλ:a*; Tind. *λ:anλ:u*.

| Lezg. **λ*:(*ʷ*)erλ:(*ʷ*)el- woodpecker: Lezg. *kʷarkʷalag*; Tab. *k:úrku:ulaj*; Ag. *k:(*ʷ*)edk:(*ʷ*)edaj*.

An expressive reduplicated stem (with expressive suffixes: *-Vk/*-Vj), and somewhat irregular development; nevertheless, the reconstruction of **λ*:(*ʷ*) seems secure. Cf. also Lezg. Kub. *kʷarkʷalag*, Tab. Kand. *k:erk:eleg*, Ag. Fit. *k:(*ʷ*)edk:(*ʷ*)edaj* id. (the Agul forms, cited from Shaumyan, may represent a partial contamination with another expressive PL stem, **kʷV|kʷV|*- q.v.).

[] An expressive And.-Lezg. isogloss.

**λwē[n]χV* pus; snot: Av.-And. **λ*:(*ʷ*)oχo (~ -q-); Tsez. **χ:ǝλ* (~ -ē-).

| Av.-And. **λ*:(*ʷ*)oχo (~ -q-) pus: And. *loχʷo*; Cham. *aχa* (*Gig.*); Tind. *χʷā-r*; Kar. *λʷaχa*; Botl. *aχʷa*.

Cf. also And. (Khaidakov) *oχo*, Kar. Tok. *uha*. The Tind. form has a suffixed -*r* and is metathesized: *χʷār* < **χʷaλa-r* < **λ*:(*ʷ*)oχo-r.

| Tsez. **χ:ǝλ* (~ -ē-) snot: Tsez. *hiλ* / *heλ*; Khvarsh. *χil* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *χeλ*. PTsKh **χIeλ*.

[] An And.-Tsez. isogloss; correspondences are regular except for the metathesis in PTs (however, the weak reflex **λ* in PTs proves that the PA order of phonemes is original). Reconstruction of the medial resonant is not quite certain (based only on PTs nasalisation).

**λwərHV* (~ *Ł*-, -*l*-) bridge: Av.-And. **λ*:iru; Tsez. **λū* B.

| Av.-And. **λ*:iru bridge: Av. *λ:o*; Chad. *λo*; And. *λ:iru*; Akhv. *λ:ira*; Cham. *λ:ē*; Tind. *λ:eru*; Kar. *λ:eru*; Botl. *λ:iri*; Bagv. *λ:er*; God. *λ:iru*.

Akhv. paradigm B-C (gen. *λ:o-dúl*; but Chad. A: *λó-dul*, *λója-l*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *λ:iru*.

| Tsez. **λū* B 1 bridge, stairs 2 funeral stretcher: Tsez. *λe 1*; Bezht. *λō 2*.

Tsez. obl. base *λero*.

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss.

**λwibV* (~ -w-) shed, barn, granary: Nakh. **ķebu* (~ -ē-, -w-); Av.-And. **λ*:(*ʷ*)ibV(-r); Tsez. **λibe(r)*.

| Nakh. **ķebu* (~ -ē-, -w-) granary: Chech. *čō*; Ing. *ķe*.

6th class in Chech., 3d class in Ing. Obl. base **ķebu-na-* (Chech. *čōna-*, Ing. *ķeno*). Cf. also Lev. *čō*, Cheb. *čwā*.

| Av.-And. **λ*:(*ʷ*)ibV(-r) 1 shed, barn 2 section of a granary 3 calf-stall: Av. *ti 2*; Chad. *iʷi 3*; Akhv. *λuhur* (*Ratl.*) 1; Tind. *ubar 1*.

Av. paradigm unknown. Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *tohor*, Tlan. *tor* 'shed'. The Proto-Av. form **λ*:(*ʷ*)i is either a contraction of **λ*:(*ʷ*)ibi, or (which is more probable) a result of reinterpreting *-bV as a plural affix. Tind. > Inkh. *uber* 'shed' (a late loan, after **λ*- > 0- in Tindi).

| Tsez. **λibe(r)* shed, hayloft: Bezht. *λibe*; Gunz. *λiber*.

PGB **λibe(r)*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. In [Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 48] the root is compared with Hurr. *karuBā* 'granary'; it is possible, but somewhat dubious because of the -i-vocalism in PEC.

**λwile* saddle: Av.-And. **λ*:i(r)λ:il; Tsez. **λ*on-qʷelV B; Lak. *ķili*; Darg. **γili*.

| Av.-And. **λ*:i(r)λ:il saddle: Av. *λ:ilí*; Chad. *λilí*; And. *λ:erλ:il*; Akhv. *λ:eλ:e*; Cham. *λ:iλ:il*; Tind. *λ:eλ:al*; Kar. *λ:eλ:el*; God. *λ:eλ:il*.

Av. paradigm B (*ʔ:oló-l*, *ʔ:alá-l*, Chad. id.). Cf. also Cham. Tlan., Ratl. (with dissimilation) *ʔ:etel*, Cham. Gig. *ʔ:iʔ:ir*, Kar. Tok. *ʔ:eʔ:el* / *ʔ:erʔ:il*. All Andian languages reflect a reduplicated stem; cf., however, the isolated And. (cited from Khaid.) *ʔ:iru* 'saddle' (-r- < -l- through dissimilation?). Tind. > Inkh. *ʔ:etel* id.; Av. > Arch. *ʔ:ili*.

| Tsez. **ʔ:n-qʷelV* B 1 saddle 2 saddle seat: Tsez. *ʔ:iqur* 2; Gin. *ʔ:iqʷali muzi* 1; Khvarsh. *ʔ:etel* 1; Bezht. *ʔ:ajqena* 1; Gunz. *ʔ:orqena* 1.

PTsKh **ʔoqʷeR(V)* (cf. also Gin. in Lomtadze's notation *ʔ:iqʷali(l)*, in Bokarev's notation - *ʔ:iqʷalil*); PGB **ʔorqena* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *ʔ:arqenā*, Khosh. *ʔ:arqena*). In Tsez. the word for 'saddle' itself is *ʔ:iliqaj* which can be treated as a loan from Av. *ʔ:ilí+q:aji* 'saddle' + 'thing, pack'.

| Lak. *ʔ:ili* saddle.

Cf. Khosr. *ʔ:ili* id.

| Darg. **ʔʷili* saddle: Ak. *gili*; Chir. *gile*.

Cf. also Mek. *guli-bxa*, Sirg., Tsud. *guli*, Ur. *gili*, Kait. *zili*, Kub. *ziluχ:a*, Muir. *wili*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Tsezian languages reflect a compound, where the first part goes back to **ʔ:witē* (with -n < *-l through dissimilation), while the second part < PEC **qʷatV* 'saddle-girth' q.v. See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241.

**ʔwɪnʰV* malt: Nakh. **ʔVwV* (~*ʔ-,-b-*); Av.-And. **ʔinHi*; Tsez. **ʔɪ* A; Lak. *ʔut*; Darg. **ʔiʔa*; Lezg. **ʔun*; Khin. *ʔun*.

| Nakh. **ʔVwV* (~*ʔ-,-b-*) porridge made of chopped corn: Ing. *ʔo*.

Attested only in Ing., thus the PN reconstruction is tentative (several different protoforms are possible).

| Av.-And. **ʔinHi* malt: Av. *ʔi*; Chad. *ʔi*; And. *linni*; Akhv. *ʔini*; Cham. *ɪ*; Tind. *ɪ*; Kar. *ʔi*; Bagv. *ɪ* (*Tlis.*); God. *niʔi*.

Av. paradigm A (gen. *ʔi-dul*; but Chad. *ʔi-dul*). Cf. also Av. Obokh. *i*, Gid. *ʔi*, And. (Gudava) *ʔinni*, Akhv. Tseg. *ʔin*, Tlan. *ʔimi*, Ratl. *ʔin*, Cham. Gig. *ɪʔi*, Kar. Archo. *ɪʔi*, Tok. *ʔhi*, Chab. *ʔi*.

| Tsez. **ʔɪ* A malt: Tsez. *ʔe*; Gin. *ʔe*; Khvarsh. *ʔi* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *ʔe*; Bezht. *ʔi* (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *ʔi* (*Gunz.*).

PTsKh **ʔɪ* (*ē* in Inkh. is irregular); PGB **ʔi*.

| Lak. *ʔut* malt.

Gen. *ʔut:a-l*; cf. Khosr. *ʔut*, *ʔut:a-l* id.

| Darg. **ʔiʔa* malt: Ak. *ʔiʔa*; Chir. *ʔija*.

Cf. also Ur. *ʔiʔa*, Tsud. *ʔija*, Muir. *ʔe* id.

| Lezg. **ʔun*: 1 malt 2 flour: Lezg. *qut* 1 (*dial.*); Arch. *ʔun* 2.

Cf. Arch. erg. *ʔunne*. 4th class in Arch.

| Khin. *ʔun* flour.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**ʔwɪrʔV* leaf: Av.-And. **ʔol(H)i*; Darg. **ʔa*; Lezg. **ʔuruʔ*; W.-Cauc. **ʔa*.

| Av.-And. **ʔol(H)i* 1 leaf 2 leaves (for tanning): Av. *ʔa* 2; And. *ʔoli* (*Gudava*) 1; Akhv. *ʔade* 1; Cham. *al* (*U.-Gakv.*) 1; Tind. *ali* 1; Kar. *ʔale* 1;

Botl. **ʔali* 1; Bagv. *ʔal* 1; God. *lali* 1.

Av. paradigm A (gen. *ʔá-dul*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *ʔali*, Tlan. *ʔander*, Ratl. *ʔader* (all Akhv. forms except Tseg. go back to a suffixed form **ʔol-di-r*), Kar. Arch. *ale*, Rach. *ʔale*, Chab. *ʔala*, Tok. *alʔi*, Cham. Gig. *al*.

| Darg. **ʔa* foliage: Ak. *ʔa-ri*.

A plural form from PD **ʔa* 'leaf', reflected in Ur., Kub. *ʔa*.

| Lezg. **riʔ*- / **ʔiriʔ* 1 leaf 2 bud: Lezg. *riqI-əj* (*Khl.*) 1; Rut. *quruq* 1; Bud. *kuruk* 2.

Rut. and Bud. reflect a reduplicated form (**ʔiriʔ* > **ʔuruʔ*); the Lezg. form has a frequent suffix *-Vj. 3d class in Rut. and Bud.

| W.-Cauc. **ʔa* 1 leaf 2 foliage: Ad. *ʔā-s* 2; Kab. *ʔā-sa* 2; Ub. *ʔa-pá* 1.

PAK **ʔā-sa* (the second component is not quite clear; without it cf. probably Kab. *ʔši-j* 'plane seeds' = 'belonging to leaves', see Shagirov 2, 53; despite Abdokov 1983, 107 it is hardly a separate WC root). In Ub. cf. also *ʔā-wa* 'leaf', *ʔā-d(ə)ba* 'paper'. The correspondence PAK **ʔ*: Ub. *ʔ* points unambiguously to PWC **ʔ*.

[] The PWC form has a frequent labial prefix (*P-). In PA there occurred a lateral assimilation (*r > l after *ʔ-); otherwise the correspondences are regular, and the comparison can be considered as quite reliable. See Abdokov 1983, 107 (with a basically correct comparison, but citing also many superfluous forms, not belonging to the present root).

ʔwVnʔV* (~-2-) groin; part of leg: Av.-And. **ʔ:anHV* (~-o-, -nd-); Darg. **ʔʷa*; Lezg. **ʔ:on(a)*/wo-ʔ:on(a)*.

| Av.-And. **ʔ:anHV* (~-o-, -nd-) groin: Av. *ʔ:an*; Kar. *ʔ:andi*.

Av. paradigm C or A (pl. *ʔ:ana-l*). Kar. -d- is either a suffix or reflects the cluster *-nH-.

| Darg. **ʔʷa* ankle: Chir. *wa*.

| Lezg. **ʔ:on(a)* / **wo-ʔ:on(a)* 1 ankle 2 wedge 3 nail, peg, stake 4 finger-nail 5 fang: Lezg. *ʔun* 2; Tab. *k:um* 2,3; Ag. *k:un* 1 (*K.*); Rut. *wigin* 2,5; Kryz. *kin* 1; Arch. *ʔ:on-ʔol* 4.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *k:in* 'wedge', Tab. Düb. *gum*, Ag. Fit. *k:um* 'peg'. Obl. base **ʔ:ona-* or **ʔ:onə-* (cf. Lezg. *ʔuna-*). The original meaning must have been 'small bone of leg, ankle' with different later developments. The stem has a variant **wo-ʔ:on(a)* (> Rut. *wigin*) where *w- can be regarded as a class prefix.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are normal (although vocalic reconstruction raises some problems).

*Lā we (1st p. pl. incl.): Nakh. *tχō; Av.-And. *ʔiā:i; Tsez. *ilV A; Darg. *x:a; Lezg. *Lā-n; Khin. ki-n;

| Nakh. *tχō we (excl.): Chech. tχo; Ing. tχo; Bacb. tχo.

PN paradigm: nom. *tχō (length preserved in forms like dat. *tχō-nu > Chech. tχū-na), obl. *tχa- (gen. Chech. tχa-n, Bacb. tχa-jī etc.), erg. *ʔāχu (Chech. oχa, Ing. oaxa, Bacb. atχō - probably with secondary -tχ-).

| Av.-And. *ʔiā:i we (incl.): Av. niā; Chad. niā; And. iā:il; Akhv. iā:i; Cham. iā:i; Tind. iā:a; Kar. iā:i; Botl. iā:i; Bagv. iā:i; God. iā:e.

| Tsez. *ilV A we (1st ps. pl. pronoun): Tsez. eli; Gin. eli; Khvarsh. ila; Inkh. ilo; Bezht. ile; Gunz. ile.

PTsKh *ʔilā, PGB *ʔile. There had certainly existed an obl. base *ʔilu- (cf. Gunz. ilu-, Bezht. ilo-, Tsez. elu-, Gin. elu-, Inkh. ilo-); probably secondary is the distinction between nom. and erg. in Inkh. (ilo - ile) and Tsez. (eli - ela), although the details are yet to be found out.

| Darg. *x:a we (incl.): Chir. nu-x:a.

The form is lost in literary Darg. and most Darg. dialects, where the opposition between inclusive/exclusive was neutralized.

| Lezg. *Lā-n we (incl.): Tab. uxu; Ag. xin; Rut. jā; Kryz. jin; Bud. jin; Arch. nen; Ud. jan.

PL paradigm: *Lā-n, obl. *La-, gen. -iL (cf. Tab. gen. ix, Ag. gen. iš, Arch. obl. la-, gen. -el, Kryz. obl. jā-, Bud. obl. jə-, Ud. obl. ja-). In Rut., Bud. and Ud. this has become the only personal pronoun of the 1st person pl. In Arch. the form nen is obviously dissimilated from *len < *Lā-n. See Giginayshvili 1977, 97; Alekseyev 1975, 70-71.

| Khin. ki-n we (incl.).

[] This is a common EC inclusive 1st person plural pronoun. It is preserved as such in Av.-Andian languages, in some archaic Darg. dialects (Chirag), Khinalug and most Lezghian languages. In PTs it has superseded the old exclusive pronoun *zi and has become the only 1st person plural. The same process must have occurred in PN (where there is no trace of *zi) - the morpheme *Lā > *tχō > *tχō became the only 1st person plural pronoun. Later, however, a new inclusive pronoun (*waj - originally from the 2d sing. *uō, "with you") was introduced in PN, and *tχō became, in its turn, exclusive.

The paradigm of *Lā can be reconstructed as *Lā-(n) (dir. - cf. PL *Lā-n, Khin. ki-n, PN *tχō), *La- (dat. - cf. PL *La-, PN *tχa-), *ʔiL- (gen. - PL *iL-) and *ʔeL- (erg. - PN *ʔāχu). The Av.-And. and Tsez. forms for the most part reflect the original ergative (and/or genitive) stem.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 239; 1930, 273 (although there is hardly any connection with PAT *ha- 'we').

*LāfirV snake: Nakh. *lahi; Lezg. *λ:ar; Khin. kaz; W.-Cauc. *b(ə)La.

| Nakh. *lahi snake: Chech. lāha; Ing. leha; Bacb. lah.

6th class in all languages.

| Lezg. *λ:ar snake: Rut. yar; Kryz. yar (Al.); Bud. jer.

3d class in all languages. Obl. vowel base *λ:ara- (to judge from Rut. yara-). Cf. Leksika 1971, 151.

| Khin. kaz snake.

| W.-Cauc. *b(ə)La snake: Ad. bLa; Kab. bLa.

PAK *bLa.

[] Correspondences are regular (*L in PWC has a secondary palatalisation - because of the merger of original *L and *L̥). The PWC form has a frequent nominal prefix *b(ə)-.

*LafiV soot; charcoal: Av.-And. *laʔi; Darg. *k:a; Lezg. *λ:a-t:Vr.

| Av.-And. *laʔi soot: Av. lah; And. lali (Khaidakov); Tind. lā; Kar. laji; Botl. laj; God. laʔi.

Av. paradigm C (lahú-l, láha-l). Medial -l- in And. is not quite clear (reduplication?).

| Darg. *k:a charcoal: Ak. ga.

Cf. also Ur. ga, Kub. k:a id.

| Lezg. *λ:a-t:Vr charcoal: Tsakh. yadir.

Isolated in Tsakhur; can go back to PEC *LafiV, if we assume that Tsakh. -dir is a former suffix (probably plural).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is not very widely spread, but phonetically and semantically the comparison seems satisfactory. A strange form is Darg. Chir. yanta 'charcoal': it cannot go back to PD *k:a (k:- would be expected in Chir.), and it does not correspond regularly to Tsakh. yadir (thus a separate root cannot be postulated): perhaps it is a loanword from some Lezghian language (e.g., the Lezg. counterpart of Tsakh. yadir would be *yat:V(r)).

*Lām²V (/•Lwān²V) awn: Av.-And. *λ:un²a (/•λ:un²i); Tsez. *λa;

Darg. *k:a; Lezg. *λ:am.

| Av.-And. *λ:un²a (/•λ:un²i) awn: Av. λ:o; Chad. λ:o; And. λ:una; Akhv. λ:uni; Cham. λ:ū; Tind. λ:ū.

Av. paradigm A (erg. λ:ó-c:a, pl. λ:ó-jal). Cf. also Cham. Gig. λ:ūj id.

| Tsez. *λa awn: Tsez. λaβa; Inkh. λaβa; Bezht. λā (Khosh.); Gunz. λa (Nakh.). PTsKh *λa-βa (meaning of the component -βa unclear); PGB *λa.

| Darg. *k:a awn: Ak. *ga-ri*.

Cf. also Ur. *gari* id. -ri is originally the plural suffix (cf. Ur. *kari* 'leaf' < *ka-ri 'foliage' etc.).

| Lezg. *λ:am awn: Rut. *γam*; Tsakh. *γam*.

3d class in Tsakh., but 4th class in Rut. Obl. base not clear (*γamā-* in Rut., but *γami-* in Tsakh. prop.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. All correspondences are regular except for vocalism in PA (*λ:a- would be expected): this could be due to Ablaut (**Łwān*²V / **Łūn*²V-).

**Łār*V (~ *λ-) hare: Nakh. *lar-ik; Av.-And. *λ:an-ka; Khin. *kizä*; W.-Cauc. *La.

| Nakh. *lar-ik hare: Ing. *lerg*.

The simple stem meaning 'hare' is preserved in Ing. Since the word is homonymous with *lerg* (< *larik) 'ear', in Chech. it was reinterpreted and is now only used within a compound *lerg-jāxar* 'hare', lit. 'ear'+long'.

| Av.-And. *λ:an-ka hare: And. *λ:ankala*; Akhv. *λ:āka*; Cham. *λ:ančal/čanλ:al*; Tind. *λ:anka*; Kar. *λ:ankala*; Botl. *λ:ankar*; Bagv. *λ:enkel* (*Khu.*); God. *λ:ankala*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Ratl. *λ:anka*.

| Khin. *kizä* hare.

| W.-Cauc. *La hare: Abkh. *a-žá*; Abaz. *ža, aža*; Ub. *La*.

PAT *ža; Ub. def. *á-La*.

[] The suffixless form is reflected in Khin. (*kizä* < **Łār*V) and PWC (with a regular loss of resonant). PA and PN reflect a diminutive **Łār*V-*kV* (in PA with addition of a further suffix, *-iV: **Łār*V-*kV*iV > *λ:anka(a)). Palatalisation of *L in PWC is, as in several other cases, caused by the early merger of *L and *L̥ in PWC.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 277, Abdokov 1983, 118.

**Łē*tV war, fight: Av.-And. *λ:VIV; Tsez. *λ:olə A; Lak. č:al.

| Av.-And. *λ:VIV war: Av. *λ:al*.

Av. paradigm C (*λ:alú-l*, *λ:ála-l*).

| Tsez. *λ:olə A war, fight: Tsez. *λ:ori*; Gin. *λ:ore*; Khvarsh. *λ:ola*; Inkh. *λ:olo*; Bezht. *λ:alo* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *λ:ole* (*Gunz.*).

PTsKh *λ:orə; PGB *λ:olə.

| Lak. č:al argument, contest.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**Łēm*V bridge: Nakh. *lāmV-j; Tsez. *λ:imu (~-i,-ə,-e); Lak. *lamu*; Darg. *k:imi, *k:im-bi; Khin. *kind*.

| Nakh. *lāmV-j stairs, ladder: Chech. *lami*; Ing. *lomi*.

6th class in both languages. The Bacb. word for 'stairs, ladder' is *lap*; historically it is rather a reflection of PN **lapa* 'shed, penthouse' (q.v.) with a semantic contamination of two roots in Bacb.

| Tsez. *λ:imu (~-i,-ə,-e) bridge, stairs: Gin. *λ:emo*.

Attested only in Gin., but having good external parallels.

| Lak. *lamu* bridge.

| Darg. *k:imi, *k:im-bi bridge: Ak. *gumi*; Chir. č:ime.

Cf. also Ur. *γubi*, Kub. č:imi, Tsud. *k:ubi*. The form with *-bi, reflected in several dialects is the old plural.

| Khin. *kind* bridge, step (of stairs).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Some languages (some Darg. dialects, Khin.) reflect suffixed forms (with *-bV and *-dV, originally probably plural or collective).

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 242 (with some confusion of **Łēm*V and **Łar*HV q.v.). The same confusion is present in Abdokov 1983, 128, who also tries to compare PAK **lamá*žə 'bridge'. However, the morphological structure of the Adygh form is not clear (see Shagirov 1, 250), and the correspondence EC *L̥ : WC *λ is irregular, so this comparison should be rejected.

**Łəd*wi / **Łə*Łədwi corn: Nakh. *jalata (~-λ-); Av.-And. *λ:il̥tu (/ *λ-); Lak. č:ati; Lezg. *λ:at.

| Nakh. *jalata (~-λ-) corn: Chech. *jalta*; Ing. *jalat*.

3d class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *λ:il̥tu (/ *λ-) 1 seed 2 flax: Cham. *λ:in̥t*; Tind. *λ:etu*; Kar. *λ:et̥u*.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. *et̥u* 'flax', Cham. Gig. *λ:et̥u* 'barberry'. The Kar. forms point to a weak *λ-; this is probably a result of assimilation to the weak -t-. Tind. > Inkh. *λ:et̥u* 'seed'.

| Lak. č:at:i food made of butter, flax seeds and sugar.

| Lezg. *λ:at: corn: Lezg. *gad*; Tab. *gad*.

Obl. base *λ:at:i- ~ *λ:at:e- (cf. Lezg. *gat:u-*). In Tab. the word is used only in *gad apuz* 'to thresh, to winnow' (lit. 'to make corn').

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PN form is a dissimilation < **lal(a)ta*; PA *λ:il̥tu < *λ:ildu. Cf. also Hurr. *kadā* 'barley' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 28).

**Łö*li colour; to paint: Av.-And. *λ:iri; Darg. *k:uli; Lezg. *λ:al; W.-Cauc. *La-.

| Av.-And. *λ:iri colour: Av. *λ:er*; Akhv. *λ:eri*; Kar. *λ:ere*; God. *λ:eri*.

| Darg. *k:uli 1 skin 2 sheepskin: Ak. *guli* 1,2; Chir. *k:ule* 2.

Cf. also Ur. *γuli*, Kub. *k:ule* 'skin, hide' etc.

| Lezg. *λ:al bark, shell: Tab. *yal*; Ag. *gal* (*Bursh.*); Ud. *qIol*.

Obl. stem *λ:ole- or *λ:ola- (the vowel *-o- is suggested by Ud. *qIol*; cf. Tab. *γáli-*).

| W.-Cauc. *La- to paint: Ad. *La-*; Kab. *La-*; Ub. *La-*.

PAK *La-. Since the PAK and Ub. forms correspond perfectly to each other, Shagirov's (1,242) complicated reasoning and reconstruction of the original meaning 'good, to rejoice' seems absolutely unnecessary (to say nothing of linking the root with Abkh. *a-g²ə-r-βa-ra* which is phonetically impossible).

[] The semantic correlation 'skin': 'colour' is observed also in several other roots, thus the etymology is fully justified. The phonetic side of it is also quite regular

(in PWC we should expect *L - a phoneme which is absent in the system, and must have merged early with *L).

In WC languages the root is verbal, in EC - nominal; the only trace of its verbal usage is perhaps a Lak. form (recorded in the Khosrek dialect) *-u=k:a-n* 'to paint'.

Abdokov (1983, 77) quotes also Kab. *La, q:ʷə-La* 'inner side of skin' (which he compares with heterogeneous EC material, having nothing to do with the present root); if it really exists (we could not find it in existing dictionaries), it may be a remnant of **Loli* with the meaning 'skin'.

**LōlV* guest, neighbour: Nakh. **lōlu*; Av.-And. **λ:irV*; Tsez. **λir* (~ -e, -ə, -l); Khin. *kijā*.

| Nakh. **lōlu* neighbour: Chech. *lūla-χō*; Ing. *lōla-χo*.

The vowel difference between Chech. and Ing. is explained by the former paradigm: dir. base **lōlu* (> Chech. *lūla-*), obl. base **lālu-* (> Ing. *lōla-*). The root is used also in an adverbial function: Chech. *lūla*, Ing. *lala* 'in the neighbourhood'.

| Av.-And. **λ:irV* 1 person of the same age 2 parent-in-law: Av. *λ:er-ila-w* 1; Akhv. -*λ:e* 2; Kar. -*λ:er* 2; God. -*λ:ur* 2.

In Andian languages the root is used in compounds **ima-λ:ir* 'father-in-law' (*'father-guest'), **ila-λ:ir* 'mother-in-law' (*'mother-guest'): Akhv. *ima-λ:e*, *ila-λ:e* (Tseg. *ima-λ:ur*, *ila-λ:or*), Kar. *ima-λ:er*, *ila-λ:er* etc. A form -*λ:eb* is witnessed in The Ratlub dialect of Akhvakh (*ime-λ:eb*, *ila-λ:eb*): historically this is a plural form **λ:ir-bi*, corresponding to the PTs variant **λar-ba*.

In Avar, besides *λ:er-ila-w* 'person of the same age' (*'companion') the root is used also in the kinship terminology: *w-aλ:á-d* 'father-in-law', *j-aλ:á-d* 'mother-in-law' (< **uV-/jV-λ:er-dV* with the historical adjectival suffix *-dV).

| Tsez. **λir* (~ -e, -ə, -l) guest: Tsez. *λirba*; Gin. *λerba*; Khvarsh. *λar*; Inkh. *λar*.

PTsKh **λar* (with a variant **λar-ba* - which is historically a plural form).

| Khin. *kijā* guest.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. Cf. also the HU parallels: Hurr. *lula-χ:ə* 'foreigner' (= PN **lōlu-χaw*), Urart. *lul-ue* 'foreigner, enemy' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 48). Abdokov (1983, 88) compares the Andian forms (with the secondary meaning 'parent-in-law') with Ad. *šʷə* in *šʷə-gʷāš* 'mother-in-law', *šʷə-pš* 'father-in-law'. These forms, however, being quite isolated in WC, should be rather analyzed as metaphoric compounds meaning originally 'fair princess'/'fair prince'; at any rate, Ad. *šʷ-* (going back to PWC **čʷ*) can not correspond to PEC **L*.

**LūfiV* seam, sewing pattern: Nakh. **lo*; Av.-And. **λ:VHV*.

| Nakh. **lo* 1 basting, tacking 2 (sewing) pattern: Chech. *lol* 1; Ing. *lo* 2.

Chech. obl. base *lala-ra-* (-l in *lol* is historically a suffix, as seen from the Ingush form).

| Av.-And. **λ:VHV* seam: Av. *λ:eʷ*.

Av. paradigm C (*λ:oʷó-l*, *λ:úʷ-dul*).

[] A Nakh-Avar isogloss.

**LürdV* a k. of horned animal: Av.-And. **λidir* (?); Tsez. **L:ed* A; Lak. *gada*; Darg. **gada*; Lezg. **λ:ert:(a)*.

| Av.-And. **λidir* calf: And. *λedir*; Akhv. *λeje* / *λē*; Cham. *λedi*; Tind. *λēr*; Kar. *λeder*; Bagv. *λeder* (*Tlis.*).

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *λeder*, Ratl. *λider*, Cham. Gig. *λedir*.

| Tsez. **L:ed* A 1 deer 2 female deer: Tsez. *λid* 2; Gin. *λid* 2; Khvarsh. *λed* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *λed* 1; Bezht. *led*; Gunz. *lād*.

PTsKh **λed*; PGB **led* (with a strange reflex -ə in Gunz. - perhaps, a misspelling?). In Inkh. one would rather expect **led* (and reconstruct PTsKh **Led*); perhaps we deal with a loanword from Khvarshi?

| Lak. *gada* kid.

May be a loanword from Darg.

| Darg. **gada* kid (less than 1 y. old): Chir. *γada*.

| Lezg. **λ:ert:(a)* steer: Tab. *žerd*; Ag. *jard*.

Cf. also Tab.Düb. *žarda* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are normal (although the vowel *-ü-, as usual, raises some doubts), although PA has a quite unexpected **λ-* (regularly **l-* would be expected). This may be a dissimilation in voice; or, perhaps, other languages have undergone a secondary voicing **λ-* > **L-* before the next voiced *-d- - in this case we should reconstruct PEC **λürdV*. [The Darg. and Lak. words for 'kid' should not be confused with a widely spread word for 'boy' in Lezghian languages - Lezg. *gada*, Tsakh. *gade* etc. - which is a loan from Azer. *gädä* 'boy; beggar' < Pers.].

**LVmV* one day (two days) after tomorrow: Nakh. **lamo*; Av.-And. **lan-dV* (~ -o-).

| Nakh. **lamo* day after tomorrow: Chech. *lama*; Ing. *lomma*; Bacb. *lamō*.

Gemination (-mm-) in Ing. is probably secondary.

| Av.-And. **lan-dV* (~ -o-) two days after tomorrow: Av. *lé-ze*; Akhv. *ladu* / *loda*; Cham. *ladu* (Gig.); Tind. *dandi*; Kar. *ladi*; Bagv. *nid*.

The root **lan-* (~ -o-) is accompanied by original case suffixes (-ze in Av., *-dV in PA). In Tindi there occurred a dissimilation (*dandi* < **landi*; cf. an analogous process in Akhv. Ratl. *rodi-li* = Tseg. *lod-le* id.); in Bagv. - an assimilation (*nid* < **lan-di*; cf. an analogous process in Kar. Tok. *nadi-ba* id.).

[] A Nakh-Av.-And. isogloss. Initial **l-* can be also reconstructed (on basis of PN **l-* : PA **l-*, Av. *l-*); but **L* seems more probable because the root structures **RVRV* is very rare in PEC.

**LwēlV* enclosure, fence: Av.-And. **kʷili*; Tsez. **kʷolV* B; Lezg.

**λ:ʷel(a)*.

| Av.-And. *k^wili an open enclosure (for sheep): Av. *lol*; Akhv. *kolo*; Cham. *k^wel*; Tind. *koli*; Kar. *koli* (Tok.).

Av. paradigm B ~ C (gen. *loli-l*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *koli* id. The correspondence Av. l- : PA *k^w- points to a lateral *L^w in Proto-Av.-And.

| Tsez. *k^wɔIV B fence: Tsez. *kuro*; Gin. *kore*; Khvarsh. *k^were* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *k^were*; Bezht. *kalo*; Gunz. *kɔle*.

PTsKh *k^w/ɔ/Re (with not quite regular vocalic correspondence); PGB *kɔIV.

| Lezg. *λ^wel(a) yard, place in front of the house: Arch. *λoli*.

Isolated in Arch., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of the few roots demonstrating the development of labialized *L^w in EC languages.

*L^werV hard; severe, stern: Nakh. *luri-n; Av.-And. *λ^warV- (~ -o-); Tsez. *iλ^wV(-ru); Darg. *-irk:(^w)V-l-; W.-Cauc. *pVɛV.

| Nakh. *luri-n severe, dangerous: Chech. *lura*; Ing. *lira*.

| Av.-And. *λ^warV- (~ -o-) 1 hard, firm; severe, cruel 2 quick, swift: Av. *λ^wara-ra-b* 1; Cham. *λ^wari-dda* 2.

Both forms are morphologically deverbal: cf. Av. *λ^war-* 'to harden, become severe' (in Cham. the verbal stem is not attested).

| Tsez. *iλ^wV(-ru) 1 hard 2 quick, swift: Tsez. *-alλo-w* 1,2; Gin. *-oλoju* 1,2; Khvarsh. *-ejλu* 1,2; Inkh. *-iλλu* 1; Bezht. *-iλaro* (Tlad.); Gunz. *-iλeru* (Gunz.) 1.

PTsKh *iλ^wV-ju; PGB *iλVru. In PTsKh *-ru (analysed as a frequent adjectival suffix) was superseded by a functionally analogous morpheme, *-ju - but external data are in favour of considering *-ru here as belonging to the root. Bokarev lists in Gunzib *r-iλeru* 'cruel' which is obviously the same word as the MSU recording *-iλeru* 'hard'.

| Darg. *-irk:(^w)V-l- dangerous, harmful: Ak. *d-irgal-si*.

| W.-Cauc. *pVɛV 1 hard, firm 2 stingy, miserly 3 proud, arrogant: Abkh. *a-baḡá* 1; Abaz. *baḡa* 1,2; Ad. *pāya* 3; Kab. *pāya* 3; Ub. *ḡabá* 1.

PAT *baḡa; PAK *paḡa; in Ub. - a metathesis (*ḡabá* < *baḡá). Semantically and phonetically the forms are very close, and the correspondence PAT *ḡ : PAK *ḡ : Ub. ḡ points to the PWC palatalised lateral *L̥. Therefore Shagirov's explanation of the Adygh form as *pa 'nose' + *bḡa 'mountain' is hardly acceptable (although an analogy with *pa 'nose' is possible).

[] The EC-WC comparison seems rather probable (note also the recurrence of meanings 'hard' and 'severe, proud' in both subgroups of NC). The protoform can be reconstructed as *L^werV (without class prefixation) or as *iL^werV (in the latter case the PTs and PD forms must be considered as most archaic). The initial labial in PWC (which has caused the usual dissimilative delabialisation of the following consonant) also can be regarded as a former prefixed class marker.

*m^sVlqV lizard: Nakh. *m^selq̄u; Lak. *wililq̄i*; Lezg. *mVllq̄IV.

| Nakh. *m^selq̄u lizard: Chech. *mölq̄a*; Ing. *mel^sa*.

Cf. also Cheb. *mjelq̄u*, Shar. *mjolq̄o*, Khild. *mjolq̄u* etc. 6th class in Chech., 4th class in Ing. The shift -lq̄- > -l^s- in Ing. points to an original cluster: *m^selq̄u > *mēl^su > *mel^sa*.

| Lak. *wililq̄i* centipede, earwig.

Quoted from Khaidakov 1966.

| Lezg. *mVllq̄IV lizard: Rut. *maqlawaql*.

An isolated and expressive Rut. form (possibly partially reduplicated), but with possible external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Initial w- in Lak. is not quite clear (unless it points to *μ-, nasalized in other subgroups). It is interesting to note the Darg. word for 'snake': Chir., Kub. *maIl^sun* - it could well be related to this root, but presently must be analyzed as an Arabic loan: Arab. *mal^sun* 'accursed, the accursed one, devil'. This may be regarded as a case of contamination of a genuine root with a recent loanword.

*m^sVtV dirt: Nakh. *m^sute; Av.-And. *maṭa (~ o); Khin. *miṭir*.

| Nakh. *m^sute 1 dirt 2 dirt (on face, body, cloth): Chech. *moda* 2; Ing. *m^sad* 2; Bacb. *mujti* 1.

PN paradigm *m^sute, obl. *m^satV-; the obl. base superseded the direct one in Chech. (where *moda* < *m^sat^u-) and Ing. 4th class in Chech., Ing., 6th class in Bacb. Cf. also Bacb. *muṭo-rē(n)* 'dirty'.

| Av.-And. *maṭa (~ o) birds' ordure: Tind. *maṭa*.

Attested only in Tind., but having probable external parallels. Tind. > Inkh. *maṭa* id.

| Khin. *miṭir* sheep's dung.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. There is not enough evidence to make a secure reconstruction of vowels, but the root seems generally reliable.

*maGwV word, sound, song: Nakh. *moq (~ -o-); Lak. *maq*; Lezg. *ma[q^w]; W.-Cauc. *maq:V.

| Nakh. *moq (~ -o-) song: Bacb. *moq*.

Isolated in Bacb., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *maq* word.

Gen. *muq:u-l*. Cf. Khosr. *maq*, *muq:u-l* id.

| Lezg. *ma[q^w] 1 tale 2 song: Lezg. *maḡ* (Nūt.) 1; Tab. *maq^w* 1; Bud. *maḡ* 1; Ud. *maḡ* 2.

The Tab. form (cf. also Düb. *maq*) is irregular: *maḡ^w* would be expected.

The reason is probably a contamination of two originally different roots: *maq: 'word' and *ma(r)χ 'tale, fairy-tale' q.v.

| W.-Cauc. *maq:V sound, voice: Ad. māq:a; Kab. māq:.

PAK *maq:V. In view of the external evidence the root should be treated as a whole, and Shagirov's (1,259) hypothesis about its morphological complexity does not seem convincing.

[] As in many other cases, the PWC form has undergone a dissimilatory delabialisation (*q: > *q: after the initial labial). Otherwise correspondences are regular.

*māfɪwV (~ -ō-) fat, grease: Nakh. *moh; Tsez. *moh(V) B; Lak. maj; Lezg. *ma?I; Khin. mi.

| Nakh. *moh fat (n.): Chech. moh; Ing. muh.

Obl. base *mahar-, cf. Chech. mahara-, Ing. maharo. 4th class in Chech., but 6th class in Ing. -u- in Ing. is due to labialization after m-.

| Tsez. *moh(V) B fat (n.): Tsez. mo; Gin. mi?i / mihi; Khvarsh. mu (Radzhibov); Inkh. mu; Bezht. mähä; Gunz. ma?a.

PTsKh *mō?(e) (cf. also Gin. by Lomtadze mū?i; Khvarsh. and Inkh. -u- is not quite clear); PGB *moh (the Gunz. form probably is a misspelling for mō?o, cf. also the notation for Nakhada dialect: ma?o).

| Lak. maj fat (n.).

4th class. Cf. Khosr. maj id.

| Lezg. *ma?I fat (n.): Lezg. maq; Ag. mav; Rut. ma?; Tsakh. ma?; Kryz. mā?; Bud. ma?; Arch. maj.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. ma?. Obl. vowel base *ma?Ii-, cf. Ag. mavu-, Tsakh. maji-. 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

| Khin. mi fat (n.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*malčV clay; pebbles: Av.-And. *mVč:Vl (/r-); Tsez. *mis:V A; Lezg. *marčil (~lč-).

| Av.-And. *mVč:Vl (/r-) 1 argillaceous schist 2 sand: Av. mič:il 1; Chad. muceru 2.

Av. paradigm C (pl. máč:la-l). From Av. the word was borrowed into Akhv. (mič:i, Tseg. mič:ir 'clay').

| Tsez. *mis:V A 1 sand 2 road metal: Gin. mese 1; Bezht. miso 1; Gunz. misu 2.

PGB *misu.

| Lezg. *marčil (~lč-) pebble: Lezg. marčil.

The word is isolated in Lezghi, but has good external parallels (indicating that -l is a suffix).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*malšwV slope; muzzle, face: Nakh. *marš (~ā-); Lak. marš:a; Lezg. *maš(a).

| Nakh. *marš (~ā-) muzzle: Chech. marš.

Isolated in Chech. (obl. base marša-), thus the vowel length is not clear.

| Lak. marš:a meadow (on slope of a hill).

| Lezg. *maš(a) 1 slope 2 muzzle 3 face: Tab. maš 1,2,3; Ag. maš 3 (Bursh.).

Cf. also Tab. Düb. maš id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*malxwē pasture; farmstead, temporary abode: Av.-And. *marxV;

Lak. maš:i; Darg. *max:i; Lezg. *maλ:(ij); W.-Cauc. *PəxV.

| Av.-And. *marxV farmstead: Av. mārxi.

Av. paradigm A or C (plur. mārxa-bi).

| Lak. maš:i farmstead.

Cf. Khosr. maš:i id.

| Darg. *max:i farmstead: Ak. maxi.

Cf. also Ur. maxi, Kait. max:i, Kub. maš:e, Sirg. maš:i, Kharb. max:i.

| Lezg. *maλ:(ij) 1 cattle-shed 2 sheep-fold 3 winter pasture: Tab. maxi 2; Ag. mex 2; Rut. mexi (Ikhr.) 1; Tsakh. maxi (dial.) 1; Arch. maλ:i 3.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. max:, Ag. Fit. mex (preserving the old labialisation). The Tsakh. form is cited from Ibragimov 1978, and the dialect is unknown. 4th class in Arch.

See Giginayshvili 1977, 128.

| W.-Cauc. *PəxV 1 to graze (at night) 2 to spend a night 3 hut: Abkh. a-p'xa-rá 2; Abaz. p'xa-ra 2; Ad. pšə-pa 3; Kab. xa-pšə-n 1.

PAT *pəxa-; PAK *pšə-. In PAK the verb has been preserved only (with a locative prefix) in Kab. (Abdokov gives also the meaning 'spend some time', whereas the Kab.-Russ. dictionary only gives the gloss 'to graze (at night, of horses, oxen etc.)'. Adyghe reflects only the compound *pšə-pqa 'place of temporary abode', 'hut' (borrowed in Ub. as pšəpqa 'lieu d'assemblée en plein air'); cf. also another derivative in Kab. pšə-?a 'hut'.

See Abdokov 1983, 128-129 with the correct AT-AK comparison (the author quotes also an Ub. verb pšə- 'to abide, stay temporarily' - which we were unable to identify and which is probably faulty: in Ub. we should regularly expect a form like pšə-). Because of the obvious AT cognate, Shagirov's identification of the present root with PWC *pəλ: 'to blow' (q.v.) should certainly be rejected.

[] Although it is not excluded that some of the above forms are old interdialectal borrowings, correspondences are regular and the PNC reconstruction seems plausible.

Cf. Trubetzkoy 1922, 239 (for EC); Abdokov 1983, 128-129.

*mārλwÄ cloud, rain-cloud: Nakh. *marxo; Lak. bark; Darg.

*mark(°)a; Lezg. *marλ°; W.-Cauc. *pəλa.

| Nakh. *marxo cloud: Chech. marxa; Ing. morx.

4th class in both languages.

| Lak. bark a high cloud.

Gen. pl. bark-urdil.

| Darg. *mark(°)a rain; dew: Ak. marka.

Cf. also Ur., Kait. marka, Kub. māka etc. Labialisation seems to be

preserved in Tsud. *mark^wa*, and also in Arch. *mak^w* 'dew' which is an old loanword from Darg.

| Lezg. **marλ^w* 1 rain 2 foam: Lezg. *marf* 1; Tab. *marx* 1; Ag. *marf* 1 (Fit.); Rut. *maf* 1 (Khniukh.); Bud. *məf* 1; Arch. *moλ* 2.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *marx*, Arch. erg. *miλi*. Obl. base unknown. 3d class in Arch., but 4th class in Rut. and Bud.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 240.

| W.-Cauc. **pəλa* cloud: Ad. *pša*; Kab. *pša*.

PAK **pča*. Shagirov's etymology (2,28) from **psə-ča* 'bringing water' is not enough grounded phonetically. Since PAK **č* regularly goes back to PAT **λ* we prefer to compare the AK root directly with the EC material.

[] Correspondences are regular: in PWC a usual denasalisation of **m*- before a (former) medial liquid, and delabialisation **λ^w* > **λ* after a labial initial. Not quite clear, however, is the denasalisation (*m*- > *b*-) in the Lak. dialectal form. The comparison seems quite reliable both phonetically and semantically.

**marχalV* (~ -ə-, -t-) snow, snow-drift: Lak. *marχ:ala*; Darg. **marχ:alV*; Lezg. **malχ:al(a)*.

| Lak. *marχ:ala* snow.

Cf. Khosr. *marχ:ala* id.

| Darg. **marχ:alV* snow: Chir. *marχ:ale*.

| Lezg. **malχ:al(a)* 1 snow-drift 2 snow 3 heap: Lezg. *marβal* 1; Tab. *marβ^wal* 1; Kryz. *marχal* 1; Bud. *malχal* 1; Arch. *marχ:əla* 2; Ud. *marχal* 3.

3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. The Archi word may be borrowed from Lak., but may also be genuine. Shakhdag *>* Khin. *malχal* 'big mass of snow'.

[] Basically a Lak-Lezg. isogloss (the Chir. form is isolated among Dargwa dialects, and may be borrowed from Lak).

**mās^wV* (~ -t-, -s-) a k. of food made of milk: Nakh. **maša*; Lak. *mas*.

| Nakh. **maša* milk product: Chech. *maša*; Ing. *maša*.
3d class in both languages.

| Lak. *mas* boiled fermented milk.

Tenseness of -s is unclear (gen. *masli-l*).

[] A Nakh-Lak. isogloss.

**mas^wĒ* (~ -ə-) price, pay: Lak. *maša*; Darg. **mas:*; Lezg. **mas:*; W.-Cauc. **s^wa*.

| Lak. *maša* trade.

| Darg. **mas:* wares, goods: Ak. *mas*.

| Lezg. **mas:* 1 price 2 to sell: Lezg. *mas* 1; Tab. *masu t:uwus* 2; Ag. *masa jis* 2; Rut. *masi wis* 2; Tsakh. *mas:a heles* 2; Kryz. *mazä wujež* 2; Arch. *mas* 1.

The noun itself is preserved in Lezg. and Archi (for tense **s*: cf. the Archi conjunctive form *mas:u* 'and the price'). In other languages the root is

used in compounds meaning 'to sell' ('give (for) a price') or 'to buy' ('take (for) a price'); cf. also Lezg. *masa gun*, Tab. Düb. *mas:u duwus* 'to sell'. Judging from these forms, the PL obl. base can be reconstructed as **mas:a-*.

| W.-Cauc. **s^wa* 1 price 2 to pay: Abkh. *a-s^wa-rá* 2; Abaz. *s^wa-ra* 2; Ub. *s^wa* 1.

PAT **s^wa-*.

[] An interesting common NC root. Correspondences are fully regular (including a regular loss of **m*- in a WC verbal root). Cf. also HU: Urart. *meš-* 'to collect', *mešə* 'tribute' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 22).

**ma* (~ -ə) a prohibitive particle: Nakh. **ma*; Tsez. **-m*; Lak. *ma*; Lezg. **mV*; W.-Cauc. **mə*.

| Nakh. **ma* a prohibitive particle ('do not...'): Chech. *ma*; Ing. *ma*; Bacb. *ma*.

| Tsez. **-m* a negative particle: Tsez. *-n-č*; Gin. *-go-m*; Khvarsh. *-b-č*; Inkh. *-b-*.

PTsKh **-m* (only in compounds with other particles; Tsez. *-n-* in *-n-č-* is a result of assimilation). Reasons for denasalisation in Khvarsh. and Inkh. are not quite clear.

| Lak. *ma* a prohibitive particle.

| Lezg. **mV* a prohibitive particle: Lezg. *-mir*; Tab. *m-*; Ag. *m-*; Rut. *m-*; Tsakh. *m-*; Kryz. *m-*; Bud. *m-*; Ud. *ma*.

Mostly used as a prefix, although in Ud. the particle has conserved its separate status.

See Алексеев 1985, 100.

| W.-Cauc. **mə* not (negative particle): Abkh. *m-*; Abaz. *-m-*; Ad. *mə-*; Kab. *mə-*; Ub. *-m(a)-*.

Used in AA and Ub. as both negative and prohibitive particle; in the AK languages it is a common prohibitive morpheme and is also used in deverbatives (e.g., in infinitives etc.); as a general negative morpheme it was absolutely lost in Ad., and in Kabardian stayed only within the complex negative suffix *-q:ə-m*.

[] A common NC prohibitive particle (its use as a general negation in some subgroups is probably secondary). See Trubetzkoy 1930, 273.

**māfini* (~-u) brain, head: Nakh. **min-*; Av.-And. **min[?]a-r*; Lak. *nal*; Darg. **meħa*; Lezg. **mahl*.

| Nakh. **min-* occipital bone, cervical vertebra: Chech. *min-dä[?]aχk*.
(*dä[?]aχk* 'bone').

| Av.-And. **min[?]a-r* head: And. *mijar*; Akhv. *mina*; Tind. *minar* (Akn.); Kar. *minar* (Anch., Tok.).

Cf. also And. (Gudava) *mijari*, Akhv. Tseg. *mirar*, Ratl. *milar*.

| Lak. *nal* brain.

Lak. *n-* is probably secondary, cf. Bartkh. *mal-* in *mal-lagan* 'head is going round'.

| Darg. **meħa* brain: Ak. *meħe*; Chir. *ma[?]*.

Cf. also Ur. *maħa*, Kait. *maʕ*, Kub. *mā* (*maʔa*), Kharb. *meħa*.

| Lezg. **mahl* 1 brain 2 marrow: Tab. *maʔ*; Rut. *majä*; Tsakh. *mahl*; Arch. *maj*; Ud. *mal*.

For the obl. base cf. Tsakh. *mahl-i*. 3d class in Rut., Tsakh., 4th class in Arch. A similar root exists in Turkic languages, but the possibility of borrowing is excluded (first, because the root has secure correspondences in other Daghestanian languages; second, because in Turkish and Azeri - the possible source of borrowing - the word sounds *bejin*).

[] Reconstructed for PEC. Correspondences are regular.

**m[ä]nɣwV* sickle: Nakh. **nōχ*; Av.-And. **niλV*; Tsez. **biλ:aj*; Lak. *mirx*; Darg. **mirx*; Lezg. **manλʷ(a)* (~ -λ:ʷ-).

| Nakh. **nōχ* plough: Chech. *noχ*; Ing. *nuχ*.

3d class in both languages. Obl. base **naχo-rV-* (Chech. *naχara-*, Ing. *noχaro*).

| Av.-And. **niλV* sickle: Av. *niλ*; Chad. *niλ*.

Av. paradigm C (plur. *niλa-l*; Chad. *notó-l*, *níta-l*).

| Tsez. **biλ:aj* 1 dagger 2 sabre: Tsez. *beλaj* 1,2; Gin. *beλaj* 2; Khvarsh. *beλaj* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *biλaj* 1; Bezht. *baλaj* (*Khosh*) 1; Gunz. *baλaj* 1.

PTsKh **biλaj*; PGB **baλaj*. In PGB there occurred a vocalic assimilation (**baλaj* < **biλaj* ~ -i-).

| Lak. *mirx* sickle.

Cf. Khosr. *mirx*, *mirx:ira-* - pointing to a strong **x*: in Proto-Lak.

| Darg. **mirx*: sickle: Ak. *mirš*; Chir. *mirx*:

Cf. also Sirg., Kait. *mix*, Ur. *mirš*, Gapsh. *mix*; Kub. *mīx*, Kharb. *mīš*, Tsud. *mirx* / *mix*. Forms with weak *x* (or -š < **x*) probably reflect a contamination with the verbal root *-irx- 'to reap' q.v.

| Lezg. **manλʷ(a)* (~ -λ:ʷ-) 1 sickle 2 superiority in reaping: Rut. *marf* 2 (*Khniukh*); Ud. *mex* 1.

Cf. Ud. (MSU) *miχ*. 4th class in Rut. PL *-n- regularly gives Rut. -r before a lateral (*-r- would have been lost in this position) and disappears in Udi.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The hypothesis of derivation from *-ixA 'to reap' (Klimov 1971, 227) is tempting, but there are some obstacles: medial *-n- (reconstructed because of the supposed PL *-n- and of PN and Av. initial n-); labialisation of *xw; difference in tenseness. It is probably wiser to think of a secondary contamination of the two roots in some languages (Av.-And. and Darg.).

**mā[r]ə* (~-o) handful, armful: Nakh. **morλ*; Av.-And. **lum-ur* (~ **λ-*); Tsez. **mi[λ]u* (~-i-); Lezg. **mā[r]ə*.

| Nakh. **morλ* 1 armful 2 to embrace: Chech. *mor* 1; Ing. *morh* 1; Bacb. *morλ-bar* 2.

PN paradigm **morλ*, **marλV-* (cf. the archaic adv. Chech. *mara* 'into one's arms', Bacb. *majrλa d-olar* 'to embrace'; the present obl. base Chech. *mora-*, Ing. *morho* is a result of secondary vowel levelling). 6th class in Chech. and Ing.

| Av.-And. **lum-ur* (~ **λ-*) handful: And. *lumur*; Cham. *lum*; Tind. *humur*; Kar. *humur* (*Tok.*); Botl. *humuru*; Bagv. *humara*.

Since the root is not attested in Akhv., **λ* or **λ* may be reconstructed. Note, however, an irregularity: in Tind. and Kar. we should expect *λ-* in any case (only the Botl. and Bagv. *h-* are regular).

| Tsez. **mi[λ]u* (~-i-) handful: Tsez. *meru*; Gin. *meλu*.

A strange case of a -r:-λ- correspondence between Tsez. and Gin.

| Lezg. **mā[r]ə* handful: Lezg. *mekʷ*; Tab. *miγ*; Ag. *mex*; Rut. *māx*; Tsakh. *mex*; Kryz. *mek*; Bud. *mek*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *mex*, Ag. Bursh. *mers* (this is the only form pointing to *-r-, but probably, archaic). Obl. base **mi[r]ə/a-* (cf. Tab. *miγa-*, Kryz. *mik-*). 3d class in Kryz., Bud., 4th class in Rut.

Reconstruction of the final consonant is complicated (correspondences are rather unique) - probably because of a specific development of the cluster **rλ*. In any case, there is no doubt that the consonant had been lateral (cf. reflexes in Lezg. dialects, Ag., Rut. and Tsakh.).

See Leksika 1971, 171.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The comparison is very probable, although strange phonetically: a lot of irregularities in the development of **λ* in all subgroups. Maybe this is due to a special development of a rare cluster *-rλ-? A metathesis similar to the one that occurred in PA, apparently happened also in HU: cf. Hurr. *šummā* 'hand' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 23).

**mā(r)əwī* ice: Lak. *miχ*; Darg. **miγ*; Lezg. **merλ:ʷ*; Khin. *miχ*; W.-Cauc. **məLə*.

| Lak. *miχ* ice, hail.

Cf. Khosr. *miχ* id.

| Darg. **miγ* ice: Ak. *miʔ*; Chir. *miγ*.

Cf. also Ur. *miʔ*, Kub. *mig* id.

| Lezg. **merλ:ʷ* 1 ice 2 icy water: Lezg. *murk* 1; Tab. *mirk*: 1; Ag. *merk:ʷ* 1; Rut. *mik* 1; Tsakh. *mik* 1; Kryz. *mik* 1; Bud. *muk* 1; Arch. *muλ:á-λ*: 2.

Cf. also Lezg. erg. *murkadi*, Khl. *mirk*, *mirk*adi*, Tab. Kand. *merk*;, Düb. *mirk:i*. 4th class in Rut., Tsakh., but 3d class in Kryz., Bud. and Archi. Obl. base **merλ:ʷ-i-*, cf. Tsakh. *mik:i-* (most other languages reflect only consonantal obl. bases). The Archi word is a historical subessive case ('under the ice').

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 83; Leksika 1971, 189; Giginayshvili 1977, 70.

| Khin. *miχ* ice.

| W.-Cauc. **məLə* ice: Ad. *məLə*; Kab. *məL*.

PAK **məLə*.

[] The EC-WC comparison was proposed by Trubetzkoy. Dissimilatory delabialisation after an initial labial is normal in PWC, as well as the palatalized reflex **Ł* (since non-palatalized **L* is not reconstructed). A minor phonetic problem is, however, the preservation of nasal **m-* in PWC (a non-nasal **P-* would be expected

before the following -r-resonant). It is not to be excluded, however, that *-r- in the PL form *merλ. is secondary (duplicating the -r- of the oblique stem *meλ.V-rV- > *merλ.V-rV-, cf. modern obl. stems like Ag. merk:ur-a-, Bursh. mīrk:-ri-, Rut. mikirī-, Kryz. mikir-). In that case *māλwī should be reconstructed for PEC, and the PWC correspondence would be wholly regular.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241, 243; 1930, 276; Abdokov 1983, 97.

*māsA tinder: Darg. *mis, *misV-la; Lezg. *mās; W.-Cauc. *māsa.

| Darg. *mis, *misV-la tinder: Ak. milha / mirha; Chir. mis.

Ak. milha / mirha goes back to *mis with a *-la suffix; the Russ.-Darg. dictionary also lists a form milta, which must be actually a form from the Kubachi dialect (with the typical development *s > t).

| Lezg. *mās tinder: Lezg. čimaç (Khl.); Ag. mes; Rut. čimās / čümās; Tsakh. čimis.

Cf. also Tsakh. Gelm. čimes id. The Lezg., Rut. and Tsakh. form reflect the PL compound *čoji-mās (with *čoji-, the obl. stem of *čaj 'fire', lit. 'fire-tinder'; the Lezg. form underwent assimilation - čimaç < *čimas). Labialisation in Ag. is probably secondary (assimilation to m-, or analogical from the obl. base mes-ura-). 4th class in Rut., but 3d class in Tsakhur.

| W.-Cauc. *māsa tinder: Abkh. a-č'vmsá; Abaz. č'vmsa; Ub. pa-msá.

PAT *c'v-māsa (cf. also Bzyb. a-č'vmsá; the first part of the compound reflects the root 'fire', see *mAç'a). The Ubykh form is also a compound, with a not quite clear first component (perhaps it can be identified with pa- 'beech-tree', and the whole word originally means 'tinder made of tree fungus').

[] The EC-WC comparison seems quite reliable. Note the identical compounds (with 'fire'): PL *čoji-mās = PAT *c'v-māsa.

*meçuri (~-ī-) beard; long hair: Nakh. *merç (~-ē-, -3); Lak. çiri; Darg. *muçur; Lezg. *moçor, *moçor-ij.

| Nakh. *merç (~-ē-, -3) hair in horse's tail: Chech. merz; Ing. merz.

6th class in Chech., 5th class in Ing. Cf. also Chech. Shar., Khild. mjerz. Original vowel length unclear.

| Lak. çiri beard.

| Darg. *muçur 1 beard 2 chin: Ak. muçur 1; Chir. muçur 1,2.

Cf. also Ur. muçur, Kub. muçuj 'beard' etc.

| Lezg. *moçor, *moçor-ij 1 beard 2 chin 3 moustache 4 edge of a plough: Tab. muçur (Kliv.) 4; Ag. muçur 2; Rut. miçri 1; Tsakh. muçru 3; Bud. miçer 1; Arch. moçor 1.

Some of the languages reflect a suffixed form *moçori-j (Tsakh. muçru < *muçri with vowel assimilation). 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. See Talibov 1960a, 296; Leksika 1971, 104; Giginayshvili 1977, 135.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Tense *ç- reconstructed because of the Nakh reflex (lax *ç would yield PN *-ss-). PN *merç is obviously a transformation of *meçrV- (direct stem transformed by analogy with the oblique one - a rather frequent process). Since there are no Av.-And.-Tsez. reflexes and the root is

polysyllabic, the vocalic reconstruction is not very certain.

*meßV tail: Nakh. *muß (~-ū-); Av.-And. *mißa (~-o); Tsez. *miç(e) A; Lak. maß; Darg. *buq-mu[ß].

| Nakh. *muß (~-ū-) 1 tail 2 part of harness (put under the tail): Chech. mulßa 2; Ing. mulßa 2; Bacb. muß 1.

The simple root has been preserved only in Bacb. (4th class); Chech. and Ing. forms reflect the PN derivative *muß-IV (= Bacb. mujßli).

| Av.-And. *mißa (~-o) tail: Av. maß; Chad. maß; And. mißerçu; Cham. mißa; Tind. mißa; Kar. mißa; Botl. mißa; Bagv. mißa; God. mißa.

Av. paradigm B-C (loc. maßá-λ.; Chad. C: maßi-l, máßa-l). In Andi the form mißerçu (Gudava, Tsertsvadze miß'orçu) is a compound of this root with *rVç:V q.v.). Cf. also some derivatives: a) *mißu-l > Tind., Cham. mußul, And. beçu-mßul 'sheep's tail'; b) Av. maßá-λ. (paradigm C: maßá-i-l, máßá-a-l) 'part of harness (put under the tail) - which is essentially the subessive form of maß, but corresponds exactly to Chech., Ing. mulßa.

| Tsez. *miç(e) A tail: Tsez. mañi; Gin. mihi; Khvarsh. miñi; Inkh. mihe; Bezht. miß; Gunz. miß.

PTsKh *miç e, PGB *miß.

| Lak. maß tail.

3d class.

| Darg. *buq-mu[ß] sheep's tail: Ak. buq-muj.

Cf. also Kad. buq-muh, Gapsh. buq-mu?, Tsud. buq-nußl id. (reflexes of *ß are not quite regular, probably because of dissimilation with -q-). The word is a compound of *buq- (see under *wərqV) and *-mu[ß] (see under *meßV).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The u(ü) vowel in PN is probably due to progressive labialisation of the initial m-. On a possible trace in Lezghian (Udi) see under *wərqV 'sheep's tail'.

*mēfiwV hand, extremity (anat.): Av.-And. *miñV (/ *n-); Lak. k'i-jama; Darg. *meh; Lezg. *hem(a); W.-Cauc. *mV.

| Av.-And. *miñV (/ *n-) 1 leg; shin-bone, tibia 2 heel: Av. máhu 1; Chad. máhu 1; Cham. mah 2; Kar. nihe 2.

Av. paradigm C (mahá-lzul, máha-bi; Chad. mahá-ldul, máha-l). Cf. also Kar. L-Enkh. niha, Cham. Gig. mahi. In Kar. there occurred a common change of *m- > n- before a front vowel. If we assume a *?i- prefix (used in Akhv. with some body parts), we could also link (*?i-miñV > *?imHV) Akhv. 'ija 'foot, leg' (Magomedbekova: 'foot-kick'), Tseg. 'iju 'foot-kick', Ratl. 'ijo, Tlan. a?ima id.

| Lak. k'i-jama handful.

A compound with ki- (k'i-) 'two' ('two cupped hands'); cf. Khosr. k'i-jāma 'handful (two cupped hands)'.

| Darg. *meh hollow of hand, handful: Ak. meh.

Cf. also Ur. miñ, Sirg. me, Kait. me', Kub. maj.

| Lezg. *hem(a) arm, wing: Ud. alm.

An isolated Ud. word (the PL reconstruction is therefore only tentative), but with possible external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *mV 1 hand 2 knee 3 kneeling: Abkh. *a-na-pə́* 1; Abaz. *napə́* 1; Ad. *lagʷanʒa-mə-šh* 3; Kab. *lagʷaʒa-məšha* 3; Ub. *la-mā-sa* 2.

PAT *na-pə́ 'hand' (for -pə́ see PWC *pA) is obviously a dissimilation from *ma-pə́. The root *ma is clearly seen in compounds like *ma-cʷA 'finger' (Abkh. *a-ma-cʷá*, Abaz. *ma-cʷə*), Abkh. *a-ma-χʷár* 'arm' etc.

Outside AT the same root (with the general meaning 'extremity') can be probably discovered within the common WC designation of 'knee': AT *mā-qA (Abkh. *a-ša-mχə́*, Bz. *a-ša-mχə́*, Abaz. *ša-mqa*); Ub. *la-mā-sa* (where the first part is the PWC root for 'foot, leg' q.v. and the last part is the PWC root for 'head': the whole compound can thus be interpreted as 'head of leg's extremity'). In AK this root has survived only within the compound *la-gʷa(n)za-mə-šha 'kneeling' (*la-gʷa(n)za is the PAK word for 'knee'). Thus Abdokov's (1983, 79) comparison of PAT *mā-qA with an isolated Akhvakh form (Akhv. *muqu* 'knee') should be rejected.

[] Correspondences are regular (except for the metathesis in Ud.).

*mēlčǐ tongue: Nakh. *mott; Av.-And. *miç:i; Tsez. *mic A; Lak. *maz*; Darg. *mec:/*lec:mi; Lezg. *melc:; Khin. *miç*; W.-Cauc. *bəzA.

| Nakh. *mott tongue: Chech. *mott*; Ing. *mott*; Bacb. *mott*.

Obl. base *matʃi- (cf. Chech. *metta*-, Ing. *metto*). 6th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *miç:i tongue: Av. *maç*;; Chad. *maç*; And. *miç:i*; Akhv. *miç:i*; Cham. *miç*; Tind. *mic:i*; Kar. *maç:i*; Botl. *miç:i*; Bagv. *miç*;; God. *mic:i*.

Av. paradigm C (*maç:áľzul/maç:i-l*, *máç:a-l*). Not quite clear is the -a- vowel in Kar. (cf. also Masht., Chab. *març:i* - with preservation of the old Inlaut resonant?).

| Tsez. *mic A tongue: Tsez. *mec*; Gin. *mec*; Khvarsh. *mec*; Inkh. *mic*; Bezht. *mic*; Gunz. *mic*.

PTsKh *mic; PGB *mic.

| Lak. *maz* tongue.

3d class.

| Darg. *mec:/*lec:mi tongue: Ak. *lezmi*, *mez*; Chir. *mec*;;

The Darg. dialects reflect two forms: *mec: and *lec:mi/*lemc:i which are obviously old dialectal variations of a single stem *melc:(i) (regularly > *mec:; with metathesis > *lec:mi/*lemc:i). Cf., on one hand, Chir. *mec*;; Ak. *mez*, Ur. *miz*, Gapsh. *mec*; on the other - Ak. *lezmi*, Kad. *limzi*, Mek. *lizmi*, Sirg. *lizme*, Kait. *luc:umi*, Kharb., Tsud. *limc:i*. In some dialects the two forms coexist (cf. the Ak. situation, and also Kub. *muc:ul* / *mic*, Tsud. *limc:i* / *mec*). This all is due to intensive dialectal mixture within Darg. (see also notes to *lāmV 'lick').

| Lezg. *melc: tongue: Lezg. *mez*; Tab. *melz*; Ag. *mez*; Rut. *miz*; Tsakh. *miz*; Kryz. *mez*; Bud. *mez*; Arch. *maç*; Ud. *muz*.

Oblique base *melc:e-, cf. Lezg. *mec:i*-, Rut. *mizi*-, Tsakh. *mize*-. 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Bokarev 1961, 59; Leksika 1971, 127; Giginayshvili 1977, 70, 84; Talibov 1980, 293.

| Khin. *miç* tongue.

| W.-Cauc. *bəzA 1 tongue 2 language: Abkh. *á-bz* 1; Abaz. *bzə* 1; Ad. *bza* 2; Kab. *bza* 2; Ub. *bza* 1.

PAT *bəzə (cf. also Bz. *á-bz*). PAK *bza 'language'; in the meaning 'tongue' PAK employed a compound *bza-gʷə́ (lit. 'tongue's center') > Ad. *bzagʷə*, Kab. *bzagʷ*. In Ub. the variants *bza* and *bza* coexist, the latter being obviously loaned from AK.

[] A common NC root with perfect correspondences. See Trubetzkoy 1930, 277; Abdokov 1983, 78.

*mēl[ɪ]Gwǐ alder-tree: Nakh. *murq̄a; Tsez. *nəqʷV / *məqʷV; Lezg. *meqʷ; W.-Cauc. *Pəba (~*məba, -G-).

| Nakh. *murq̄a alder-tree: Bacb. *murq̄a*.

Attested only in Bacb., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *nəqʷV / *məqʷV 1 oak-tree, acorn 2 alder-tree: Tsez. *noqi* 2 (*Isakov*); Gin. *noqe* 2 (*Isakov*); Khvarsh. *muqu-rka* 1; Inkh. *muqu-rka* 1; Bezht. *naqo* (*Khosh*). 2; Gunz. *noqe* 2 (*Isakov*).

PTsKh *noqu / *moqu-; PGB *nəqʷe.

| Lezg. *meqʷ alder-tree: Lezg. *maq:u-n t:ar*; Tab. *muq:u-n har*.

Obl. base *meqʷi- can be reconstructed on basis of Lezg. *maq:u-*, Tab. *muq:u-* (*t:ar*, *har* 'tree').

| W.-Cauc. *Pəba (~*məba, -G-) alder-tree; hornbeam: Ub. *məba*-.

Ub. *məba-çʷa* 'alder-tree', *məbā-sə* 'hornbeam'. The root is attested only in Ub., but has probable EC parallels.

[] Not quite clear is the loss of liquid in PL; otherwise all correspondences are regular. The meaning 'oak' in PTs was probably influenced by another EC root, *mhōqwē 'oak-tree, acorn' q.v.

*mēlǝV place, ground: Nakh. *mott; Tsez. *moče A; Darg. *mez; Lezg. *mä(l)ç: (~ -a-, -ç).

| Nakh. *mott 1 bed 2 place: Chech. *mott* 1; Ing. *mott* 1; Bacb. *mott* 1,2.

Obl. base *matti-, cf. Chech. *metta*-, Ing. *metto*. Cf. also the derived form *matt-iç > Chech. *mettig*, Ing. *mottig* (with vowel levelling) 'place'.

| Tsez. *moče A place; ground; field: Tsez. *moçi*; Gin. *moçi*; Bezht. *maçe*; Gunz. *moče*.

PTsKh *moče, PGB *moče (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *mäçe*). The PTs oblique stem can be reconstructed as *mičV- > PTsKh *mičV- (Tsez. /Bokarev/ *meče*-, /Imnaishvili/ *mečo*-), PGB *mičV- (Gunz. *mičo*-, Bezht. Tlad. /Bokarev/ *miča*-).

| Darg. *mez place: Ak. *mer*.

| Lezg. *mä(l)ç: (~ -a-, -ç) place: Arch. *maç*.

Isolated in Arch., but having good external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*mēlV (~ -ǝ-, -x-) study, knowledge: Av.-And. *mol:-; Tsez. *mol:(-); (~ -ǝ-, -ǝ-); Lak. *max:(-)*; Khin. *mux*-.

| Av.-And. *mol:- 1 to teach 2 teaching: Av. *mał:-* 1; Chad. *mał-* 1.

And. *moλ:i* 2; Cham. *maλ:i-d-* 1; Tind. *maλ:-* 1; Kar. *maλ:-* 1.

Cf. also the Av. noun *maλ:* 'teaching, study' (= And. *moλ:i*). Av. > Bezht. *maλzi* =ow- 'to teach'.

| Tsez. **mɔL(:)*- (~λ-, -λ-) to teach: Gin. *moλ-*.

Attested only in Ginukh, but having good external parallels.

| Lak. *max(:)*- tame (adj.).

| Khin. *mux-* know.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Tenseness of -x- in Lak. is unknown (attested only in the syllable-final position), thus a reconstruction of both *-λ- (> Lak. x) and *-x- (> Lak. x:) is possible.

A reconstruction **bēnλV* is also possible; in this case one could also compare HU **pāl-* (Hurr. *pāl-*, Urart. *pal-* or *pāl-*) 'to pronounce, to tell' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 17).

**mēλV* hem (of a garment): Av.-And. **miλ:V*; Tsez. **miLV* (~ -λ-); Lak. *max*.

| Av.-And. **miλ:V* hem (of a garment): And. *miλ:i* (*Tsertsvadze*); Tind. *miλ:a*.

| Tsez. **miLV* (~ -λ-) 1 hem (of a garment) 2 flap, skirt: Bezht. *miλil* 1; Gunz. *muli* (*Nakh.*) 2.

PGB **miLi-* (with -i- > -u- after a labial in Gunz.; the Bezht. form has a suffixed -l, cf. a different suffix in Bezht. *miλin* id.).

| Lak. *max* hem, flap.

G. pl. *max-urdil*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**mer(?)V* a k. of berry: Nakh. **mor-* (~ -u-, -V-); Lak. *mamari*; Darg. **mVmVrV*; Lezg. **merV(j)*.

| Nakh. **mor-* (~ -u-, -V-) guelder rose, snowball-tree: Chech. *mūrg*.

The Chech. form goes back to a suffixed form with diminutive *-ik.

| Lak. *mamari* blackberry.

| Darg. **mVmVrV* raspberry: Chir. *mimre*.

| Lezg. **merV(j)* blackberry: Lezg. *mere*; Tab. *mer-er*.

Cf. also Lezg. Nūt. *mar-ar* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. We must note some interlingual loans: 1) since the Lak and Darg. (Chir.) forms have an identical reduplication, it is probable that one of them borrowed from another (probably Darg. < Lak., since the form is known only in the Chirag dialect of Darg.); 2) Archi has a word *mam* 'raspberry', usually in the combination *g^wac:ilin mam* (lit. 'mare's nipple'). It is probable that Archi borrowed the Lak. form *mamar(i)* and reinterpreted the -ar(i) part as the plural suffix, thus building a neologism *mam* (coinciding phonetically with *mam* 'nipple, breast' which is of course quite coincidental).

A form like PN **mur-ik* (**mor-ik*), reflected in Chech. *mūrg*, was probably the source of Osset. *murkū* 'guelderrose', further - Ad. *marāk^wa*, Kab. *mār^k^wa* 'strawberry, blackberry', Ub. *mə(r)ka-* id., Abaz. *marak^wa* 'mulberry',

Balk. *marako* 'strawberry' etc. This direction of borrowing is probable because in PN the element -ik is easily recognized as a suffix.

See Abayev 1973, 141; Shagirov 1, 266 with literature.

**mērsA* hair, long rag, thread: Nakh. **mos*; Av.-And. **mus:VrV*; Tsez. **mos*: (~-u-, -s); Lak. *lis:u*; Lezg. **mārs:(a)*; Khin. *misir*; W.-Cauc. **p:āsa*.

| Nakh. **mos* down, feather 1 tuft of hair: Chech. *mas*; Ing. *mos*.

4th class in Chech. and Ing. For PN a paradigm **mos*, **masi-* should be reconstructed (with vowel levelling in Chech.; cf. Chech. obl. *mesa-*).

| Av.-And. **mus:VrV* rag: Akhv. *mos:olo* (*Tseg.*); Tind. *mus:ura*.

It is also possible that the same root is contained within PA **λi-ns:Vr* 'eyebrow' (with a variant **λi-ns:Vr*): Av. *λ:ens:ér*, Chad. *λ:ensér*; And. *lens:i-b*, Akhv. *λes:e*, Cham. *λ:es:al*, Tind. *ins:ar* etc. (Tind. > Inkh. *esser*). This is rather probable, taking into consideration the meaning of the root in other NC languages. The first component of **λi-ns:Vr* can be an early contraction of PEC **²wīl²i* 'eye' (**²li-* > **λi-*) which otherwise regularly yielded PA **harHi*.

| Tsez. **mos*: (~-u-, -s) hair 1 hair; eyelash: Tsez. *mus*; Gin. *mus* 1; Khvarsh. *mus* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *mus*.

PTsKh **mus*.

| Lak. *lis:u* stripe, slice.

| Lezg. **mārs:(a)* 1 long rag, thread 2 yarn 3 remnants of wool: Tab. *mursul* 1; Rut. *mes* 3 (*Khniukh*); Tsakh. *misil* 2; Kryz. *misra* 2 (*Al.*); Arch. *mars:i* 1.

3d class in Arch. and Kryz. The simple root is preserved in Rut., while other languages have expanded it with suffixes (*-j in Arch. and Kryz., *-l in Tab. and Tsakh.).

| Khin. *misir* string, thread.

| W.-Cauc. **p:āsa* eyebrow: Abkh. *á-žə-mš*; Abaz. *žə-msa*; Ad. *nā-pca*; Kab. *nā-bza*; Ub. *bLa-msá*.

For PWC a compound **bālV-p:āsa* (**'eye-hair') should be reconstructed. The first part is normally reflected in Ub. *bLa-* and PAK **na-*, but in PAT replaced by an obscure component **žə-* (PAT **žə-masV*). In Abkh. a further assimilation has occurred (**žə-ms* > *žə-mš*). The strong **p:-* in PWC is suggested by the PAK form **-p:c:a* < **-p:sa* (PAK **na-p:c:á*).

[] For PNC we can reconstruct also the obl. form **mērsA-IV-* (reflected in several Lezg. forms, Khin., AA and Lak.). The Lak form *lis:u* reflects a regular dropping of initial **mV-* (*lis:u* < **mVlis:u*, the latter being a metathesized form of **mV(r)s:i-lu*).

The WC forms are very likely to belong here, too, although problems are raised by initial **p:-* (we should expect **bāsa*); it may be a result of irregular dissimilative development within the PWC compound ***bāla-bāsa*.

**māč^u* long hair; fibre, strip: Nakh. **mač*; Av.-And. **miča* (~-o); Tsez. **muč* B; Lak. *mač*; Lezg. **čum(a)* / **čun(a)*.

| Nakh. **mač* 1 beard 2 moustache: Chech. *maž* 1; Ing. *mož* (*mož*) 1; Bacb. *mač*

2.

Obl. stem *maçu-, cf. Chech. *moža-* (Usl. *mažu-*), Ing. *možo* (hence, with vowel levelling, the direct base vocalism: *mož*). 4th class in all languages. Cf. also Chech. Lev., Pharch. *maž*, Khild. *mož*, Cheb. *mač*, Ing. (Imnaishvili) *mwoč*.

| Av.-And. *miča (~o) 1 hair 2 strip, piece: Av. *móčo* 2; Cham. *miča* 1; Tind. *miča* 1.

The word *miča* in Cham. and Tind. refers primarily to women's hair, but can be used as a general word for hair, too. The Av. accent paradigm is unknown (it may be A or C).

| Tsez. *muč B 1 neck; back of the head 2 plait, women's hair: Tsez. *meč* 1; Gin. *moč* 1; Khvarsh. *mič* 1; Inkh. *muč* 1; Bezht. *mūč* 1,2; Gunz. *muč* 2.

PTsKh *muč, PGB *muč.

| Lak. *mač* patch; coarse calico.

| Lezg. *čum(a) / *čun(a) 1 fibre 2 strap, belt: Lezg. *čun* 1; Tab. *čum* 1; Rut. *čin* 2 (*Ikhr.*).

*-o- also possible in Inlaut.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for metathesis in PL, correspondences are regular.

*mǎhwV grain, seed; a k. of cereal: Av.-And. *muḥV; Tsez. *moḥ A; Darg. *maḥa-r; Lezg. *maʔ(w).

| Av.-And. *muḥV 1 grain 2 seed: Av. *muḥ* 1; Chad. *muḥ* 1; And. *muḥu* 1; Akhv. *mūhī* 2,1; Cham. *muḥu* (*Gig.*); Tind. *muḥu*; Kar. *muḥu* (*Tok.*).

Av. paradigm C (gen. *muḥó-l*, Chad. *muḥí-l*, pl. Chad. *múha-l*). Tind.-Cham. *muḥu* > Inkh., Tsez. *muḥu* 'grain'; Av. *muḥ* > Bezht., Gunz. *muḥ* id.

| Tsez. *moḥ A 1 oats 2 acorn (< *grain): Gin. *mu* 1; Bezht. *mīʔē* (*Tlad.*) 2; Gunz. *moh* 2.

PGB *moh, obl. *mihe- (in Gunz. *moha-* there occurred a secondary vowel levelling).

| Darg. *maḥa-r a sort of barley: Ak. *mahaIr*.

| Lezg. *maʔ(w) 1 a sort of barley (голозерный ячмень) 2 wheat: Tab. *meʔ-er* 1 (*Khaidakov*); Ag. *meʔ-er* 1; Rut. *mūʔūr* 3 (*Ikhr.*).

Reconstruction somewhat dubious - the Tab. forms being attested only in Khaidakov 1973.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*mǝmV teat, nipple; pimple: Nakh. *mām-aḱ; Tsez. *momV-la; Darg. *mama; Lezg. *mam(a).

| Nakh. *mām-aḱ female breast: Chech. *māmag*.

An isolated Chech. word (with a diminutive suffix); although it is a "nursery word", it has direct parallels in other EC languages.

| Tsez. *momV-la pimple: Bezht. *momola*; Gunz. *momla*.

PGB *momo-la.

| Darg. *mama breast (fem.), teat: Ak. *mama*.

Cf. also Muir. *mama* id.

| Lezg. *mam(a) breast (female): Lezg. *mam*; Kryz. *mām*; Bud. *mām*; Arch. *mam*.

3d class in Arch., Kryz. and Bud. See Leksika 1971, 108; Talibov 1980, 270.

[] One of the reduplicated 'nursery' words; seems, however, to be well reconstructable for PEC.

*mǝte (~i) face: Tsez. *moṭo; Lak. *maṭi*.

| Tsez. *moṭo face: Bezht. *moṭo*; Gunz. *moṭo*.

PGB *moṭo.

| Lak. *š:unš:u-maṭi* muzzle, snout.

A compound word (etymology of the 1st part see under *šumVšV).

[] A Tsez.-Lak. isogloss. Perhaps, one could compare also Av. *maṭu* 'mirror' (borrowed into many EC languages: And., Akhv. Cham., Tind., Inkh. *maṭu*; cf. also dialectal Av. (Chad.) *muṭu* id. and Gunz. *muṭu*).

*mhǎlV- ~ *mhǎnV- warm: Nakh. *mfial-i(n); Darg. *wana-; Lezg.

*manV.

| Nakh. *mhǎl-i(n) warm; weak, loose: Chech. *mela*; Ing. *mela*; Bacb. *maṭi*.

The laryngeal in the initial cluster is preserved only in the Shar. dialect (*mʔaṭi*); cf. also Cheb. *maṭi*, Khild. *meṭi*, Ved. *mene*, Kharach. *mene* etc. The pure base is seen in Chech. *mal-dan* 'to weaken, loosen'.

| Darg. *wana- warm: Ak. *wana-si*.

| Lezg. *manV warm: Tab. *mani*.

Isolated within Lezghian, but with probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Nakh, Darg. and Tab. forms are hard to separate, although we have to assume different as-/dissimilations to unite them (in PD obviously *wana- < *mana-, because genuine w- is very rare in PD; and either PN *mhǎl- through dissimilation < *mhǎn-, or PD, PL *manV- through assimilation < *maṭV-). Since interaction of this kind between two neighbouring resonants is very frequent in Caucasian languages, we think that the etymology is rather probable.

*mhǎrḡwǎ (~ *mʔ-) tale: Av.-And. *muḡa; Tsez. *muḡ(:) (~ -o-); Lak. *maha*; Lezg. *ma(r)ḡ(I)ʔ.

| Av.-And. *muḡa tale: Av. *mārha*; Chad. *mārhu*; And. *muḡa*; Akhv. *muḡa*; Cham. *muḡa*; Tind. *muḡa*; Kar. *muḡa*; Botl. *muḡa*; Bagv. *muḡa*; God. *nuḡa*.

Av. paradigm A (*mārha-dul*, *mārha-bi*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan., Ratl. *muḡa*, Kar. Tok. *muḡa*, Anch. *muḡʔa*. Av. > Tsez., Gin. *marha*; Tind. > Inkh. *muḡa* 'tale'.

| Tsez. *muḡ(:) (~ -o-) tale: Khvarsh. *muḡ*.

Attested only in Khvarsh., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *maha* tale.

Cf. Khosr. *maha* id.

| Lezg. *ma(r)ḡ(I)ʔ tale: Lezg. *maḡ*; Rut. *maḡʔ* (*Khniukh.*); Kryz. *maḡ*; Arch. *maḡlu*.

3d class in Kryz. and Arch., 4th class in Rut. The word is actively contaminating with PL *ma[q:ʔ] 'song, tale' (q.v.), which explains some

irregularities (e.g., loss of pharyngealization in Lezg. and Rut.). External evidence suggests that the PL form must have had a medial *-r-, but all the languages which have preserved the root frequently drop *-r- before uvulars; unfortunately no direct Tabasaran or Agul reflexes are present.

See Bokarev 1961, 68; Talibov 1972, 36; Leksika 1971, 147; Giginayshvili 1977, 70, 121.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for some confusion in PL (due to merger with the reflexes of *maGwV q.v.), correspondences are regular.

*mhāncī (~ -ě) nettle: Nakh. *n(h)itt (~ -ī-); Av.-And. *mičV; Tsez. *mič A; Lak. milč; Darg. *mic:i; Lezg. *malč; Khin. mič.

| Nakh. *n(h)itt (~ -ī-) nettle: Chech. nitt; Ing. nitt; Bacb. nitt.

Obl. base *n(h)ittē- (Chech. nitta-, Ing. nitto). 5th class in Chech., Ing., 6th class in Bacb. External evidence demands some laryngeal in this root; *nh- should be reflected as n^h- in Bacb., but such a combination does not exist before front vowels. We may thus think that the PN form was actually *nhitt, but the laryngeal wa. lost in all modern languages.

| Av.-And. *mičV nettle: Av. mič; Chad. mič; And. mič:i; Akhv. mič:i; Cham. miš; Tind. mič:a; Kar. mič:i; Bagv. mič:a; God. mič:a.

Av. paradigm A (mič:i-l; but Chad. mič-i-l). Cf. also Cham. Gad. mič:u.

| Tsez. *mič A nettle: Tsez. meča / melča; Gin. meča; Khvarsh. mič (Radzhibov); Inkh. mič; Bezht. mic; Gunz. mič.

PTsKh *mič (Tsez., Gin. miča is originally the oblique base, cf. Inkh. miča-); PGB *mič (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. mič). Obl. base *miča- (cf. Inkh. miča-, Bezht. mica-, Gunz. miča-).

| Lak. milč nettle.

| Darg. *mic:(i) nettle: Ak. niz; Chir. muc:e.

Cf. also Ur. niz, Kub. mic, Kharb., Sirg. mic:e.

| Lezg. *malč: 1 edible herbs 2 nettle: Lezg. mič:-ar (Akht.) 1; Ag. malz 2; Kryz. mež 2; Bud. mež 2; Arch. mač 2; Ud. meč: 2.

Cf. also Ag. Fit., Burk. miž. 3d class in Arch., but 4th class in Kryz. and Bud.

See Talibov 1960a, 298; Leksika 1971, 165; Giginayshvili 1977, 70.

| Khin. mič nettle.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. A very stable and regular root, which is probably explained by the importance of nettle in the East Caucasian household (it is frequently added to all kinds of food). Abdokov (1983, 108) compares the EC root with PAK *pča-sana / *pča-saranə 'nettle'; the word is rather obscure, and the phonetic correspondence between EC and WC is irregular, so this etymology should rather be rejected.

*mhēl^he cold: Nakh. *m(h)il-(~*-ī-, -ē-); Av.-And. *mVr^hV; Darg. *bukumV; Lezg. *me^hā-.

| Nakh. *m(h)il-(~*-ī-, -ē-) 1 from cold, with cold (adv.) 2 to get cold:

Chech. mil-la 1; Bacb. mil-dar 2.

Vowel length and the precise quality of the lateral are hard to establish (the Bacb. stem is known only in Kadagidze's notation).

| Av.-And. *mVr^hV hoar-frost: Av. mar^h.

Av. paradigm A (gen. mār^hi-l).

| Darg. *bukumV wind: Chir. bukume.

| Lezg. *me^hā- cold: Lezg. me^hi; Tab. merç-uli (Düb.); Ag. mik-ler (Bursh.); Rut. miqdi; Tsakh. mikana; Ud. mi.

Also present as a noun *me^hl(a) 'cold, cold wind': cf. Lezg. me^h, Ud. mi 'cold', Tab. mik, Ag. me^h 'wind'.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Since PD *b- in this case can not correspond to m- in other languages, we have to assume a metathesis *bukumV < *mu^hu-bV (probably with a former plural suffix). For the meaning 'wind' in Darg. cf. 'cold wind, wind' in some Lezg. languages.

*mhēlq^wV root; shoot, offspring: Nakh. *m(h)ar^hV; Av.-And. *moqV; Tsez. *muqV; Lak. malr; Darg. *maql; Lezg. *malq^l.

| Nakh. *m(h)ar^hV 1 shoot, offspring 2 twig, rod 3 a single straw: Chech. marba-l 1,2; Ing. merba 1,3.

3d class in Chech. and Ing.

| Av.-And. *moqV 1 nail, peg 2 stem, stalk: Av. ma^h 1; And. moq 2; Akhv. miqe 1; Kar. ma^ha 1.

Av. paradigm A (ma^hi-l, má^ha-l). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. me^he 'nail'. Av. > Gunz. ma^h id.

| Tsez. *muqV nail: Bezht. muqo.

Attested only in Bezht. (cf. also Tlad., Khosh. muqo), but having reliable external parallels.

| Lak. malr nail.

3d class, obl. stem mulra-. Cf. Khosr. malr, mulra- id.

| Darg. *maql root: Ak. malq.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. malq.

| Lezg. *malq^l 1 root 2 shoot, offspring; nail: Ag. malr² (Bursh.) 1; Arch. marq^l 2.

Cf. also Ag. Burk., Tp. malr², Fit. mar^hI, Ag. pl. marq^lum. Arch. -r before a back consonant points to PL *-l-. 3d class in Arch.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. Cf. also a possible WC cognate (*baq:I^wa 'frame, skeleton'), which, however, can also be a match for PEC *bonqō 'back' q.v.

*mhēngV (~ -^h-) time; (coming of age >) marriage: Nakh. *xān; Av.-And. *mVqV; Darg. *meq; Lezg. *māql(a).

| Nakh. *xān time, age: Chech. xan; Ing. xa; Bacb. xā.

Obl. base *xāne- (Chech. xēna-, Ing. xāno, Bacb. xani-). Cf. also Lev. xān id. 4th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *mVqV 1 time, season 2 marriage, wedding: Av. me^h: 1; Kar. muq:e 2 (Anch.).

Av. paradigm A (loc. mé^h:a-l; pl. mé^h:a-l).

| Darg. *meq: marriage, wedding: Ak. meq;;
Cf. also Muir., Kub. miq, Sirg., Tsud. meq, Ur. miq:.

| Lezg. *māqI(a) marriage, wedding: Lezg. meq-er.

Attested only in Lezg. (cf. also Khl. miq-er-ar id.), but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for metathesis in PN (*χān < *nāχ < *mhēnqV), correspondences are regular.

*mhērqwě (~ -s-, -ǵ-) birch; wood, timber: Av.-And. *mV(r)qV (~ -χ-); Lak. marq; Darg. *maq; Lezg. *merχI^w(a); W.-Cauc. *pāq^wa (~p:-,χ^w).

| Av.-And. *mV(r)qV (~ -χ-) birch: Av. maχ; Chad. maχ.

Av. paradigm A (māχi-l). Chad. maχ was subject to literary influence (otherwise mah would be expected). The Av. form should be kept apart from PA *biq^wV-r 'birch' (= Av. biháro 'poplar', see *wēqwV).

| Lak. marq poles for planking the ceiling.

Cf. also Khosr. marq^w id.

| Darg. *maq^w birch: Ak. maq; Chir. maq^w.

Cf. also Gapsh. maq id. Some Lak. dialectal forms (Kul., Vikhl. maq, see Khaidakov 1966) are most probably borrowed from Dargwa.

| Lezg. *merχI^w(a) birch: Tab. murχIu-n har; Kryz. merχ; Bud. merχ.

3d class in Kryz. and Bud. Obl. stem *merχI^wi- or *merχI^wä- (to judge from Tab. murχIu-). The root should be distinguished from a very similar PL *werχI^w id. (see *wēqwV), although they contaminated almost to the point of complete merging.

| W.-Cauc. *pāq^wa (~p:-,χ^w) wood, timber: Abkh. -mha-; Abaz. mha-; Ad. pχa; Kab. pχa; Ub. māχa-.

PAT *māha, used in compounds (cf. Abkh. a-mhá-č^w '(wooden) spoon', a-mha-basta, Bz. a-mhá-p 'a wooden shovel with long handle for stirring gruel', Abaz. mha-č^wa 'spoon' etc.); the same situation prevails in Ub., cf. Ub. māχā-ča 'wooden shovel for stirring gruel' (cf. āča 'wide and flat'), māχā-č^w 'spoon' (= Abkh. a-mháč^w).

In all three subgroups of WC we have a delabialized uvular (after the initial labial). The labialisation, however, is to be reconstructed - otherwise (in case of PWC *q̣) Ub. would have q̣, not χ, or (in case of PWC *χ), the Adygh languages would have h, not χ. We can not distinguish between PWC *q̣^w and *χ^w here because of the Adygh form (the cluster *pχ-, because of a specific development of *q̣ in clusters, can go back to both *pχ- and *pq-). Additional note: there is an enigmatic form in EC: Kar. miḅaža 'wooden spoon'. It resembles Ub. māχāč^w and Abkh. a-mháč^w, but it can not correspond to them phonetically (furthermore, we have demonstrated above that the WC forms in question have a complex morphological nature). Perhaps, we deal with an old loanword in Kar.?

[] In PEC this root is probably the basic name for the birch-tree. It should be strictly distinguished from *mihV (probably, 'alder') and from *wēqwV ('asp' or 'poplar'), although they tend to contaminate and have similar reflexes in many modern languages. See Abdokov 1983, 106.

*mhōrcū point, edge, protruding part: Nakh. *m(h)uç(H)ar; Av.-And. *miç:V; Tsez. *mocu (~u-); Lak. mazu; Darg. *muc:i; Lezg. *murc: (~o-).

| Nakh. *m(h)uç(H)ar snout, muzzle; trunk: Chech. muçar; Ing. muçar.

Some kind of medial cluster is indicated by Ing. dial. muo3ḅar id. 4th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *miç:V 1 teat, nipple 2 tip: Av. mōç:u 1,2; Akhv. miç:o 1; Cham. miṣ 1; Tind. mic:i 1; God. mic:i 1.

Av. paradigm A or C (pl. mōç:a-bi). In Cham., Tind. and God. the root became homonymous with *miç:i 'tongue' - which is obviously secondary in view of the Av. and Akhv. evidence.

| Tsez. *mocu (~u-) rib: Inkh. mucu.

Isolated in Inkh., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. mazu nipple (by animals).

| Darg. *muc:i sting: Chir. muc:e.

Ak. muza 'corner, angle' is probably a contamination of this root (PD *muc:i with PD *muza 'angle, corner' q.v. (the latter should be reflected in Ak. as mur²a).

| Lezg. *murc: (~o-) 1 blade 2 edge, verge 3 narrow side of an object: Lezg. murz 1,2,3; Tab. murz 2.

Cf. also Tab. Kand. murz/mur3, Düb. murzu 'blade (of an axe)'. Obl. stem *murc:i- (~o-), cf. Lezg. murc:u-, Tab. Düb. murzu-.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (medial *-r- is confirmed both directly by PL *-r- and indirectly by the consonant reflex in Lak. and PD).

*mhīršwA string, bast: Nakh. *m(h)uṣ; Av.-And. *mirš^wi; W.-Cauc. *pəša.

| Nakh. *m(h)uṣ string, rope: Chech. muṣ; Ing. muṣ.

6th class in both languages. Obl. stem *muše- (Chech. mūša-, Ing. mušo).

| Av.-And. *mirš^wi 1 bast 2 string, rope: Av. muṣ: 1; Cham. nis:u 2 (Gig.); God. murš:i 2.

Av. paradigm A (erg. mūṣ:i-c:a, pl. mūṣ:a-l).

| W.-Cauc. *pəša 1 string, rope 2 cord: Ad. čā-psa 1; Kab. psə 2.

PAK *psə (reflected only in Kab.), *ka-psá (a compound with *ka- 'end, tail'; besides the Ad. form cf. also Kab. čā-psa id.). See Shagirov 2, 132.

The PWC reconstruction is tentative because PAK *s can go back to several sources: *s, *š or *ś.

[] Correspondences are regular. In WC we observe a regular development *m- > *P- before the following non-nasal liquid, and a usual secondary dissimilatory delabialisation after a labial. Both semantically and phonetically the etymology seems reliable.

*mhōgwe (~ -s-) oak-tree: Av.-And. *mik:V; Darg. *mik^w; Lezg. *maql^wa.

| Av.-And. *mik:V acorn, oak-tree: Av. mik;; Chad. mik; Cham. nik^w; Tind. mix:i; Kar. mik: (Anch.).

Av. paradigm A (mík:i-l, mík:a-l). The simple noun usually means 'acorn',

while in a compound with **ris*^w*a* 'tree' it means 'oak-tree' (Av. *mik:il b^wet*, Kar. Kar. *nik^wa-l roša* etc.).

| Darg. **mik*^w oak-tree, acorn: Ak. *mig*.

Cf. also Ur. *mig*, Kub. *mik^w* (pl. *mik^we*).

| Lezg. **maql^wa* acorn, oak-tree: Lezg. *meb^w*; Tab. *maql^w*; Ag. *maql^w* (Bursh.); Rut. *maχ^w*; Tsakh. *moql*; Kryz. *meb*; Ud. *maql* / *maχl*.

3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. Obl. base **maql^wä-*, cf. Lezg. *meb^w*- (cf. also Lezg. Khl. *mäb^w*, *mäb^wlū-*), Tab. *maqlū-*, Ag. (Bursh.) *maqla-*, Tsakh. *moqla-* (note that the Tsakh. dir. base *moql* itself is secondary, cf. the more archaic Gelm. *maql^wa* - directly reflecting the .PL form). See Bokarev 1961, 59; Leksika 1971, 163; Giginayshvili 1977, 70, 98.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. Note that neither of three similar roots used for 'oak-tree' in Tsezian languages (**moqV*/**noqV*, **niχV* and **moh*) can reflect PEC **mhōqwe*, and all of them have, in fact, different EC etymologies (see **mēlGwi*, **nīχV* and **māhwV*). In the Darg-Lezg. area the root **mhōqwe* also is used as a second part in a compound meaning 'small nut' (PD **s:il-mik^w* > Ak., Ur. *sirmug*, Kub. *s:il-mik:(^w)a*, Kharb. plur. *sirmuk^we*, Tsud., Muir. *sirmuk*; PL > Tab. Düb. *halmuql*, Kand. *amluql*, Lezg. *šumäb*); the first part of the compound is not quite clear.

Abdokov (1983, III) compares the EC forms with PAK **q^wa-* in **q^waħə* 'boat, ship' (Ad. *q^waħa*, Bzhed. *q^waħə*, Kab. *q^waħ*) and **q^wa-s^wá* (Ad. *q^wās^wa*, Kab. *q^wāfa*) id., as well as PAT **maq^wə-da* 'bough, branch'. While theoretically possible, this comparison is semantically dubious, and the loss of **m-* in PAK is hard to explain.

**mhVrgV* dirt, secretion: Nakh. **m(h)ōq*; Av.-And. **maq:a* (~ -o-); Tsez. **muχ:-*; Lak. *maχ:i*; Lezg. **mVrq:-*; Khin. *miq*.

| Nakh. **m(h)ōq* rust: Chech. *mēqa*; Ing. *muq*.

The PN paradigm should be reconstructed as **m(h)ōq* (> Ing. *muq*), **m(h)āqi*- (the former obl. stem having superseded the direct one in Chech.). 4th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **maq:a* (~ -o-) snot: God. *maq:a*.

Cf. also God. Zib. *maq:a* 'soot'. Attested only in God., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. **muχ:-* ordure of small animals: Bezht. *muχ-sa*.

A compound; -*sa* is obviously = *sar* 'faeces'. Isolated in Bezht., with a possibility of external cognates.

| Lak. *maχ:i* mould.

Cf. Khosr. *maχ:l^wi* id.

| Lezg. **mVrq:-* snivel, snot: Tab. *māba*.

This MSU Kandik recording must be probably corrected to *marba* (there are no long vowels in Tab.). The form *marba* presupposes a PL form **mVrq:a-j*.

| Khin. *miq* eye secretion.

[] An expressive, scantily represented and rather unreliable root. We think that it still has to be postulated, but must have contaminated with **mHīrǵwV* 'dirt, rust' q.v.

**mfiā²nē* door, part of door: Nakh. **nfiē²*; Av.-And. **mVHV*; Tsez.

**mahV* (~ -h-).

| Nakh. **nfiē²* door: Chech. *ne²*; Ing. *ni²*; Bacb. *n²af²-sā*.

4th class in Chech. and Ing. The Bacbi word is a compound (for the second part see PN **sān*). The independent root **nfiē²* underwent in Bacbi some transformations. It is now used only as a locative derived from the oblique base **nfiā²e-* (cf. **nfiā²e-rV-* > Chech. *ne²ara-*, Ing. *na²ara-*): Bacb. *n²af²i(h)* 'outdoors', *n²af²* '(to the) outside'; cf. also *n²af²a* 'place around the house, outdoors'.

| Av.-And. **mVHV* threshold: Av. *rāhu-māhi*.

A compound with *rāhu* 'door' (q.v.); cf. also Keg. *rahu-nuh-bi* (a plural form) 'door frame'.

| Tsez. **mahV* (~ -h-) door frame: Bezht. *maha*; Gunz. *mahaχ*.

PGB **maha* (the Gunz. form is an old locative).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root (as seen directly from the PN form) has a complicated laryngeal structure; the cluster with -*n-* must be reconstructed to account for the change **m-* > **n-* in PN.

**mfiarǵV* (~ -ə-, -o-) sheep: Av.-And. **mVč:V-*; Darg. **mac:a*; Lezg.

**maIrč:*.

| Av.-And. **mVč:V-* fattened sheep (cattle): Av. *mač:ād*.

Gen. *mač:āda-l*. -*d* is an historical suffix.

| Darg. **mac:a* sheep (general term): Ak. *maza*; Chir. *mac:a*.

Cf. also Ur. *maza*, Kub. *mac:a*.

| Lezg. **maIrč:(a)* sheep: Tab. *marč:*; Ag. *märč:* (Bursh.).

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *marč:a*. Obl. stem not clear; pharyngealization is unambiguously suggested by Ag. Bursh. -*ä-*. An important Tab.-Ag. isogloss.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Phonetically and semantically quite reliable (although not very widely spread).

**mfiāčě* (~ -ǵ-, -ǵ-) edge: Nakh. **m²ič-* (~ -ǵ-, -ǵ-); Av.-And.

**mič:V-rV*; Lak. *mič*; W.-Cauc. **mVǵV* / **nVǵV*.

| Nakh. **m²ič-* (~ -ǵ-, -ǵ-) snout: Ing. *m²iz-arg*.

Attested only in Ing., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **mič:V-rV* edge: Av. *mič:ir*.

Av. paradigm C (*moč:rō-l*, *mič:ra-l*).

| Lak. *mič* tip, point.

Cf. Khosr. *mič* id.

| W.-Cauc. **mVǵV* (/*n-*, ~*ǵ-*) 1 edge 2 yard: Abkh. *a-mǵə-r-χá* 2; Abaz. *mǵa-ká* 1; Ad. *naz* 1; Kab. *naz* 1.

PAT **mǵǵV* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-mǵə-r-χá* 'yard'; the Abkh. form is a compound with **qa* / **qə* 'head, front'; the Abaz. form contains a singulative suffix); PAK **nāza*.

Comparing the PAK form with PAT **mǵǵV* seems to us better than comparing to Abaz. *šanəza* 'edge' (see Shagirov 1), because the morphological analysis of the latter form is unclear (despite Shagirov, PAT **ǵ²anəza* 'spleen' is historically a single root

and does not contain the same hypothetical element *-nəza). Initial n- in the PAK form may be due to fronting assimilation (before a dental -z-).

The correspondence PAT *₃ : PAK *z points to PWC *₃ or *₃; the former is preferable in view of the external evidence.

[] The etymology seems phonetically and semantically quite reliable. See Abdokov 1983, 98 (with some confusion of several EC roots, but containing a basically correct comparison Av. *miç:ir* : PAK **nəza*).

**mfiāḷā* (~-ə) finger-nail, toe-nail: Nakh. **māra*; Av.-And. **miḷu* / **lumHV*; Tsez. **molu* A; Lak. mix; Darg. **mikʷa* / **nikʷa*; Lezg. **λ:ām*; Khin. čimi; W.-Cauc. **mələ*.

| Nakh. **māra* claw, finger-nail; hook, fork: Chech. *māra*; Ing. *māra*; Bacb. *mājri*.

In Chech. there exists a parallel form *maʿar* which is obviously secondary. The obl. base should be reconstructed as **māre-* (cf. Chech. *māre-*, Ing. *māra-*, Bacb. *māre-*). Belongs to the 4th class in the meaning 'nail, claw', but to the 6th in the meaning 'hook'.

| Av.-And. **miḷu* / **lumHV* nail, claw: Av. *maḷ*; Chad. *mat*; And. *muḷa*; Akhv. *miḷo*; Cham. *lum*; Tind. *miḷu*; Kar. *muḷu*; Botl. *humu*; Bagv. *milhʷ*; God. *lumul*.

Av. paradigm C (*maḷā-lul*, *māla-l*; Chad. *miti-l*, *māta-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *miḷo*, Bagv. Tlis. *muḷ*, Cham. Gig. *lūj* (loss of -m- here is the reason for reconstructing *-mH- in *PA) etc. The metathesized variant **lumHV* is represented in Cham., Botl. and God. (in God. with suffixed -l/-r, cf. also God. Zib. *lumur*).

| Tsez. **molu* A finger-nail, claw: Tsez. *molu*; Gin. *molu*; Khvarsh. *mulu*; Inkh. *monu*; Bezht. *miḷo*; Gunz. *molu*.

PTsKh **molu* (Inkh. *monu* < **molu* with nasal assimilation); PGB **molu*, obl. base **miḷa-* (cf. Gunz. *malu*, *mila-*; in Bezht. the direct base vocalism became adequated on analogy with the oblique base).

| Lak. *mix* claw, nail.

3d class. Obl. base *mixi-ra-*. Cf. also Khosr. *mix*, *mixi-ra-*.

| Darg. **mikʷa* / **nikʷa* nail, claw: Ak. *nika*; Chir. *meka*.

Cf. also Ur. *nikʷa*, Kub. *mika*, Tsud. *mikʷa* etc.

| Lezg. **λ:ām*: finger nail: Tab. *šib*; Rut. *xeb*; Tsakh. *xiwna*; Ud. *muḷ*.

Other relevant forms: Tab. Khür. *š:aw* (pointing to PL **t*), Düb. *šaw*. Traces of the PL oblique base **λ:im:V-* (with Ablaut) are preserved in Rut. *xāb*, *xibī-l*; the Tsakh. form (cf. also Gelm. *xibina*) reflects the original plural **λ:im:V-p:V* with metathesis. Metathesized is also the Ud. form *muḷ* - but external comparison shows that metathesis must have occurred in the rest of PL dialects after the separation of Udi.

Cf. Leksika 1971, 119.

| Khin. čimi nail, claw.

| W.-Cauc. **mələ* nail, claw: Abkh. -*pχə-c*; Abaz. -*pχə/-mχə*.

For PAT two compounds may be reconstructed: a) **napə-məxə* 'fingernail'

(**napə* 'hand'), whence Abaz. *napχə*, Abkh. *a-napχə-c*, Bz. *a-napχə-č/a-napχə-s* (with an additional suffixed -č); b) **šapə-məxə* 'toenail' (**šapə* 'foot'), whence Abaz. *šamχə*, Abkh. *a-šapχə-c*, Bz. *a-šapχə-č/a-šapχə-s/a-šamχə-s*.

Initial *m- is clearly visible in the second compound, while in the first it had been lost completely because of dissimilation with the initial n-. PAT *x goes back to several PWC consonants (**λ*, **λ*, **λ(λ:)*, **x*); *-λ- is chosen here because of EC counterparts. Abdokov (1983, 77) compares the AA form with PAK *(p)χ^ʷ*á-mba* 'finger' which is semantically dubious and phonetically impossible.

[] Correspondences are regular. A very extensively spread and well reconstructable root. Cf. Trubetzkoy 1922, 238; Abdokov 1983, 77.

**mfiəGwē* a k. of weed: Av.-And. **mVḷV*; Lak. *milba*; Lezg. **maq:lʷa*.

| Av.-And. **mVḷV* sonchus: Av. *maḷi-zaz*.

Av. *zaz* 'thorn'.

| Lak. *milba* burdock's root.

| Lezg. **maq:lʷa* 1 a k. of plant 2 nettle: Rut. *maḷI* (*Khniukh.*) 1; Tsakh. *maḷa* 2.

Labialisation is preserved in Tsakh. Gelm. *maḷʷa* 'nettle'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although not widely represented, the etymology seems quite reliable.

**mfiöχV* (/ **χömfV*) iron; an object made of iron: Av.-And. **miχ:i*; Lak. *muḥ*; Darg. **mex*; Lezg. **χan:(a)*.

| Av.-And. **miχ:i* 1 iron 2 trivet 3 tripod-lock 4 ploughshare: Av. *maχ:*; Chad. *maχ 1,4*; Akhv. *miχ:i* 3; Kar. *maχ:e* 3; God. *miχ:i* 2.

Av. paradigm B-C (gen. *maχ:ú-l*, Chad. gen. *maχ:i-l*). Cf. also Akhv. *miχ:i-ḷʷa* 'frying pan' (Tseg. *miχ:i-l ḷoma*, Ratl. *miχ:i-ḷʷama*). The root is also used for 'iron' in the Akhv. compound *raçĩχ:e* (Tseg. *raç-miχ:i*, Tlan. *raçĩχ:e*, Ratl. *raçi-miχ:i*) (for the first part cf. =*açi-da-* 'black').

The same root (or its derivatives) means 'beads' in Av.-And. languages (obviously because small beads are made of iron or other metals): cf. Av. *maχ:* (pl. *máχ:a-l*), Akhv. *mex:i-la* (Tseg. *miχ:e-l*, Ratl. *miχ:i*), Kar. *maχ:i-di*, God. *miχ:i*.

Cf. also a derived word for 'hoe, mattock': Akhv. *miχ:iḷ:i*, Kar. Tok. *maχ:iḷ:u*.

Av. *maχ:* > Lak. *maχ* (*muχ:a-*) 'iron'.

| Lak. *muḥ* sickle.

Cf. Khosr. *mulh* 'crooked sickle'.

| Darg. **mex* 1 iron 2 horseshoe: Ak. *meh 1*; Chir. *mex 1,2*.

Cf. also Kad. *mih*, Kub. *miχ*, Tsud. *mex* 'iron', Ur. *mirh* (with an unclear -r-), Kait. *meh* 'iron; lock'.

| Lezg. **χan:(a)* bead(s): Lezg. *χat*; Rut. *χad-bi* (*Khnov.*); Arch. *χan*.

Lezg. has *χat* instead of **χad* on analogy with the obl. base *χt:-uni* (which is regular). 4th class in Archi.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except that we would rather expect **muχ* or **maχ* in PD - thus it is not

excluded that the PD form, as well as Lak. *mex*:, is also a loanword). Since the root is often used for denoting objects made of iron (beads, horseshoe, hoe/mattock etc.), it seems tempting to compare Ub. *maχ^wáta* 'hoe'. Phonetically the comparison seems satisfactory (presupposing PNC **mhōχU*), but the Ub. word does not have cognates in other WC languages, and its morphological structure is not quite clear, so the problem needs further investigation.

**mfwiłči* (~-e) edge, tip: Nakh. **m²ač-ik*; Lak. *murč^wi*; Lezg. **mu(l)č*..

| Nakh. **m²ač-ik* tip (of smth.) bent upwards: Chech. *m²āčig*.

Isolated in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *murč^wi* lip; bñim (of a dish).

| Lezg. **mu(l)č*: peak, top; nose, beak: Arch. *muč*.

The root is isolated within Lezghian, but possesses good external correspondences (whereupon relies the supposition of medial **-l-*, which regularly falls out in Archi before bifocals).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Note the Lak. compound *maj-murč^wi-w* 'lower part of face' (nose+'lips') > Arch. *maImarč^wi* 'face'.

**mHärčwV* pus; mucus, snot: Nakh. **m(h)arš*; Av.-And. **mač^wV*; Lezg. **malrš*.

| Nakh. **m(h)arš* snot: Chech. *marš*; Ing. *meraž*.

The word is homonymous (as a result of secondary contaminations): in Chech. with *marš* 'muzzle', in Ing. - with *meraž* 'nose' (PN different roots: **mars* and **marλo* respectively). This explains the apparent irregularity of correspondences.

| Av.-And. **mač^wV* snot: Chad. **inči* (?); And. *maču*; Cham. *maš*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *mači* id. Tind. *maši* 'snot' has an irregular *-š-* and is most probably borrowed from Cham. It is not quite clear, how Av. Chad. **inči* 'snot' is related here. The isolated within Tsezian Inkh. form *mašara* 'snivel, snot' must be considered a loan from some Tind. or Cham. dialect.

| Lezg. **malrš* pus: Ag. *maš*; Tsakh. *maš*; Ud. *mar*.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *malrš*, Tsakh. Gelm. *maš* (gen. *mašal-n*), proving the weak character of PL **-š*. The word belongs to 4th class in Tsakh.; PL obl. stem is not quite clear.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The reflex **-š* in PN (Chech. *marš*) is explained either by a special position of **čw* after *-r-*, or (which may be more probable) by contamination with PN **mars* 'muzzle, snout' in Chech.

**mHarGVwV* tom-cat: Tsez. **maš:ur-* (~-χ-); Lak. *q:urmaw*; Lezg. **marq:law*.

| Tsez. **maš:ur-* (~-χ-) tom-cat: Bezht. *mašurdi* (*Khosh*); Gunz. *mašurdi* (*Gunz.*).

PGB **mašurdi*.

| Lak. *q:urmaw* tom-cat.

The word *q:urmaw* in literary Lak. is used only in a metaphorical sense as 'dirty creature, slut' (colloq.), although it is obviously the same word as Khosr. *q:urmaw* 'tom-cat'.

| Lezg. **marq:law* tom-cat: Ag. *marRu* (*Bursh.*); Rut. *marqIaw*.

An expressive root, with irregular glottalisation in Rut. Ag. (Rich.) *q:Iurmaw* 'tom-cat' reveals the same metathesis as in Lak. and must be a Lak. borrowing; on the other hand, Ag. *marRu* (< **maršIaw*) was itself borrowed in Darg. Chir. *maršIaw* (which can not be genuinely related for phonetic reasons). Rather enigmatic is Kryz. *pebu* 'tom-cat' (perhaps it is an expressive transformation of **mebu* which would be a regular reflex of **marq:law* ?). Both the Rut. and the Kryz. words belong to the 3d class.

[] An expressive root, liable to metatheses and irregular transformation. Seems, however, to be genuine. (In a funny way, Musayev lists a Darg. word from the Muir. dialect: *qurmalw* 'mouse' (sic)).

**mHädwV* a k. of beverage, liquor: Av.-And. **midV*; Lak. *mald*; Lezg. **mält*..

| Av.-And. **midV* 1 a k. of beverage (made of millet) 2 beer: And. *medi* 1; Tind. *med* 2; Bagv. *mer* (*Tlond.*) 2; God. *medi* 1.

| Lak. *mald* sperm.

Cited from Khaidakov 1966.

| Lezg. **mält*: treacle, syrup: Lezg. *med*; Tab. *med*; Kryz. *mät*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *malj*, Khan. *mer* id. 4th class in Kryz. Unclear is the glottalisation **-t*: > *-t* in Kryz. The obl. base can be reconstructed as **mält:t-* or **mält:e-* (cf. Lezg. *met:i-*). Some Lezg. form was the source of Azer. *mät* 'sediment, treacle'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The word is ultimately of Indo-Iranian origin (cf. Old Ind. *madhu-* etc.); however, it must have penetrated into East Caucasian rather early - late Iranian forms (like Osset. *myd*) can not be accepted as the source of borrowing.

**mHilaGwV* / **GHwimalV* (~-ł-) worm: Tsez. **š^wimilV* (~ **š^w:-,r*); Darg. **milaq:I^w*; Lezg. **mulaqI^w*; Khin. *mok*; W.-Cauc. **χlamələ-*.

| Tsez. **š^wimilV* (~ **š^w:-,r*) worm: Tsez. *šumeli*.

The Tsez. form is isolated (although external parallels are quite reliable), thus the PTs reconstruction is only tentative.

| Darg. **milaq:I^w* worm: Ak. *miliq*; Chir. *milaq:I^w*.

Cf. also Ur. (Uslar) *mulerq*; Ak. (Musayev) *milaq*; Kub. *māIq^w*.

| Lezg. **mulaqI^w* 1 worm 2 snake: Lezg. *šuläš* 2; Tab. *malaqI^w* 1; Ag. *maluqI* 1; Rut. *muluxI* 1; Tsakh. *miqI* 1; Bud. *mula²* 1; Arch. *miliχIu* 1; Ud. *meq* 1.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *mulaqI*, Ag. Burk. *mälIeq^w*. In Lezg. the *š-* is a secondary prothesis (cf. Khl. *uläš*, with regular dropping of initial **m(u)-*).

See Giginayshvili 1977, 97.

| Khin. *mok* worm.

| W.-Cauc. **χlamələ-* worm: Ad. *hāmləw*; Kab. *hambələw*;

PAK *hamaLa-wa.

[] An interesting trisyllabic root with metatheses (rather usual in this case). Not quite clear is the reason for devoicing in PWC (regularly *b̥l(ʷ) would be expected); otherwise the correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems quite plausible.

*mHīrǫwV dirt; rust: Nakh. *m(h)āqV (~ʳ-); Lezg. *mirǫ:lʷ(a); Khin. maqal.

| Nakh. *m(h)āqV (~ʳ-) snot, mucus from the nose: Chech. *mēq-alg*.

An expressive suffixed form (with suffixes *-il+ik).

| Lezg. *mirǫ:lʷ(a) 1 rust 2 soot: Lezg. *mürq* 1; Tab. *murq:l* 1; Ag. *maq:lʷ* 1; Rut. *miqI* 1; Kryz. *meq* 1; Bud. *peq* (?) 1; Ud. *moḅI* / *moq:l* 2.

The vowel reflex is somewhat uncertain (perhaps we should reconstruct *-e-). Absolutely incomprehensible is the initial p- in Bud. 4th class in Rut., Kryz. and Bud.

See Talibov 1980, 270.

| Khin. *maqal* dirt.

[] Phonetically the PN and PL forms are in good agreement; however, the comparison raises some doubts. This is because there is a number of similar (phonetically and semantically) 'forms in several EC languages, which may have been confused and contaminated (due to expressive meaning). Perhaps we should also note Rut. *miqI* 'cow dung', Tsakh. *miqI* (Gelm. *miqI*), Bud. *neq* 'dirt' which could alternatively be compared with Chech. *mēqalg*.

*mHōK(V)čV flint: Nakh. *mHāquç; Av.-And. *gVmVčV /*čomHu; Lak. *nuwça*; W.-Cauc. *maça (~ -č-).

| Nakh. *mHāquç flint: Chech. *mōqaz*; Ing. *mōqaz*; Bacb. *maqaç*.

6th class in all languages. Cf. also Shar. *mʳoqoz*, Khild. *mōqoz* etc.

| Av.-And. *gVmVčV /*čomHu 1 stone 2 flint: Av. *gamáč* 1; Chad. *gamáč* 1; And. *čomu* 2; Kar. *čamu* 2; God. *čamu* 2.

Av paradigm C (*gančī-l*, *gánča-l*). Cf. also And. (Khaidakov) *čow* 'flint'. The Av. word for 'stone' is probably an old compound, whose first member is not clear (ga-) and the second is the same as *mačú* (*mač-dá-l*, *mačá-bi*) 'flint' (Chad. *močó*). The Andian forms are metathesized (Kar. Anch. *maču* 'flint' is obviously an Avar loanword). Old loans from Avar are Nakh forms: Chech. *māzar*, Ing. *mažar* 'flint gun', and Arch. *maça čele* 'flint' (*čele* 'stone'). Av. *gamáč* > Gin., Gunz. *gamáč* 'big stone'.

| Lak. *nuwça* flint.

Cf. Khosr. *nučʷa* id.

| W.-Cauc. *maça (~ -č-) flint: Abkh. *a-šança*; Abaz. *šaça*.

PAT *ša-maça (cf. also Bzyb. *a-šança*, Ashkh. *šamça*). A compound, where the first part reflects PWC *XV 'to whet' q. v. (lit. 'whetting flint'). PAT *č presupposes PWC *č or *č̣.

[] A specific trisyllabic structure (perhaps originally some compound), which resulted in some non-trivial changes (loss of the medial velar consonant in most languages, except PN). A probable (also irregular) transformation of the same

root can be discovered in Tab. *çi-hinč*-, Düb. *çi-mirč* 'flint' (with PL *čaj 'fire' as the first component) - although the precise PL form can hardly be deduced from Tab.

*mHolǫwV (~ -ā-, -ē-) a k. of grass: Nakh. *m(h)uǫ-(~ʳ, ū, ō, o, ǫ); Av.-And. *mVǫV; Lak. *muč:uč*; Lezg. *mallč:ʷ.

| Nakh. *m(h)uǫ-(~ʳ, ū, ō, o, ǫ) plantain: Chech. *mūzg*.

A diminutive form (in *-ik). Since only the Chech. form is attested, the PN reconstruction is rather tentative (several possibilities are available).

| Av.-And. *mVǫV tops (of plants): Av. *maž*.

| Lak. *muč:uč* a k. of field grass (бодяк полевой).

Old Lak. > Arch. *meč:uč* id. The Lak. form is partially reduplicated (which is common for plant names).

| Lezg. *mallč:ʷ 1 juniper 2 a k. of thorny grass (астрагал): Lezg. *mažʷ* 2; Ag. *maIržʷ* 1.

Cf. Lezg. pl. *mač:ʷ-ar*; Ag. Bursh. *meržʷ* 'nettle' (the meaning obviously influenced by PL *malč: 'nettle' which is a quite different root). PL *-l- is reconstructed to account for the loss of resonant in Lezg. (*-r- would have remained in this environment).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. As often with names of wild herbs, it is difficult to reconstruct the precise meaning of the root; phonetically all the forms correspond well to each other.

*mHōχi (~-u) handful: Tsez. *mōχV (~b:-); Lezg. *χ:am:.

| Tsez. *mōχV (~b:-) handful: Bezht. *māḅo*; Gunz. *mōḅu*.

PGB *mōḅu.

| Lezg. *χ:am: 1 armful 2 handful 3 hand, arm 4 palm of hand: Lezg. *ḅab* 2; Tab. *χab* 1; Ag. *χab* 1; Kryz. *χāb* 3; Bud. *χab* 4; Ud. *maχIa* 2,4 (*Nidzh*).

Obl. base *χ:am:~-, cf. Lezg. *ḅap:u-*, Tab. *χaba-*. Cf. also Tab. Khür. *χ:aw*, Ag. Bursh. *χ:aw* (pointing to *χ:-). 4th class in Kryz. and Bud. The Ud. form is metathesized (just as in the root for 'nail' q.v.).

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss; the correspondences are regular and the root structure archaic, thus it seems safely reconstructable for the PEC level.

*mičV (~-č-) hoof: Av.-And. *čimičV; Lak. *x:i-mič*; Lezg. *mič.

| Av.-And. *čimičV a projection on the back part of a hoof: God. *čimič*.

Isolated in God., but with probable parallels in other EC languages.

| Lak. *x:i-mič* hoof.

The Lak. form is a compound with some obscure first component.

| Lezg. *mič 1 hoof 2 nail, claw: Kryz. *miček* 1,2; Arch. *čimič* 1.

The Arch. form is reduplicated, and the Kryz. form contains a diminutive -ek. 3d class in both languages.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Note the identical reduplication in Arch. and God. (borrowing is hard to suppose).

*mīčV dark: Nakh. *māč-u(n) (~-ǫ-); Av.-And. *mVčV-; Lak. *murči-*; Lezg. *mič[ā]; Khin. *mičā*.

| Nakh. **māç-u(n)* (~ -ž-) 1 yellow 2 orange: Chech. *mōža* 1; Ing. *mōža* 2. The pure root is preserved in Chech. *maž-dan* 'paint yellow'.

| Av.-And. **mVçV-* 1 dark grey 2 yellow: Av. *māça-b* 1; Chad. *maça-b* 2. Av. > Gunz. *maçab* 'yellow'.

| Lak. *murçi-* blind.

| Lezg. **miç[ä]-* 1 dark 2 black: Lezg. *miçi* 1; Tab. *muçu* 1; Ag. *muçe-f* 1; Rut. *miça-q-di* 1 (*Shin.*); Tsakh. *miça-χ-in* 1; Kryz. *miçe* 1; Bud. *miçi* 1; Arch. *maça* 1; Ud. *maljin* 2.

In Rut. and Tsakh. the root is expanded by a suffix (probably locative in origin).

Cf. Leksika 1971, 226; Giginayshvili 1977, 102.

| Khin. *miçä* black.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The original meaning was, perhaps, 'dark grey' or 'dark yellow' (in Lak. 'dark' > 'blind', which is a rather usual semantic development). The Lak. form contains an adjectival infix (going back to a suffix) -r-: *murçi-* < **miçrV-* < **miçV-rV-*.

**miçwV* (~ -ç-) meadow, hill slope: Av.-And. **mVçV*; Lak. *maç*; Lezg. **çim*.

| Av.-And. **mVçV* meadow: Av. *meç*.
Av. paradigm C (*moçó-l*, *múç-dul*).

| Lak. *maç* meadow (on a hill slope).

| Lezg. **çim* hill slope: Tsakh. *çum*.

Attested only in Tsakh., but having probable external parallels.

[] The root is attested only in three languages, but (despite metathesis in Tsakh.), the PEC reconstruction is rather probable.

**mihV* a k. of foliage tree (alder): Nakh. **ma?*; Tsez. **mihe* A; Lak. *hi*.

| Nakh. **ma?* alder-tree: Chech. *ma?*; Ing. *mí'ing*.

3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing. Obl. base **ma'u-* (cf. Chech. *mo'a-*). The Ing. form contains a diminutive suffix (*-V_k); the vocalism is irregular (probably a late assimilation **ma'in_k* > **me'in_k* > *mí'ing*).

| Tsez. **mihe* A birch: Tsez. *mej*; Gin. *mij*; Khvarsh. *mīhi-s* (*gen.*); Inkh. *mihe*; Bezht. *mi'e*; Gunz. *mihe-s* (*gen.*).

PTsKh **mihe* (cf. also Tsez. *Sh.*, *Kid. me*), PGB **mihe* (cf. also Bezht. *Khosh.*, *Tlad. mije*).

| Lak. *hi* birch.

Cf. also Khosr. *kalla-hi* (lit. 'white *hi*'), dial. (cited from Khaidakov 1966) *hi* 'birch'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Lak. form *hi* goes back regularly to **mihi* (with a regular reduction of initial **m-* + narrow vowel). The meaning 'birch' in PTs and Lak is due to the influence of another root, PEC **mħerqwe* 'birch', which itself was not preserved in these languages (on the origin of Lak. dialectal *maq* 'birch' see under **mħerqwe*).

Although the roots **mħerqwe* and **mihV* appear to be in complementary distribution, there is no way to unite them phonetically, and they must be treated as separate etyma (the former meaning 'birch', the latter, probably, 'alder').

**mifwVrV* a k. of odorous grass: Nakh. **harVmV-k*; Av.-And. **HirmV*; Lak. *nur*; Darg. **mura*; Lezg. **mihur(aj)*.

| Nakh. **harVmV-* sweetbrier: Chech. *harmik*; Ing. *handar*.

The forms are quoted from the Ing.-Chech.-Russ. dictionary. The Russ.-Chech.-Ing. and the Russ.-Chech. dictionaries list Chech. *hārmak* 'sweetbrier', and the Chech.-Russ. dictionary - Chech. *hārmak* 'root-crop'. These all are obviously dialectal variants.

| Av.-And. **HirmV* mint: Akhv. *irmu* (*Tlan.*).

Attested only in Akhv., but having probable external parallels. The root should not be confused with North. Akhv. *ēmu*, Tseg. *īju* (see PA **imHV*).

| Lak. *nur* a k. of weed with edible root.

| Darg. **mura* hay: Ak. *mura*; Chir. *mura*.

Cf. also Kub. *mā*, Ur., Kad., Kait., Kharb., Tsud. *mura* id.

| Lezg. **mihur(aj)* 1 mint 2 barberry; ashberry: Tab. *nühr-er* (*Dub.*) 1; Ag. *uraj-ar* 1; Tsakh. *mije* 1; Kryz. *nuräj* 2.

Cf. also Ag. Burk. *uru'aj*, Fit. *urij-ar*, Tsakh. *Gelm. mu'ujä*, Tsakh. (prop.) *nu'jä* 'mint'. 4th class in Kryz. and Tsakh. Not quite clear is the loss of initial nasal in Ag. (metathesis **muHraj* > **umraj* > *uraj*?).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root obviously meant some odorous grass (cf. 'mint' in PL and PN, 'hay' in PD, 'sweetbrier' in PN), but it is hard to guess the particular species. The comparison involves some metatheses which are only natural in a trisyllabic stem like this.

Ultimately the stem can be derived from PNC **HmihwV* 'smell, odour' q.v., but it certainly already existed separately in PEC.

The stem was borrowed in some other Caucasian languages: Osset. *nūri* 'garlic', Georg. *niori*, Svan. *niwra* id. (see Abayev 1973, 193).

**miķwV* small, young one: Av.-And. **miķi* / **moķi*; Tsez. **m[i]ķV-*; Darg. **niķV-*; Lezg. **miķV-* (~e-).

| Av.-And. **miķi* / **moķi* 1 small 2 child: And. *miçi* 1, *moçi* 2; Akhv. *miķe* 2; Cham. *miķu-b* 1, *maç* 2; Tind. *muķutu-* 1, *maķa* 2; Kar. *miķi-s:* 1, *maķe* 2; Botl. *maķi* 2; Bagv. *maķ* 2; God. *miķi-si* 1, *maķi* 2.

For PA we can reconstruct **miķi*-small' (cf. also Kar. Tok. *muķu-b*, L.-Enkh. *meķo-b*, dial. *miķo-b*, Cham. Gad. *miķa-b*) and **moķi* 'child'. These forms probably reflect old Ablaut.

The same root was probably used in PA to denote 'small finger' (cf. the meanings in PTs) later developed to 'finger' in some languages: Tind. *miķa*, Akhv. *ūķa*, Tseg. *īķ'a* (< **i-miķV* with a laryngeal prefix occurring also in some other body part names), Cham. *miķ-* in *miķ-s:il* 'finger-ring' (= Tind. *miķi-s:al*).

| Tsez. **m[i]ķV-* 1 small, little 2 bear-cub: Inkh. *miçķare* 1; Bezht. *ķomori* 2; Gunz. *meķori* 2.

An expressive root with somewhat irregular correspondences (especially strange is the addition of -ç- in Inkh.); but the basic shape and the meaning small may be reconstructed securely enough.

| Darg. *nikV- small: Chir. *nikaze*.

Isolated in Chir. (cf. also *nik-el* 'child'), but with probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *mikV- (~e-) 1 young 2 few, a little; small: Rut. *muk-di* 1; Bud. *miķe*

The original meaning is probably 'small, young (of animals)', cf. the external evidence.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. There is some variation of m-/n- before a front vowel; otherwise the correspondences are regular.

*mīlɿwǎ (~ -ē-, -ī-) sun; day: Nakh. *mālχ; Av.-And. *mīli; W.-Cauc. *malwV.

| Nakh. *mālχ sun: Chech. *malχ*; Ing. *malχ*; Bacb. *matχ*.

Obl. base *mālχe-, cf. Chech. *mālχa-*, Ing. *malχo*. 5th/6th class in all languages. Cf. also Akk. *marχid*.

| Av.-And. *mīli 1 sun 2 day: And. *mīli* 1; Akhv. *mīli* 1; Cham. *mīl* 1,2; Tind. *mīli* 1; Kar. *mīle* 1; Botl. *mīhi* 1; Bagv. *mīl* 1; God. *mīli* 1.

Cf. also Bagv. Kvan. *mih*, Tlond. *milh* 'sun', Cham. Gig. *mīli* 'sun, day', and the derived words meaning 'southern (sunny) slope of a hill': And. *mīlijol*, Akhv. *mīladi*, Tind. *mīla*.

| W.-Cauc. *malwV day: Abkh. *á-ms*; Abaz. *mšə*; Ad. *māfa*; Kab. *māxʷa*; Ub. *məsʷá*.

PAT *māšə; PAK *maxʷá; Ub. def. *á-msʷa*. See Shagirov 1, 261-262 (with literature).

[] See Trubetzkoy 1922, 239, 242; 1930, 275 (who also compares Darg. *berhi* 'sun' which is reflecting a different NC root, see PNC *wirəqǎ), Abdokov 1983, 96. The metathesizes form is probably reflected in HU: Hurr. *šimī-gə* 'sun' (with a diminutive suffix), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 23.

The inner analysis of the WC form (prefix *ma- + *λʷV 'white, light') which had been accepted by many authors (see Чарая 1912, 46; Яковлев 1948, 273, 292; 1941, 260; Rogava 1956, 26; Kuipers 1960, III; Shagirov 1, 262) must be regarded as a folk etymology, because of the obvious relationship between the EC and WC forms.

Interesting is the comparison of the WC forms with Old Georgian *sa-mχari* 'south' (Чикобава 1953, 71); on the other hand, Mészáros' comparison of WC forms with PEC *Hwīqī 'day' (1934, 242) is absolutely untenable.

*mirč(w)ǎ (~ -ǎ-) knife, sickle: Av.-And. *mirčV; Tsez. *miš:u; W.-Cauc. *bəč:ʷa (~ p-).

| Av.-And. *mirčV dagger: Cham. *mirča* (Gig.); Bagv. *miča*.

| Tsez. *miš:u sickle: Gunz. *mišu*.

External evidence shows that Gunz. *mišu* should be kept apart from PTsKh

*nišu 'sickle' (cf. in PA the opposition *ničo : *mirčV), although of course the phonetics and meaning of PTs *niš:u could have influenced the Gunzib form.

| W.-Cauc. *bəč:ʷa (~ p-) 1 sickle 2 to cut, hew down (trees etc.): Ad. *bʷəpč* 1; Kab. *bʷəbza* 1; Ub. *pčə*- 2.

PAK *bʷəpč:a (a compound with *bʷə* 'metal, iron'). Ub. sing. *a-s-pčə-n*. The correspondence PAK *č: : Ub. č points to PWC *č:ʷ. Ubykh also has *bʷəpčə* 'sickle', but this can be an Adygh loanword.

See Shagirov 1, 136-137.

[] Correspondences are fully regular (*m- before a following non-nasal liquid yielding *b- in PWC), and, despite the root's not wide representation in EC, its PNC antiquity seems quite probable. Not quite secure is the reconstruction of labialisation in PNC: in PWC we would rather expect a usual dissimilatory delabialisation after a labial. Since the attested Av.-And.-Tsezian forms can go back both to *čw- and to *č-, we would prefer to reconstruct a non-labialized *č- and assume an assimilatory process in PWC.

*mītwi (~ē) growth, excrescence: Tsez. *tʷim / *miʷ (~i-); Lak. *maʷi*; Lezg. *miʷ.

| Tsez. *tʷim / *miʷ (~i-) 1 nipple, female breast 2 cock, trigger (of a gun): Tsez. *tem* 2; Gin. *tum* / *muʷ* 1.

PTsKh *tʷim / *miʷ (-i-).

| Lak. *maʷi* bough, twig, knot.

Cf. Khosr. *miʷi* id. (perhaps, also Khosr. *maʷa* 'penis (of a boy)').

| Lezg. *miʷ 1 growth, excrescence 2 nipple 3 penis (of a boy): Lezg. *maʷ* 1; Tab. *mimiʷ* 3 (?); Tsakh. *miʷ* 2.

Cf. also Tsakh. Mishl. *miʷi*. 3d class in Tsakh. (note that Arch. *maʷi* < Lak. *maʷi*). Tab. *mimiʷ* may belong here (with reduplication), but may be a suffixed form (with -iʷ) of an expressive root, present also in Lezg. Khl. *memis* 'penis (of a boy)', Khin. *māmīl* 'penis'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except for the sporadic metathesis in PTs).

*mizǎ / *zimizǎ a k. of stinging insect: Av.-And. *ç:imç:V; Darg. *zimizala; Lezg. *çimç / *çimç:; W.-Cauc. *maça.

| Av.-And. *ç:imç:V 1 ant 2 scorpion 3 centipede: Av. *ç:únç:ra* 1; Chad. *çúnçru* 1; Kar. *ç:imç:il* 2; God. *c:imc:içil* 3.

Av. paradigm A (*ç:únç:ra-dul*, *ç:únç:ra-bi*), but Chad. B (*çunçrú-l* / *çunçí-l*, *çunç-bí*). The root has different suffixes in all languages (cf. also God. Zib. *c:inc:iš:ul* 'centipede').

| Darg. *zimizala ant: Ak. *imiʷala*; Chir. *zimizal*.

Cf. also Ur. *imiʷala*, Kub. *dindala*, Tsud. *zimizala*, Kait. *zimzar* (with another suffix).

| Lezg. *çimç / *çimç: 1 ant 2 grasshopper 3 butterfly 4 moth: Tab. *çimç* (lit.) 1; Rut. *çaçí-χa* (Khnov.) 1; Tsakh. *çit* 2; Arch. *çimiçəla* 3; Ud. *c:ec*: 4.

Several forms reflect PL *çimç- with both weak *ç-s (lit. Tab., Rut.,

Arch.). This must be a result of later assimilation < **çimç*; reflected in Tsakh. (cf. gen. *çit:e-n*), and also Tab. Düb. *çimic:i* 'ant'. Ud. *c:ec*: reflects a form with both strong **ç*:-s. Variations of this kind are common in expressive roots with several stops.

| W.-Cauc. **maça* locust: Abkh. *a-máça*; Abaz. *maça*; Ad. *māç*; Kab. *māça*; Ub. *māčá*.

PAT **maça*; PAK **māça*. The inner analysis of PAK **māça* and relating **-ça* to PWC **ča* 'louse' q.v. (see Yakovlev 1948, 273, 292; 1941, 260; Rogava 1956,26; Kuipers 1960, 92; Shagirov 1977, 262) is absolutely unacceptable. Therefore there is no need to regard the Ub. and PAT forms as Adygh loans - all forms correspond perfectly well to each other.

[] The original root structure is in this case preserved in PWC. All EC languages reflect an expressive reduplicated form; reduplication was probably favoured by the existence of several semantically close reduplicated insect names (see **cimcV*, **çelçü*, **çimVçV* et al.). Otherwise correspondences are regular.

It is, perhaps, possible to find the non-reduplicated stem within EC in Tind. *mic:u-çu* 'tick' (presupposing PA **miç:V-ç:u*; Andian loanwords are Inkh. *miçiqu*, Tsez. *miçiqu* 'tick').

**mizV* sweet: Nakh. **maç-ri-n*; Av.-And. **miç:a-*; Tsez. **nucV A*; Lak. *naçu-*; Darg. **muzi-*; Lezg. **ič:i-* (/ **miç:i-*); Khin. *çin*; W.-Cauc. **çʷə*.

| Nakh. **maç-ri-n* sweet: Chech. *merza*; Ing. *merza*; Bacb. *maçrĩ*.

Cf. also Bacb. *maçar-dar* (= Chech. *marz-dan*) 'to sweeten'; Chech. Cheb. *marzĩ*, Shar. *merzĩ* etc. 'sweet'. A derivate of the same stem is PN **moç* (obl. base **maçi-*) 'honey': Chech. *moz* (*meza-*), Ing. *moz* / *moz* (*mezo*), Bacb. *moç* (*maçi-*) (3d class in all languages). A regular reflex of the old PEC derivate **hwmizū* would be PN **ʷoʃʃ* (**ʷaʃʃ*), so it is obvious that the nominal stem was rebuilt on the analogy with the adjective 'sweet'.

| Av.-And. **miç:a-* sweet: And. *miç:a*; Akhv. *miç:a-da*; Cham. *mişa-b*; Tind. *mic:a-b*; Kar. *miç:a-b*; Botl. *miç:a*; Bagv. *miç:a-b*; God. *mic:a*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *miç:a-b*; Akhv. *miç:a* 'alcoholic beverage (beer)'. Avaro-Andian languages also reflect the old derivate **hwmizū* > PA **hunç:i* 'honey': Av. *hoç:ó* (*haç:ú-l*), Chad. *hoçó* (*hoçó-l* / *hiçí-l*); And. *hunç:i*; Akhv. *ũç:i*; Cham. *hũş*, Gig. *hunç:i*; Tind. *hunc:i*; Kar. *hunç:e*; Botl. *hunç:i*; Bagv. *hũç:*; God. *hunc:i*.

| Tsez. **nucV A* honey: Tsez. *nuci*; Gin. *nuce*; Khvarsh. *nuca*; Inkh. *nucu*; Bezht. *nucu*; Gunz. *nucu*.

PTsKh **nucə*; PGB **nucu*. The Tsezian languages have preserved only the derivate 'honey'; the Inkh. form *nuca-gu* 'sweet' is a late back-formation from *nucu* 'honey'.

| Lak. *naçu-* sweet.

Cf. Khosr. *naçu-s:a* id. The old derivate **hwmizū* 'honey' is reflected in Lak. as *niç* (Khosr. *niç*).

| Darg. **muzi-* sweet: Ak. *muri-si*; Chir. *mizi-ze*.

Cf. also Ur. *murʷi*, Kait. *muzi-*, Kub. *midi-*, Tsud. *mizu-*. The derivate **hwmizū* 'honey' is reflected in PD as **waza* > Ak. *warʷa*, Chir. *waza*, Ur. *warʷa*,

Kub. *wada*, Tsud. *waza*.

| Lezg. **ič:i-* (/ **miç:i-*) sweet: Lezg. *werçi*; Tab. *ic:i*; Ag. *it:e-f*; Rut. *id-di*; Tsakh. *ut:u-n*; Arch. *iç*; Ud. *muč:la*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *werç:i*, Rut. Ikhr. *it:i-d*, Tsakh. Tsakh. *utu-n*, Arch. **-ç-* in forms like *iç:enu-t* 'everything sweet'. The Ud. form with *m-* is probably an archaism (cf. the external evidence); other languages have modified the stem on analogy with **imç*: 'honey' - which itself is an old derivate from the adjectival stem. The two stems have actively contaminated also in Lezghian - where *werçi* 'sweet' obtained the Anlaut on analogy with *wirt* 'honey', while the noun *wirt* got its *-r-* from the adjectival stem (regularly we would expect in Lezg.: **irc:i* (or *erc:i*) 'sweet' (with a typical adjectival *-r-* < **ič:V-rV-*) and **wit* 'honey'.

The word for 'honey' (PL **imç:*) has following reflexes: Lezg. *wirt* (*wirte-di-*), Khl. *urt* (*urt:e-di-*); Tab. *jič:*ʷ (*jič:ʷu-*), Ag. *it:*ʷ (*it:ʷa-*), Bursh. *jüt:*ʷ (*jüt:ʷa-*), Rut. *it* (*iti-* with secondary analogy instead of **it:i-*); Tsakh. *ut* (*ut:e-*), Gelm. *it*ʷ (*it:u-*); Kryz. *jüt*; Bud. *jüt*; Ud. *uč:I*.

See Боканев 1961, 71; Leksika 1971, 205; Giginayshvili 1977, 72, 106.

| Khin. *çin* sweet.

Probably a metathesis < **niç*; cf. also *nũç* 'honey', which is an old derivate of the same root.

| W.-Cauc. **çʷə* good: Ad. *şʷə*; Kab. *fə*.

PAK **çʷə*. Also means 'sweet' within the compound PAK **ʷá-çʷə* > Kab. *ʷaf*, Ad. *ʷaşʷ*.

[] A very widely represented root, and there is no doubt in its archaic character. Most languages also reflect the common EC derivate **hwmizū* 'honey' (in some of the modern languages reflexes of these two roots later merged or influenced each other, see above).

The EC-WC comparison see Abdokov 1983, 149. It seems probable, but there are reservations: if the WC form is really related, one must reconstruct **mizū* with a short final vowel (opposed to *-ū* in **hwmizū* 'honey'); also unclear are the reasons for dropping **m-* in PWC.

**mifwVIʷ* nose: Av.-And. **mihar*; Tsez. **maru*; Lak. *maj*; Darg. **mañul*; Lezg. **muʷel*.

| Av.-And. **mihar* nose: Av. *meʷér*; And. *mahar*; Akhv. *miʷa*; Cham. *maj*; Tind. *mijar*; Kar. *miʷar*; Botl. *miʷar*; Bagv. *miʷar*; God. *mihar*.

Av. paradigm C (*muʷrú-l*, *muʷru-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *miʷar* 'nostril', Bagv. Tlond. *meʷel*, And. dial. (Leksika) *mihar*, Cham. Gig. *mara* etc. In Akhv. besides *miʷa* 'nose' we have *miʷi* 'beak' - obviously related, but the suffixation is not clear.

| Tsez. **maru* nose: Tscz. *maʷlli*; Gin. *malu*; Khvarsh. *mani*; Inkh. *maʷlne*; Bezht. *mārō*; Gunz. *maru*.

PTsKh **maʷlRe*/**maʷlRu*, PGB **maru*. *-n-* in Khvarsh. and Inkh. is a result of nasal assimilation.

| Lak. *maj* nose.

3d class.

| Darg. *ma^hul 1 nose 2 beak: Ak. mal^hul 1 (*Kait*); Chir. mu^hul 2.

Should be distinguished from PD *mu^huli 'mouth' q.v.

| Lezg. *mu^hel 1 nose 2 beak 3 snot: Lezg. ner 1; Ag. mu^hul 2; Kryz. mi^hel 1; Bud. me^hel 1; Arch. mu^hl 3.

The Lezghi form needs a special comment. It is, in fact, a historical plural form: *n-er* < **in-er* < **il-er* (cf. dialectal Khl. *iler* 'nose'); the shift from *l* to *n* in lit. Lezghi is not quite clear, but paralleled in the case *n-ez* 'eat' < **il-ez* (see **i^hal-*). In its turn, **il-er* is a quite regular reflex of **mu^hel-ar* ('the nostrils') with a normal loss of the preaccented sequence **mu-*.

The word belongs to the 3d class in Kryz., Bud. and Arch.

See Leksika 1971, 120.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Lak. has lost the final resonant (probably as a result of its reinterpretation as obl. base marker).

*m^hilc^wV wind: Av.-And. *moč^wi (/ *mič^wi); Tsez. *muš:ə A; Lak. marč; Lezg. *muč.

| Av.-And. *moč^wi (/ *mič^wi) wind: Av. muč-huri (*Gudava*); And. moči; Akhv. miče (*Ratl.*); Cham. muš; Tind. muču; Kar. muču; Botl. muču; Bagv. muč^w; God. muču.

The second part of the Av. compound is *huri* 'wind' q.v. Cf. also Cham. Gig. muču.

| Tsez. *muš:ə A breath, smell: Tsez. muši; Khvarsh. muša; Bezht. mušo; Gunz. muše.

PTsKh *mušə, PGB *mušə.

| Lak. marč wind.

3d class, obl. stem *murča-*. Cf. also Khosr. marč^w.

| Lezg. *muč 1 wind 2 hope: Tab. mič 2 (*Düb.*); Ag. muš 2 (*Bursh.*); Tsakh. mic 1; Ud. muš 1.

Rather strange is -c in Tsakh. (regularly -č would be expected). The shift 'wind'/'hope' is usual in NC.

Cf. Leksika 1971, 180; Giginayshvili 1977, 92.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*m^hil^hV husband, male, worker: Lak. marķu; Darg. *muryul; W.-Cauc. *χə.

| Lak. marķu poor man; farm-hand.

| Darg. *muryul man, husband: Ak. murul.

Cf. also Ur. mur^hul, Muir. murgul etc.

| W.-Cauc. *χə man: Ad. χə; Kab. χə.

PAK *χə. Despite Abayev 2,19-20, Balkarov 1969,171, Shakryl 1968, 30-31, 77 and Shagirov 1,257 the AK word can not be related to PAT *ləgə 'slave; old man'.

[] The root should be (for phonetic reasons) kept apart from *mōrLV 'man, male' q.v. In PAK we should rather expect *Pχə: reason for dropping the initial

labial is not quite clear (perhaps through influence of another root, PWC *LV 'male' < *liwLE q.v.).

*m^hi^hqV a k. of cutting instrument: Av.-And. *maqa-la (~o,-?-); Tsez. *miq; Lezg. *mVq(uj).

| Av.-And. *maqa-la (~o,-?-) hoe, pickaxe: Cham. māla; Kar. ma^hala.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. mala, Kar. Rats. ma^hala id.

| Tsez. *miq chisel: Bezht. muq; Gunz. miq.

PGB *miq (-u- in Bezht. is obviously secondary, under the influence of m-).

| Lezg. *mVq(uj) 1 ploughshare 2 knife: Tab. muqu 1; Ud. me 2.

The Tab. form contains a *-j-suffix (muqu < *mVquj). The vocalism is hard to establish because of assimilation in the first syllable of a disyllabic word in Tab., and because of the general unreliability of the Udi vocalism; the only certain thing is that the root vowel was not *a.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*m^hirgwa (~ -ā-, -ǎ) root: Tsez. *χ:emuχ: (~b); Lak. marχ:a; Darg. *marq:wā; Lezg. *marq^w; W.-Cauc. *pəχ^wə.

| Tsez. *χ:emuχ: (~b) root: Bezht. χemuχ; Gunz. χumuχ.

PGB *χemuχ (-u- in the first syllable in Gunz. is a result of assimilation).

| Lak. marχ:a root.

| Darg. *marq:wā 1 stump 2 root: Ak. marq:a 1; Chir. marq:wa 2.

| Lezg. *marq^w 1 root 2 stake: Ag. marqI^w 1; Ud. maq 3.

Within Agul (Richa dialect) the word has partially contaminated with another PL root *malqI^w q.v. (which explains the Agul pharyngealization); Arch. marχ:u 'root' is obviously a Lak. loanword.

| W.-Cauc. *pəχ^wə 1 carrot 2 maize stalk: Abkh. á-ph^w (*Bzyb.*) 2; Ad. pχə 1; Kab. pχə 1; Ub. məχə 2.

The PAK form *pχə corresponds very well to Abkh. and Ub. (semantically: *'root' > a) '(maize) stalk'; b) 'carrot'). The comparison with Abaz. s^wχə 'carrot' (Shagirov 2,24) is phonetically impossible. Adygh > Osset. apχä 'carrot' (see Abayev 1, 171).

Variations in labialisation (*χ^w / *χ) are explained by dissimilation to the initial labial consonant.

[] Correspondences are regular. The root is securely reconstructed for PNC.

*mōGwV (~ -ā-) back; body: Av.-And. *mi^hV(-l); Tsez. *mōbu.

| Av.-And. *mi^hV(-l) back: Av. muḅ; And. miḅul; Kar. muḅul; Bagv. muḅul (*Tlis.*); God. muḅul.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. muḅ-zāl).

| Tsez. *mōb:u (~χ-) body: Bezht. mabo; Gunz. mōbu.

PGB *mōbu. With Ablaut cf. PGB *muḅa- 'behind' (Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. muḅā-ttā, Gunz. muḅa-λdo).

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss (note also Gunz. muḅaλ adv. 'back' < Av.).

***moʎorV** a k. of foliage tree: Av.-And. ***miʎ:VrV**; Tsez. ***ʔorʎVmV**; Lezg. ***moʎ:or**; W.-Cauc. ***məʎa**.

| Av.-And. ***miʎ:VrV** 1 peach, peach-tree 2 fruit stone: Av. **miʎ:ir** 1; Akhv. **miʎ:ara** 2.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. **moʎ:ró-l**). Av. > Akhv. **miʎ:ir** 'peach' (thus there exists an etymological doublet - **miʎ:ir** and **miʎ:ara** - in Akhv.).

| Tsez. ***ʔorʎVmV** 1 big log 2 wooden cornice: Tsez. **oʎermu** 2; Khvarsh. **oʎermu** 1 (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. **orʎomu** 1.

PTsKh ***ʔorʎVmV** (/ʔorʎVmV).

| Lezg. ***moʎ:or** 1 birch 2 poles for planking ceiling 3 wooden pipe: Lezg. **mukur** 3; Tab. **muk:ur** 3; Ag. **muk:ur** 2; Arch. **moʎ:or** 1.

The precise meaning in Lezg. and Tab. is 'a wooden pipe for draining urine from the cradle'. 3d class in Arch.

The root originally must have meant some foliage tree (not 'birch' - because the meaning 'birch' in Arch. is an innovation, after the word superseded the original PL ***merʎI** 'birch' q.v.), which was used for making planking poles and certain details of the cradle. Later most languages started using the root only in these derived meanings (note also in Archi: **moʎ:or** 'birch', but already 'pole for planking ceiling' in a compound **ʎ:at-moʎ:or** 'ceiling', lit. 'cross-beams'+ 'planking poles').

| W.-Cauc. ***məʎa** elm: Ub. **məʎa-sə**.

Considering the EC parallels (with the meaning 'fruit stone, seed') it seems possible to compare also Kab. **kʷə-məʎa** 'seed inside a fruit stone, inside (of a fruit)'.

[] An interesting root, both phonetically (note the peculiar metathesis in PTs) and semantically (note the intricate semantic developments in PL; cf. also an interesting development 'peach' > 'fruit stone' - not vice versa - in Akhv.). It is hard to establish the precise meaning in PNC: the only obvious fact is that the root denoted some kind of a foliage tree, which was often used for construction purposes (cf. the meanings in Tsezian and Lezghian languages) and probably resembled a peach-tree (cf. the meaning in Av.).

See Abdokov 1983, 109 (Akhv. : Kab.; Chech. *lag*, also cited by the author, has no relation to the present root).

***mōngwē** nest; bed: Av.-And. ***mingV**; Darg. ***megʷ(a)**; Lezg. ***mok:ʷ**.

| Av.-And. ***mingV** 1 sleeping birth 2 ottoman: Av. **máŋgi** 2 (*dial*); Kar. **minge** 1 (*Archo*).

Cf. also Kar. Tok. **mingi** 'sleeping birth'. Kar. (Kar.) **mangi** id., judging from its vocalism, is a loan from Avar. The same is true about Nakh words: Chech. **māŋga**, Ing. **māŋgi** 'bed' (if it were a genuine root, ***m-** would be changed to **n-**, and ***n-** would be lost).

| Darg. ***megʷ(a)** 1 nest 2 stool: Ak. **muga** (*Kub.*) 1; Chir. **megʷal** 2.

Cf. also Kait. **meg** 'nest'.

| Lezg. ***mok:ʷ** 1 nest, burrow 2 basket; hive 3 tree-hollow: Lezg. **mug** 1;

Tab. **mug** 2; Ag. **mug** 1,3.

Cf. Lezg. obl. **muk:a-**, Khl. **miġ, mik:a-**, Tab. Kand. **mug** 'nest'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except for the Av. dialectal vowel -a-), and the reconstruction seems reliable.

***mōnqī** (~ē) breast; bosom: Nakh. ***nāqa**; Av.-And. ***niqī** (~χ-); Tsez. ***χimVrV** (~i-); Lak. **quru**; Darg. ***miqiri**; Lezg. ***moʎor**; W.-Cauc. ***mVq:a**.

| Nakh. ***nāqa** breast: Chech. **nāqa**; Ing. **naqa**.

6th class in Chech., Ing. Obl. base ***nāqī-** (Chech. **nēqa-**, Ing. **nāqo**).

| Av.-And. ***niqī** (~χ-) 1 breast 2 brisket: Av. **mehéd** 2; Cham. **niχ** 1; Tind. **niχī** 1; Kar. **niχe** 1; Botl. **niχī** 1; Bagv. **nih** 1; God. **niχī** 1.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. **mahdī-l**); -d may be a result of partial contamination with another PEC root (see ***qVdV**), but as a whole Av. **mehed** is hard to separate from the Andian and EC root. ***n-** in PA is obviously secondary (an influence of the former medial ***n-**).

| Tsez. ***χimV(rV)** (~i-) breast: Tsez. **hemori**; Gin. **χema**.

PTsKh ***χimo(RV)** (~i-) (in Tsez. there is a variation **hemori/hamori**). The word is also used in a compound with PTs ***roḳʷə** 'heart' (Tsez. **hamo-roḳu**, Gin. **χemo-roḳe**, /Lomtadze/ **χema-roḳʷe**).

In Gin. there also exists a word **homoro** 'part of beef brisket' (Lomtadze) which must be borrowed from some Bezht.-Gunz. dialect (in PGB a regular correspondence for PTsKh ***χimoRV** would be ***χimVrV** /~i-).

| Lak. **quru** brisket.

The old meaning 'breast, chest' is preserved in the compound **qara-zip** 'breast pocket'. **qara-** is probably the old obl. stem, preserved also in some adverbs: **qara-lu** 'under one's arm' (cf. Khosr. **qara-lalu** 'armpit'), **qara-j** 'on the shoulder'.

| Darg. ***miqiri** breast, chest: Ak. **miqir**; Chir. **miqire**.

Cf. also Ur. **miqiri**, Kub. **muqaj**

| Lezg. ***moʎor** 1 breast 2 female breast 3 breast meat, brisket: Lezg. **χur** 1; Tab. **muχur** 1; Ag. **muχur** 1; Rut. **miχir** 1; Tsakh. **muχu** 2; Kryz. **maχar** 1; Bud. **maχar** 1; Arch. **moʎor** 3.

3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. Not quite clear is the -a-vocalism in Shakhdagh.

See Talibov 1960a, 296; Leksika 1971, 107; Giginayshvili 1977, 68.

| W.-Cauc. ***mVq:a** 1 arm 2 bosom: Abaz. **maqa** 1; Ub. **məqá** 2.

Somewhat problematic (semantically) is the position of Abkh. **á-maχa** 'hip, thigh' (which phonetically is a perfect match for Abaz. **maqa**).

[] A good common NC root. It is often accompanied by the suffixed ***-rV** (in PTs, Lak., PD and PL). Lak. **quru** regularly < ***mVquru**. The only irregularity is a metathesis in PTs (which is a frequent phenomenon). Note that Khin. **maχar** 'woman's breast' is a loan from Shakhdagh.

***mō[n]qV** ploughshare, harrow: Nakh. ***moq**; Av.-And. ***miq:i**; Lezg.

***maq:**.

| Nakh. ***moq** 1 harrow 2 plough: Chech. **meqa** 1; Ing. **maqa** 1; Bacb. **moq** 2.

The attested forms (Bacb. is cited from Matsiyev's dictionary) reflect a normal PN paradigm *moq, *maqe-, with shift of the obl. base to direct in Chech. and Ing. 6th class in all languages.

Nakh > Osset. *māq(q)ī* 'network upon which hay is being stacked' (see Abayev 1973, 95).

| Av.-And. *miq:i harrow: Kar. *miq:i*.

Attested only in Kar., but having probable external parallels. Cf. also the Inkh. loanword *miqi* 'harrow' (pointing to the existence of this root at least in some Tindi or Cham. dialects).

| Lezg. *maq: ploughshare: Lezg. *maš*; Ag. *maš*; Rut. *maš*; Tsakh. *maš*; Kryz. *maš*.

Cf. Lezg. erg. *maq:uni* (Khl. *maq:ani*). Obl. base *maq:i- (cf. Rut. *maša*-, Tsakh. *maši*-). 3d class in Kryz. and Tsakh., but 4th class in Rut.

See Leksika 1971, 174; Talibov 1980, 304.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. As with many cultural terms, correspondences are not quite regular: the medial resonant has to be postulated (to account for the development *q > q: in PL; otherwise *q would be expected); however, in the case of medial *-n- we would rather expect a change *monq > *noq in PN. One can not exclude a possibility of ancient interlingual loans, which have led to distortion of regular sound laws in this case.

*mōqV handful; handle, hilt: Nakh. *muq; Tsez. *moqV (~o-); Lezg. *maq:(a); W.-Cauc. *māba (~b-).

| Nakh. *muq hilt (of a dagger, sabre): Chech. *muq*; Ing. *muq*; Bacb. *muq*.

PN paradigm *muq, *maqara- (cf. Chech. *maqara*-). 6th class in all languages.

| Tsez. *moqV (~o-) handful: Tsez. *moqlu*.

Attested only in Tsez., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *maq:(a) handful: Ud. *q:ošla-maš*.

Udi has a compound, wherein the first part may be compared with Darg. *qalš-* in *qalš-čim* 'span'. Other Lezghian languages have not preserved either part of it.

| W.-Cauc. *māba (~b-) handle: Abkh. *á-mā*; Abaz. *mā*.

PAT *mā^a.

□ Not widely spread, but seems both phonetically and semantically reliable.

*mōrLV male: Nakh. *mār; Darg. *marga; Lezg. *morλ:il / *μorλ:il.

| Nakh. *mār husband: Chech. *mar*; Ing. *mar*; Bacb. *mar*.

Obl. base *māre- (Chech. *mēra*-, Ing. *maro*). Cf. also Pharch. *mār* id. More used in Chech. is the derivate form *majra* (< *mārV-ja) 'husband; brave, brave man'.

| Darg. *marga male: Ak. *marga*; Chir. *marğa*.

Cf. also Ur. *marğa* id.

| Lezg. *morλ:il / *μorλ:il 1 man 2 male 3 male child 4 brave man, hero: Lezg. *rugul* 3; Tab. *murgu-z'i* 4; Rut. *wiyl-di* 1; Tsakh. *wiylili-n* 2;

Kryz. *miyl* 2; Bud. *wili* 2; Arch. *mele* 2.

Lezg. *rugul* goes back to *μorλ:il with a regular elision of *μo-. The original form (to judge from external correspondences) must have been the one with *m-; initial *u- substituted it under analogy with the 1t class prefix *μ-. External evidence shows also that, despite superficial resemblance, this is not the same root as PL *λ:ilV- 'man, male' (q.v.).

See Leksika 1971, 131; Giginayshvili 1977, 86.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Cf. also Hurr. *mari(j)-anna* 'chariot driver', Urart. *marā* 'one of the social groups' - an important social term, not borrowed (as sometimes supposed) from Indo-Aryan (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 21).

*mōrgwV stripe, line: Nakh. *mašu; Av.-And. *muq:V / *nuq:V; Lak. *marq*; Lezg. *marχ:.

| Nakh. *mašu 1 line 2 line, row: Chech. *moša* 2; Ing. *muš* 1.

Initial *mf- also possible. In Chech. the word has two obl. stems: *mašara*- 'row' (cf. Ing. *mušaro*) and *mošana*- 'line'; the latter is obviously secondary.

| Av.-And. *muq:V / *nuq:V 1 line 2 stripe 3 furrow: Av. *muq: 1*; Akhv. *muq:u 1*; Cham. *nuq: 1,3* (Gig.); Kar. *nuq:e 1,2*; God. *muq:i 1*.

Av. paradigm C (*muq:i-l*, *muq:a-l*). Cf. also Kar. Tok. *muq:i* 'line'. Cham. and Kar. have initial n- - obviously a result of labial dissimilation before -u-.

| Lak. *marq* a woolen thread of high quality.

Gen. *murqa-l*.

| Lezg. *marχ: a stripe of mown grass: Lezg. *marb*; Tab. *marb'al*; Bud. *merb*; Arch. *maχ*.

Cf. also Lezg. erg. *marbuni*, Arch. pl. *maχ:ut* (indicating that the root consonant is indeed *χ:). The Arch. word has a specific meaning: 'part of the meadow allotted for one woman to mow'. From Lezg. the word has been borrowed into Ud. *marib* 'trace of one scythe-stroke'.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. From Avar the word had been borrowed into some Tsezian languages: cf. Inkh., Bezht. *muq* 'row, stripe'. The Lak. word fits well phonetically, but is somewhat far semantically: we should probably think of a development 'stripe' > 'thick thread' > 'thread of high quality'.

*mōswV / *swōmV tomb-stone, grave, mound: Tsez. *šimV (~š:-); Lezg. *moso-l; W.-Cauc. *šama (~s-, š-).

| Tsez. *šimV (~š:-) 1 grave 2 heap, mound: Tsez. *šem* 2; Bezht. *šuna*; Gunz. *šima*.

PGB *šima (with a rather unique metathesis of labialisation in Bezht.; cf. also Tlad., Khosh. *šünä*).

| Lezg. *moso-l 1 tomb-stone 2 post, pillar: Rut. *sil* 1; Arch. *mosol* 1; Ud. *ol* 2.

3d class in Arch. and Rut. Archi preserves the most archaic root structure (cf. the external evidence); reasons for loss of *mo- in Rut. and Ud. are unclear (this process is typical only for Lezg.).

| W.-Cauc. *šama (~ s-, š-) heap, mound: Ad. šama; Kab. šama.

PAK *samá (with *s- pointing to PWC *s-, *š- or *š-).

□ In EC languages the root suffers some irregular transformations - possibly, because of taboo considerations. The EC-WC comparison seems quite probable (with a secondary dissimilative development *šw- > *š- in WC), if the PAK form really goes back to a PWC form with hushing *š- (unfortunately, there are no AA and Ub. data, which would verify it). See Abdokov 1983, 102 (Tsez. šem: WC; Av. 'ansí 'snow-drift', also cited by the author, belongs to quite a different root).

*mōwχē wool, (woollen) thread: Nakh. *mobχV-r (~ -a-); Av.-And. *miwχV; Tsez. *mōχV; Lak. huru; Lezg. *mVwχV-r.

| Nakh. *mobχV-r (~ -a-) thick hempen threads: Ing. mowχar.

Attested only in Ing., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *miwχV 1 autumn wool 2 fleece; a skein of wool: Av. nuχí 2; And. miχi 1; Akhv. miχe 1; Cham. muχ 1; Tind. miχa 1; Kar. mihi 1; Bagv. miñ 1; God. muχu 1.

In Av. nuχí < *niwχi (with a usual shift m- > n- before i); *-w- also accounts for the vowel -u- in Cham. and God.

| Tsez. *mōχV thread: Tsez. mōχo (Kid.); Khvarsh. mōχo (Radzhibov); Inkh. mōχo.

PTsKh *mōχo.

| Lak. huru fleece, wool (from one sheep).

| Lezg. *mVwχV-r string, rope: Kryz. muχur (Al.).

The stem is attested only in Kryz., but has very probable external cognates.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. In PTs the medial -w- probably was lost rather early (otherwise we should expect *-χ- in cluster with a previous resonant); otherwise correspondences are quite regular (Lak. huru regularly < *muhuru with loss of the initial *mV-). The root is often accompanied by *-rV (in PN, Lak., PL) which must be here a former plural suffix.

*mōχV bundle: Nakh. *moñ; Av.-And. *χimi-r; Tsez. *muḅ: A; Lak. hi; Darg. *maχ;; Lezg. *maχ;; W.-Cauc. *māχə.

| Nakh. *moñ pack, burden: Chech. moñ; Ing. muñ; Bacb. muñ / moñ.

6th class in all languages. In Bacb. moñ is Matsiyev's notation, muñ - the notation of Kadagidze. Obl. base *mañu- (cf. Chech. moñ-, pl. *mañ(b)i-š > Chech. mañhaš, Ing. mowhaš, Bacb. mañis). The Ing. obl. base miño is an innovation (miñ < *muñi- with vowel levelling after the direct base).

| Av.-And. *χimi-r 1 bundle, load 2 pack: Akhv. χeme 1; Cham. χimi 1; Tind. χimar 1; Kar. himer 1; Botl. χemer 1; Bagv. hemer 1; God. χimir 2.

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. χemer, Kar. Anch. χemer, Tok. himir, Cham. Gig. χimir.

| Tsez. *muḅ: A bundle, load: Tsez. muḅ; Gin. muḅ; Khvarsh. muḅ (Radzhibov); Inkh. muḅ; Bezht. muh.

PTsKh *muḅ. Cf. also Bezht. Tlad. mū id.

| Lak. hi bundle.

Cf. Khosr. hi 'bundle (of brushwood)'.
| Darg. *maχ: burden, load, bundle: Ak. maχ; Chir. maχ:.

Cf. also Ur. maχ, Kub. maχ (pl. muχ:e).

| Lezg. *maχ: bundle: Ag. maχ; Arch. maχ.

Cf. also Ag. Fit. maḅ; Arch. plur. maχ:-ut (pointing to *χ:). 3d class in Archi.

| W.-Cauc. *māχə bundle, sheaf: Ub. māχ-māq.

An isolated Ub. word (probably reduplicated; final -q is not clear), but having probable EC parallels.

□ Except for the metathesis in PA (*χimi-r < *miχi-r), all correspondences are regular. It is possible that the word is an old derivat (with the instrumental prefix *m-) from the verb *-iχV 'to carry' (q.v.). In this case Ub. māχ-māq is the only trace of this verbal root (otherwise completely lost) in WC.

*mswānV place: Nakh. *šun; Av.-And. *mis(°)a; Darg. *mus:a; Lezg. *mās:.

| Nakh. *šun a round 3-legged table: Chech. šun; Ing. šu.

Obl. base *šune-, cf. Chech. šuna-, Ing. šuno. 3d class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *mis(°)a 1 place 2 house: And. misa 1,2; Akhv. miša 1,2; Tind. misa 2; Kar. misa 1,2; Botl. musa 1; Bagv. misa 2; God. musa 1.

The Botl. and God. forms point to PA *mis°a (labialisation was lost in other languages).

| Darg. *mus:a 1 place 2 floor: Ak. musa 1; Chir. mus:a 2.

Cf. also Ur. musa, Kub., Kait. mus:a 'place'.

| Lezg. *mās: 1 bed 2 nest: Lezg. mes 1; Rut. mās 1; Kryz. mis 1; Arch. mas 1; Ud. mec / mes 2.

Cf. Arch. loc. mes:é. Obl. stem *mās:i- (Lezg. mesi-, Rut. māsī-). 4th class in Rut. and Kryz., but 3d class in Arch.

See Talibov 1980, 314.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Semantical changes are normal ('place'/'house'/'bed'/'table'). Correspondences are regular (the root demonstrates a rather rare PEC structure *RCVRV, behaving just like *HCVRV).

*mučÜ / *čumÜ stick: Av.-And. *čumV; Tsez. *čumal; Lak. čamaralu; Darg. *murč; W.-Cauc. *māč°ə.

| Av.-And. *čumV stick, stalk: God. čuma.

Attested only in God., but having good external parallels.

| Tsez. *čumal 1 leg, foot 2 stem, stalk: Bezht. čamal 1,2; Gunz. čumal 1.

PGB *čumal (with vowel assimilation in Bezht.).

| Lak. čamaralu groin; perineum.

| Darg. *murč rod, stick; vine: Ak. murč.

Cf. also Kub. murč id.

| W.-Cauc. *māč°ə 1 wood, firewood 2 coal: Abkh. a-mčə 1; Abaz. mčə 1; Ad. š°a-māč 2; Kab. fa-māš 2.

PAT *māčə; PAK *č^wa-māčə (lit. 'black (*č^wa-) wood'). See Шагиров 1977, 2, 102 (where, however, PAK *č^wa- is erroneously linked to *mač^wa 'fire').

□ Phonetically - except for the usual metathesis - the correspondence is quite plausible; the root is accompanied by suffixes (*-tV, *-rV or both) in PTs, Lak. and PD (PD *murč is a development of *muč(V)-rV, just like *murs*: q.v. < *mus:V-rV). The original meaning must have been 'stick, wood' (preserved in most languages), with a development > 'leg' in PTs (cf., characteristically, both meanings at once in Bezht.), and, further, 'leg(s)' > 'groin' in Lak.

*muħalV mountain: Nakh. *lām; Av.-And. *mVHVr; Tsez. *malru; Lezg. *muhIVl (~ -?-).

| Nakh. *lām mountain: Chech. *lam*; Ing. *lomo*; Bacb. *lam*.

Obl. base *lāmu- (cf. Ing. *lomo*, whence with vowel levelling the direct base *lom*; in Chech. the old obl. stem is preserved in /Uslar/ *lōmu* 'up the mountain', being replaced by the more common levelled obl. base *lāma-na-*). 6th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *mVHVr mountain: Av. *me^šér*; Chad. *me^šér*.

Av. paradigm C (*mu^šru-l/ma^šari-l, mu^šru-l*).

| Tsez. *maIru 1 mountain 2 hillock, knoll: Tsez. *maIli* 2; Gin. *malu* 1; Khvarsh. *mani* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *mä*; Gunz. *maru*.

PTsKh *maIRV, PGB *maru. Cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *märö*, Khosh. *märö* 'mountain top'.

| Lezg. *muhIVl (~ -?-) mountain: Arch. *mul*.

The Arch. form is isolated within Lezghian, but with good external parallels.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for metathesis in PN, correspondences are regular.

*mūnyu(tV) besom: Nakh. *nugV (~-b-, -d-); Tsez. *mul(V) A; Darg. *muγul; Lezg. *murk:ul.

| Nakh. *nugV (~-b-, -d-) besom: Chech. *nuj*; Ing. *nuv*.

Since there is no Bacb. form, any voiced stop may be reconstructed for PN. 6th class in Chech. and Ing.

| Tsez. *mul(V) A 1 besom 2 (twig, rod) > needle, knitting-needle: Tsez. *muri* 2; Gunz. *mul* 1.

The Tsez. form corresponds well phonetically to Gunz. *mul*; there is, however, a possibility that Tsez. *muri* / *mura* < *mič^wVra (= Gin. *mač^ware* 'needle') < PTs *bič^wVna q.v.

| Darg. *muγul besom: Ak. *mu[?]ul*.

Cf. also Ur. *mu[?]ul*, Kait. *mugul*.

| Lezg. *murk:ul 1 besom, broom 2 side (of body): Lezg. *k:ul* 1; Tab. *murgul* 1; Ag. *mugul* 1; Rut. *mugul* 1; Tsakh. *miγil* 2; Kryz. *magul* 1; Bud. *mogul* 1; Ud. *mugul* 1.

Cf. also Ud. Nidzh. *mungul* 'besom' (possibly an archaic form, since *-nis reconstructed in this root for PEC), Tsakh. Tsakh., Gelm. *mugul* 'side (of body). The specific semantic development in Tsakh. is explained by a shift *'besom' > 'a rod

in a besom' > 'rib' (cf. Tab. *murglin tul* 'rib', lit. 'besom's rod').

Cf. Talibov 1960a, 297; Leksika 1971, 195; Giginayshvili 1977, 79.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*mūqV barley: Nakh. *mūq; Tsez. *miχV; Lak. *qa*; Darg. *muqi; Lezg. *moχ; Khin. *maqa*.

| Nakh. *mūq 1 barley 2 baked bread: Chech. *muq* 1; Ing. *muq* 1, *māq* 2; Bacb. *majqī* 2.

PN paradigm: *mūq, obl. *māqi- (cf. Chech. *muq*, *mēqa-*, Ing. *muq*, *māqo*, Cheb. *muq*, *māqi-*). 6th class in Ing. and Chech. The oblique stem *māqi used as direct ('barley's, stemming from barley') is used in the meaning 'bread' in Ing. and Bacb.

| Tsez. *miχV roasted grain: Tsez. *mahu*; Gin. *mihi*; Khvarsh. *mihe* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *mihe*.

PTsKh *miχV.

| Lak. *qa* barley.

Cf. Khosr. *qa* id.

| Darg. *muqi barley: Ak. *muqi*; Chir. *muqe*.

Cf. also Ur. *muqi*, Kub. *muqe*.

| Lezg. *moχ 1 barley 2 a sp. of barley (голозерный ячмень): Lezg. *muχ* 1; Tab. *muχ* 1; Ag. *muχ* 2; Kryz. *miχ* 1; Bud. *muχ* 1; Arch. *maχa* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *miχ*, Tab. Düb. *muχ*, Ag. Bursh. *muχ*. 3d class in Bud. and Arch., 4th class in Kryz. Obl. base *moχa- (cf. Lezg. *muχa-*, Khl. *miχa-*, Tab. *muχa-*, Ag. *muχa-*). Arch. *maχa* < *moχa-j (with a frequent -j-suffix). See Giginayshvili 1977, 134.

| Khin. *maqa* barley.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (Lak. *qa* < *muqa with a regular loss of *mu-). The regular reflex of *mūqV in PTs is *miχV; thus another root, PTsKh *maqa 'barley' (Tsez., Gin., Inkh. *maqa*) must be considered as a loanword. The most probable source for it is Proto-Kartvelian *maqa (~ -χ-); see Klimov 1964, 130 about this root, which itself can be a loanword from some PEC dialect.

*mūrzwē corner, edge: Av.-And. *muç:V (~ *mVç:V); Tsez. *micu (~ -i-); Lak. *murçu*; Darg. *muza; Lezg. *morç:V; W.-Cauc. *bōž^wa.

| Av.-And. *muç:V (~ *mVç:V) top (of mountain, head): Cham. *muş*.

Attested only in Cham., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *micu (~ -i-) corner, tip (of boots): Bezht. *mico*.

Attested only in Bezht., but with probable external parallels.

| Lak. *murçu* corner, angle.

Khosr. *murçu* id.

| Darg. *muza corner: Ak. *muda* (Kub.).

On Ak. *muza* 'corner' see under PD *muc:i.

| Lezg. *morç:V corner: Lezg. *murç*; Tab. *murč:V*; Ag. *murt:*; Arch. *meç:e*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *mird* (erg. *mrt:a*; -t in lit. Lezg. is secondary, on

analogy with obl. *murṭu-*, Tab. Düb. *muč:ʷu* id. Obl. base **morç:ʷe-* or **morç:ʷi-* (cf. Lezg. *murṭu-*, Tab. *murč:ʷa-*). The Arch. form is originally locative ('in the corner' < **morç:ʷe-ʔ*). 3d class in Archi.

See Leksika 1971, 201; Giginayshvili 1977, 107.

| W.-Cauc. **bāzʷa* 1 horn 2 hoof 3 nail, claw: Abaz. *śa-mza* 2; Ad. *bāza* 1; Kab. *bāza* 1; Ub. *-zʷa* 3.

PAK **bāza* (nowadays used mainly in the meaning 'horn for drinking'; 'horn of animals' is rendered by a compound **bāza-q:ʷa* q.v.). It is also used in compounds **lá-bāza* 'hoof' > Ad. *lābāz*, Kab. *lābāza* (**la* 'foot') = Abaz. *śa-mza* (but despite Шарпов 1, 89 this root has nothing to do with Abaz. *msa*, Abkh. *a-msa* 'horn matter' q.v.) and **a-bāza-na* 'fingernail', **la-bāza-na* 'toenail' > Ad. *ʔabzān*, *labzān*, Kab. *ʔabzāna*, *labzāna* (**a* 'hand', **la* 'foot', **na* 'eye' - see Шарпов 1, 249; 2, 156).

Despite Abdokov (1983, 106-107) PAK **lá-bāza* with the meaning 'root' is hard to separate from the homonymous **lá-bāza* 'hoof'. That is why Abaz. *śajza* 'root' (having no Abkhaz counterpart) should rather be regarded as an old Adyghe loanword (although -j- instead of -b- is rather hard to explain).

Ub. *-zʷa* (probably with a late dissimilative loss of initial labial) is present in compounds *q̄a(n)cʷa-zʷá* 'fingernail' (*q̄ancʷa* 'finger') and *śa(n)cʷa-zʷá* 'toenail' (*śa(n)cʷa* 'toe'). Abdokov (1983, 82) cites Ub. *bāza* 'horn' which is probably non-existent (while Abkh. *a-msa* 'horn', also cited ibid., goes back to PWC **pāśa* q.v.).

[] A common NC root; the semantic development 'corner, angle' > 'horn' in PWC is rather natural, and all phonetic correspondences are regular. Abdokov (1983, 107) distinguishes within WC a separate, but phonetically close, root with the meaning 'root' - which he compares with EC **HiḷiʷV* 'root' (q.v.); this seems hardly plausible for phonetic reasons (also, the need for reconstructing two separate WC roots seems dubious, see above).

**mūsi* (~ -i-, -e) fog, smoke: Tsez. **mus*: A; Darg. **mus*:i.

| Tsez. **mus*: A 1 smoke above fire (with soot) 2 cloud, fog: Gin. *as-mus* 2; Bezht. *mus* 1; Gunz. *has-mus* 2.

PGB **mus*. The PTs compound **has:-mus*: 'cloud'+ 'smoke' is reflected in Gin., Gunz. and Bezht. (Tlad., Khosh. *has-mus* 'cloud, fog').

| Darg. **mus*:i fog: Ak. *musi-dirix*.

A compound with *dirix* 'cloud'.

[] A Tsez-Darg. isogloss (note the use of the root in compounds with 'cloud' both in PTs and in Dargwa).

**musurū* (~ -o-) shroud, cerement: Av.-And. **musurV*; Lak. *surū*.

| Av.-And. **musurV* shroud: Av. *musrú*; Akhv. *mušu*; God. *musuru*.

Av. paradigm B (*musrú-dul*, *musrú-bi*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan., Ratl. *mušur* id.

| Lak. *surū* shroud.

Lak. > Arch. *soro* id.

[] An Av.-And-Lak. isogloss. Loss of initial **mu-* (**mo-*) in Lak. is regular.

**musVrV* goat (wild or domestic): Nakh. **masor*; Darg. **murs*; Lezg.

**mos:Vra* (~ -s-).

| Nakh. **masor* 1 mountain goat 2 chamois: Chech. *masar* 1; Ing. *mosar* 2; Bacb. *masor* 2.

3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing., 5th class in Bacb.

| Darg. **murs*: mountain goat: Chir. *murs*.

| Lezg. **mos:Vra* (~ -s-) goat (more than 1 y. old): Tsakh. *miswa* / *muswa*.

Cf. also Gelm., Tsakh. *miswa* id. The position of -s- before -w- (< *-r-) does not allow to choose among **s-* or **-s-* for PL (in Tsakh. the opposition in tenseness is neutralized before consonants). 3d class. The root is attested only in Tsakh., but has probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular and the root seems reliable (although not widely spread outside Nakh).

**mV[c]V* hunger: Nakh. **maci-n*; Av.-And. **makʷac-* (~ -o-); Lezg.

**mos:i-*.

| Nakh. **maci-n* hungry: Chech. *meca*; Ing. *meca*; Bacb. *maci*.

Cf. also Chech. *macalla* (= Bacb. *macol*) 'hunger', Lev., Ved. *meci*, Cheb. *maci* 'hungry' etc. The pure root **mac-* is seen in Chech. *mac-dalar*, Bacb. *mac-dalar* 'to become hungry'.

| Av.-And. **makʷac-* (~ -o-) to be hungry: Akhv. *makʷac-*; Cham. *makʷat-*; Tind. *makʷas-*; Kar. *makʷas-*; God. *makʷas-*.

Cf. also Tind. *mukosa-r*, God. *makʷasi-r* 'hunger'. Quite irregular is -tin Cham. (cf. also Gig. *makat-*). The Kar. (Anch., L.-Enkh.) form *makʷ-* is probably a contraction < **makʷ(a)s-*.

| Lezg. **mos:i-* hungry: Tsakh. *mis:i-n*; Bud. *miz*; Ud. *busa*.

Initial b- in Udi is unclear (there is no reason to suppose a PL form like **wons:i-*).

[] The Nakh, Andian and Lezghian forms must be related, although phonetic correspondences are rather strange in this root. Unclear is the syllable **-kʷa-* in PA, as well as the tense **s:* in PL. Perhaps we should reconstruct here a rare cluster of two medial stops (**mVkwV*) or a trisyllabic structure, like in PA? Another solution may be provided by an isolated form, attested in Tsez. (Kid.): *mekaχ* 'hunger' - The PA form could be a compound **makʷac-* < **makʷa-mac-* (where the first component = Tsez. *meka-*, and the second component = PN **maci-*). On the whole, a rather obscure case.

**mVčwV* boot, shoe: Nakh. **mačVj*; Av.-And. **maču(jV)* (~ -o-);

Lezg. **šʷVm(a)*.

| Nakh. **mačVj* 1 footwear 2 shoe: Chech. *māča* 1; Ing. *māči* 2.

4th class in both languages. Cf. also Ing. (in Imnaishvili's notation) *māčij* 'shoe'.

| Av.-And. **maču(jV)* (~ -o-) shoe, boot: Av. *maču*; Akhv. *mačuja*; Cham. *mač*; Tind. *mači*.

Av. paradigm B (pl. *mačú-jal*). Tind. *mači* > Inkh. *mači* id.

| Lezg. **sVm(a)* boot, shoe: Lezg. *šalam*; Ag. *šum-ar*.

The Lezg. form can be explained as a metathesis *šalam* < **šamal* < **šum-al* (a form derived from an original **šum*). In Ag. cf. (without the originally plural -ar-suffix) Bursh., Fit., Burk. *šum* id. If this etymology of Lezg. *šalam* is right, other similar forms (Rut. *šalam*, Tsakh., Khin. *šalam*, Kryz. *šälām*, Bud. *šalam* / *čalam*) must be treated as loanwords from Lezghi.

[] A cultural term; if the PL form is really related to PA and PN (which is probable, despite metathesis), must be reconstructed for the PEC level. One can not exclude a possibility of PN borrowing from PA or vice versa - thus it can be, in fact, a Nakh-Lezg. or Av.-And-Lezg. isogloss. The root is probably connected with the 'wandering' word: Osset. *mes* / *mestäl*, Turk. (Anat.) *mest*, Georg. *mestši* etc. (see Abayev 1973, 112).

**mVčwV* (~ -č-) dirt, dung: Av.-And. **muča* (~ -o); Lezg. **mVčw(a)* / **čwVm(a)*.

| Av.-And. **muča* (~ -o) dung (of horses, donkeys): Akhv. *hūče*; Cham. *muča*; Tind. *muča*.

The Akhv. form has the specific Akhv. laryngeal prefix (*hūče* < **hV-mučV*). Tind. > Inkh. *muča* id.

| Lezg. **mVčw(a)* / **čwVm(a)* 1 dirt 2 dirt (on clothes) 3 dirt (on the neck): Rut. *čum* 2 (*Khnov.*); Kryz. *mäč* 3; Ud. *č:em* 1.

The vocalism is hard to reconstruct (not enough evidence). With a semantic development 'dirty, bad' > 'lean' cf. perhaps also Arch. *čeman-nu* 'lean'.

[] An And.-Lezg. isogloss; satisfactory both phonetically and semantically.

**mVGÄ(-IV)* a k. of weed: Nakh. **mābVl-t*; Tsez. **muq* (~ -o-); Lezg. **maq:Vl(a)*; W.-Cauc. **mVGə* (~ *-γ-).

| Nakh. **mābVl-t* cockle, weed: Chech. *merbad*; Ing. *maḅaldi*.

4th class in Chech., but 3d class in Ing. The vowel's shortness is indicated by Chech. -e- (a long *-ā- in this position would yield -ā-). In Chech. there occurred a metathesis (**mābVl-t* > **malbVt* with a subsequent change -l- > -r-).

Nakh > Osset. *māyālda* 'cockle, weed' (Abayev 1973, 83).

| Tsez. **muq* (~ -o-) mint: Inkh. *mulq*.

Attested only in Inkh., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **maq:Vl(a)* nettle: Rut. *maGGul*.

Attested only in Rut., but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **mVGə* (~ *-γ-) 1 thorn 2 a k. of thorny bush: Abkh. *ā-mḅ* 1; Abaz. *mḅə* 1; Ub. *maḅāḅ-məḅə* 2.

PAT **məḅə*. The Ub. reflex is partially reduplicated (*maḅāḅ-; məḅə* means 'thorn'). The correspondence PAT *γ: Ub. ḅ points to PWC *G or *γ.

[] Correspondences are regular (although there is not enough evidence to reconstruct the first vowel), and the etymology seems quite reliable.

**mVhV* (/ **hVmV*) a k. of berry: Av.-And. **mVHV-*; Lak. *mahija*; Lezg. **HVm-* (~ j-).

| Av.-And. **mVHV-* a shrub with dark red berries: Av. *maḥāhi* (*dial.*).

| Lak. *maḥija* bilberry.

| Lezg. **HVm-* (~ j-) strawberry: Ud. *oma* / *uIma*.

Attested only in Udi; the form is cited from Khaidakov 1973, thus not very reliable.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. There is not enough evidence to reconstruct the vocalism.

**mVHwVIV* (~ -t-) thread; belt: Nakh. **mu?Vl* (~ -o-, -V-); Lak. *muḥlu*.

| Nakh. **mu?Vl* (~ -o-, -V-) a spindle-thread twisted into one strand: Ing. *mu?al*.

Attested only in Ing., with a possible Lak. parallel.

| Lak. *muḥlu* belt.

Cf. Khosr. *mulhlu* id.

[] A Nakh-Lak. isogloss; attested only in two languages, thus rather dubious.

**mVkirV* big stone; stone roller (for roofs): Av.-And. **k:imor* / **k:irom* (~a); Tsez. **mukru*; Darg. **muk:ur(i)*.

| Av.-And. **k:imor* / **k:irom* (~a) stone roller (for rolling roofs): Akhv. *k:eme*; Cham. *šeran-tʷ*; Tind. *k:iram*; Kar. *k:imer*; Bagv. *k:irḅam*; God. *giramu*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tlan. *k:equl*, Ratl. *k:amaqul* 'roller handles' (= North. *k:eme-qori* id.); Cham. Gig. *ç:iram*, Kar. Anch. *k:eram*, Tok. *k:iram* 'roller'. -ḅ- in Bagv. is unclear; Cham. (U.-Gakv.) has an expressive suffix -tʷ. God. has voiced g- because of the influence of PA **gir-* 'round, to roll' (q.v.). Old Tind. > Inkh. *keran* id.

| Tsez. **mukru* stone prop, pier: Bezht. *mukro* (*Khosh.*).

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. **muk:ur(i)* stone roller (for roofs): Kait. *muk:ur*.

Cf. also Tsud. *muk:uri* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. A trisyllabic root, with usual metatheses in PA. One could also compare Lak. *k:uru-čaj*, Khosr. *k:urun-čaj* 'stone roller' (phonetically it fits rather well), but in Lak. the root has completely merged with *k:uru-* 'round, to roll' (q.v.) < PEC **gwVrV*.

**mVlcV* a k. of weed: Lak. *mulcu*; Lezg. **mV(l)c-* (~ -s-).

| Lak. *mulcu* wild oats.

| Lezg. **mV(l)c-* (~ -s-) a k. of weed (used for making besoms): Arch. *mesé*.

Attested only in Archi, with a probable Lak. parallel.

[] A Lak-Lezg. parallel.

*mVlāV(-IV) a k. of weed, grass: Nakh. *mōlχa; Darg. *mark:ulV; Lezg. *mV(r)l:ol.

| Nakh. *mōlχa medicine; (gun-)powder: Chech. *molχa*; Ing. *molχa*.

3d class in both languages. The original meaning is obviously 'weed, grass' (with a usual semantic development > 'medicine' or 'powder'). The vowel in PN must have been long (although the length is not recorded in modern literary forms), because a root-structure *CōCa did not exist in PN.

| Darg. *mark:ulV meadow: Chir. *mark:ule*.

| Lezg. *mV(r)l:ol old dry grass: Arch. *molol*.

Attested only in Archi, but having probable external parallels.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (although there are not enough data to reconstruct the PEC vocalism).

*mVlse gold: Av.-And. *misi-di; Lak. *musi*; Darg. *mursi.

| Av.-And. *misi-di gold: Av. *meséd*; Chad. *mešéd*; And. *misidi*; Akhv. *mišidi*; Cham. *misud*; Tind. *miseji*; Kar. *mesed*; Botl. *misidi*; Bagv. *meser*; God. *misidi*.

Av. paradigm B-C (*mesédi-l*, *meséda-l*, Chad. gen. *mešédi-l*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *misudu*, Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *miši* - these forms are particularly interesting because they reflect a suffixless form *misi. Old Tind. (before *-d- > -j-) > Inkh. *misedi* 'gold'; Av. *mesed* > Tsez., Gin., Bezht., Gunz. *mesed* id. Rather interesting is Arch. *misart:u* 'gold': it must be a borrowing from Old Avar (as in a number of other cases) and perhaps reflects an archaic form *mirse-dV or *miser-dV (preserving the liquid lost in all modern languages).

| Lak. *musi* gold.

Cf. Khosr. *musi* id.

| Darg. *mursi gold: Ak. *murhi*; Chir. *muse*.

Cf. also Ur. *murhi*, Kub. *mute*, Tsud. *mursi* / *musi* id.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Av.-And. forms contain a suffix *-di (probably originally adjectival). The correspondence Av.-And., Lak. -o- : PD *-r- points to *-l- in PEC.

*mVnxV male, man: Nakh. *nāχ; Av.-And. *miłi-ča-.

| Nakh. *nāχ men, people: Chech. *naχ*; Ing. *naχ*; Bacb. *naχ*.

Obl. base *nāχi- (Chech. *nēχa-*, Bacb. *naχi-*).

| Av.-And. *miłi-ča- young man, male; hero: And. *milčaka*; Cham. *miłiša-*; Tind. *miłiča*.

The word is probably an old compound of *miłi + *čVjV 'man' (q.v.); it is interesting to note that And. *milčaka* repeats the same model (*milča-* + *heka* 'man').

□ A Nakh-Andian isogloss.

*mVqVtV throat, larynx; chute, gutter: Av.-And. *maq:ala (~o); Tsez. *muq; Darg. *muqluq.

| Av.-And. *maq:ala (~o) throat, larynx: Av. *muq:uluq*; Chad. *muq:luq*; Akhv. *maq:ala*; Tind. *maq:ala*.

| Tsez. *muq throat: Bezht. *ris-muq* (*Khosh*);

A compound with *ris: 'throat' q.v. Cf. also Bezht. Tl. *ris-muq* id. Isolated in Bezht., but with probable external parallels.

| Darg. *muqluq chute, gutter: Ak. *muqluq* (*Tsud.*).

Cf. also Kharb., Kait. *muqluq*, Kub. *mūquq* id.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Reduplication is identical in Av. and Darg., thus a loan is possible (although the meanings are different). Lack of *-tV in the Bezht. form is probably secondary - a result of an analogous reanalysis of the oblique stem *muqVIV- (cf. Bezht. -*muqli-*). There are too few data for a proper reconstruction of vocalism.

*mVqV (?) quail: Av.-And. *mVq:Vq:V; Lezg. *qlamql-; W.-Cauc. *nVb(ə)δV.

| Av.-And. *mVq:Vq:V partridge: Av. *moq:óq:*; Chad. *moqóq*.

Av. paradigm B (*moq:óq:i-l*, pl. Chad. *moqóqa-l*).

| Lezg. *qlamql- quail: Tab. *qlamqlar*.

Isolated in Tab., but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *nVb(ə)δV quail: Ad. *nabδa*; Kab. *nabδa*; Ub. *nabδa*.

PAK **nabδa*. Ub. *nabδa* (in Dirr's notation) is genuinely related to PAK, whereas the later form recorded by Vogt - *nabδa* - is probably a later loan from Ad. See Abdokov 1973, 61, Shagirov 1, 284.

□ Like many birdnames, this is an expressive (probably onomatopoeic) root with many irregularities. It usually appears in a reduplicated form: *mVqVqV (> Av.), *qVmVqV (> Tab.); the PWC form *nVbδδV can be explained as a secondary dissimilation from *mVmδδV < *mVmVqV (with yet another type of reduplication).

Because of the root's expressive nature, correspondences are obscured and it is impossible to reconstruct anything but a very approximate shape of the original noun.

*mVrkolV (~t-) toe: Darg. *k:amul; Lezg. *morkol.

| Darg. *k:amul toe: Ak. *gumul*; Chir. *k:amul*.

Cf. also Kait., Kharb. *k:amul*, Tsud. *k:umul* id.

| Lezg. *morkol toe: Lezg. *kul*; Tab. *murkil*; Ag. *kumul*; Rut. *kili*.

In Ag. there occurred a metathesis (as in PD); cf. also Ag. Bursh. *kulum* (with still another metathesis). Other comments: -i- in Tab. is secondary (analogy with the assimilated obl. stem *murkili- > *murkli-*), cf. Tab. Düb. *murkul*. In Lezg. the loss of *mo- is absolutely regular; however, in Rut. (*kili*) it occurred only on analogy with *tili* 'finger'.

See Talibov 1980, 288.

□ A Darg.-Lezg. isogloss (therefore it is hard to reconstruct the first vowel, because in PL we may deal with an assimilation *morkol < *mVrkol). Despite the metathesis in Darg. (cf. also the situation in Ag.), the comparison is quite reliable.

*mVxē pledge, hostage: Nakh. *māχa (~o); Av.-And. *mVλV.

| Nakh. *māχa (~o) ransom for one murdered person: Chech. *maχa*.

| Av.-And. *mVλV hostage: Av. *milí*.

Av. paradigm B (pl. *małá-l*).

[] An interesting Nakh-Avar isogloss.

**mVxwV* (~ -*x*-, -*f*-) price, pay: Nakh. **maχ*; Av.-And. **mix*^w*V*; W.-Cauc. **x*^w*V*.

| Nakh. **māχ* price, trade: Chech. *maχ*; Ing. *maχ*; Bacb. *maχ*.

Obl. base **māχi*- (Chech. *mēχa*-, Ing. *māχo*, Bacb. *maχi*-). 5th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing. and Bacb.

| Av.-And. **mix*^w*V* pay (n.): Av. *mux*; And. *miši* (*Tsertsvadze*); Kar. *nixu*.

Av. paradigm C (*muxú-l* / *mux-dál*, *múxa-l*). Cf. also Kar. Anch. *muxu* id.

| W.-Cauc. **x*^w*V* 1 price 2 to buy 3 to pay: Abkh. *á-χ^w* *l*; Abaz. *χ^wə* *l*; Ad. *ša-fə-n* 2; Kab. *ša-x^wə-n* 2; Ub. *fa* 3.

PAT **x^wə* (cf. Bzyb. *á-x^w*) 'price', **x^wə-^fa*- 'to buy' (Abkh. *á-χ^wha-ra*, Abaz. *χ^wə-ra*); PAK **š:a-x^wə*- (a compound with **š:a*- 'to sell' in the first part); Ub. *a-s-fá-n* (cf. also a noun: *fa* 'profit'). In Ubykh **x^w* usually gets delabialised (> *x*; Ubykh does not have a labialised *x^w*); the reason why it changed to *f* in this case is unclear. Another solution would be to reconstruct PWC **fV* (regularly > Ub. *f*, PAK **x^w*) with an irregular (dialectal?) change **f* > **x^w* in PAT.

[] The root behaves very similarly to PNC **mašwE* 'price' (with the same loss of initial **mV*- in a verbal root in PWC), and should be certainly reconstructed for PNC. The semantic difference between these two roots is yet to be established (in Ubykh they are opposed as 'profit, pay' : 'price'; in PAT as 'price, buy' : 'pay'). Cf. also HU: Hurr. *niχ-ari* 'dowry' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 22).

**mVχwA* fiancé, son-in-law: Lak. *muhi*; Lezg. **mVχ:*^w- (~ -*q^w*-); W.-Cauc. **maχ^wə*.

| Lak. *muhi* seeking hand in marriage (n.).

| Lezg. **mVχ:*^w- (~ -*q^w*-) son-in-law: Ud. *mulqul*.

Attested only in Udi, but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **maχ^wə* son-in-law: Abkh. *á-mah^w*; Abaz. *mh^wə*; Ad. *māχ^wla*; Kab. *māλχa*; Ub. *məχə*.

PAT **mah^wə*; PAK **maχ^w-lá* (a compound with **χV* 'kin, relationship'); Ub. def. *á-məχ* / *a-məχ*. In Ubykh there occurred a usual delabialisation after a labial consonant. All attempts of the inner analysis of the WC form (Yakovlev 1948, 273, Kuipers 1960, 85, Rogava 1956, 33, 64) are groundless; see Shagirov 1, 259-260.

[] The root is well preserved in WC, but lost in most EC languages (except Lak. and Udi). Nevertheless, its NC antiquity seems quite probable.

**mV* a demonstrative pronoun (this, that): Tsez. **mV*; Lak. *mu*; Lezg. **mV*; W.-Cauc. **mə*-.

| Tsez. **mV* a demonstrative stem: Tsez. *he-me-si*.

Preserved only in Tsez. (*he-me-si* 1st cl., *he-me-λa* 2-4th cl. 'that (far, invisible)', but having good external parallels.

| Lak. *mu* that (near to the listener).

| Lezg. **mV* demonstrative pronoun: Lezg. *a-m*, *i-m*; Tab. *mu*, *du-mu*; Ag. *mi*; Rut. *mi*; Tsakh. *ma-n*; Kryz. *ə-m*; Ud. *me*.

A common demonstrative stem (mostly near deixis 'this', but also a component of compound pronouns). Reconstruction of vocalism uncertain (as in many auxiliary morphemes).

See Kakhadze 19736, 41; Alekseyev 1985, 75.

| W.-Cauc. **mə*- demonstrative pronoun: Ad. *mə*; Kab. *mə*;

PAK **mə*- 'this', **mə-wə*- 'that'. Although Ub. and AT have lost this morpheme, it is obviously archaic and has good parallels in EC.

[] The vocalism is hard to reconstruct (because of morphological restructuring in daughter-languages). The root is represented widely enough to justify its reconstruction for PNC.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 274; Abdokov 1983, 139.

**mV* an interrogative stem: Nakh. **mV*; Av.-And. **ʔi-mV*; Darg. **mu-rt*; Lezg. **mo-sa*.

| Nakh. **mV* interrogative stem: Chech. *mila*; Ing. *mala*; Bacb. *mē*.

Widely used in PN, cf. Chech. *mi-la* who, *mū-lχa* which, *mī-ča* where, *ma-ca* when etc.; Ing. *ma-la* who, *mī-ča* where, *ma-ca* when etc.; Bacb. *mē* who, *me-lχu* which, *mič(a)* where, *macā* when etc.

| Av.-And. **ʔi-mV* who (interrog. pronoun): And. *emi*-; Cham. *im*; Tind. *ima-la*; Kar. *heme*; Botl. *ē(w)*; Bagv. *em*.

The stem **ʔi-mV*- is actually a compound of the interrogative stem **ʔi*- (q.v.) which is also used independently, and the bound stem **-mV*-, used only in the 1st and 2d classes.

| Darg. **mu-rt* when: Ak. *murt*; Chir. *murt*.

| Lezg. **mo-sa* when: Lezg. *mus*; Ag. *mus* (*TP*.); Rut. *mis*; Tsakh. *musa(na)*; Kryz. *mis*; Arch. *basa*.

Not quite clear is the denasalisation in Arch. (for this form there are no grounds to suspect an archetype like **wo-nsa*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The same stem possibly can be discovered in Lak. *cu-ma* 'who, which' (a compound with *cu* 'who'). Note a striking parallelism between PL **mo-sa* 'when' and PN **ma-ca(n)* id. [Since initial **mu*- must be regularly dropped in Lak., it would be possible to derive Lak. *ta* 'when' < **mu(r)-ta* = PD **mu-rt*].

*n[a]čV (~ -č-) shame: Av.-And. *nVčV; Lak. nač; Lezg. *nač(a).

| Av.-And. *nVčV shame: Av. nič.

| Lak. nač shame.

| Lezg. *nač(a) shame: Tab. nač.

Attested only in Tab., but with probable Av. and Lak. parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is attested only in three languages, but seems to be archaic.

*nānV child, doll: Av.-And. *nani (~ -o-); Tsez. *nani; Darg. *nana; Lezg. *nani; W.-Cauc. *nanawə.

| Av.-And. *nani (~ -o-) pupil of the eye: Kar. nani-harka (Tok.).

Cf. also Anch. nani-harka id. The Kar. word is a compound with harka 'eye'; attested only in Kar., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *nani doll: Bezht. nani; Gunz. nani.

PGB *nani. Cf. also Bezht. Tlad. nani 'pupil of the eye'.

| Darg. *nana pupil of the eye: Ak. nana-huli.

A compound with huli 'eye'. Other Darg. dialects use the simple root *nana with the meaning 'pupil of the eye': Ur., Muir., Sirg., Kait., Kub. nana.

| Lezg. *nani 1 doll 2 pupil of the eye: Lezg. nini 1; Tab. (ulin) nini 2; Ag. nenej 2; Kryz. nanaj 2 (Al.).

Cf. also Lezg. wilin nini 'pupil of the eye' (wil 'eye').

| W.-Cauc. *nanawə child, baby: Ad. nānəw; Ub. nanāw.

A 'children's word', but with direct EC parallels.

[] A common NC nursery word. Note its use in nearly all subgroups (PA, PD, PTs, PL) to denote 'pupil of the eye' (either in compounds with the word 'eye', or independently) - a typologically common treatment of the pupil of the eye as 'child in the eye' or 'doll in the eye'.

*nākV knee, thigh: Av.-And. *nik^wo; Lak. nik; Darg. *nik^wa; Khin. nik; W.-Cauc. *k^wa.

| Av.-And. *nik^wo 1 knee 2 leg: Av. náku 1; Chad. naku 1; And. nik^wol 2; Akhv. nik^wa 2; Cham. nik^wal 1; Tind. niku 1; Botl. nuku 1; Bagv. nik^w 1; God. nuku 1.

Av. paradigm C (nakál-zul, náka-bi). Cf. also Av. Andal. ^sanaku (with 'body part' prefixation). And. and Cham. have suffixed -l.

| Lak. nik knee.

4th class; obl. base niki-ra-. Cf. khosr. nik^w 'hip, thigh; knee'.

| Darg. *nik^wa knee: Ak. nika (dial.).

The source dialect is unknown; quoted from Khaidakov 1973.

| Khin. nik knee.

| W.-Cauc. *k^wa hip, thigh: Ad. k^wa; Kab. k^wa.

PAK *k^wa.

[] The comparison is plausible (both phonetically and semantically). See Abdokov 1983, 79.

*nānV female breast; mother: Nakh. *nāna; Tsez. *nene; Lak. ninu; Lezg. *n[ā]naj; W.-Cauc. *nanV.

| Nakh. *nāna mother: Chech. nāna; Ing. nana; Bacb. nan.

Obl. stem *nāni- (cf. Chech. nēna-, Bacb. nani-); Ing., however, reflects *nānu- (Ing. pl. nona-š).

| Tsez. *nene female breast, teat: Bezht. nene; Gunz. nene.

PGB *nene.

| Lak. ninu mother.

| Lezg. *n[ā]naj 1 female breast 2 mother: Tab. nana 1; Rut. nin, nenej 2; Ud. nana 2.

For *-j cf. Tab. obl. base nanaji, Düb. nenej.

| W.-Cauc. *nanV 1 mother, mummy (tend.) 2 old woman, granny (tend.): Abkh. nan 1; Ad. nān 1; Kab. nāna 2; Ub. nān(a) 1.

PAK *nāna.

[] A universally spread nursery word. However, the correspondences are good (both phonetically and semantically) and the root may have existed already in PNC. See Abdokov 1983, 86. See also the non-reduplicated stem: PNC *[?]ānV.

*nāwčV right, even: Nakh. *nibsi-.

| Nakh. *nibsi- level, even; true, right: Chech. nīsa; Ing. nijsa; Bacb. nipsi-n.

[] A probable parallel for PN *nibsi- is PHU *mūčV- 'righteous, just' > Hurr. mūz-, Urart. mūčə (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 33).

*nāwši two; a 2-year-old animal: Nakh. *ši(n); Lak. nuwš:a; Lezg. *nušaj (~iw-); W.-Cauc. *nāčə.

| Nakh. *ši(n) two: Chech. šī?; Ing. šī?; Bacb. šī.

The final glottal stop in Chech. and Ing. is secondary (as also in other numerals). The original base šin- is preserved as oblique (Chech., Ing. šina-). Cf. also PN *šina-ra 'heifer (about 2 years old)' (Chech., Ing. šinara) which is, on one hand, an obvious derivate of *ši(n) 'two' (just like *qa[?]ar-k 'a 3-years-old heifer' from the oblique base *qa[?]a- 'three') and on the other hand - a perfect match for Lak., PL and PWC forms.

| Lak. nuwš:a ram (more than 2 years old).

Cf. gen. nuwš-lu-l, pl. nuwš-ri, Khosr. nūš:a.

| Lezg. *nušaj (~iw-) sheep (about 2 years old): Rut. nūšej; Tsakh. nušej.

Morphologically seems to be formed from an adverb *nuš-; cf. Rut. šās-aj 'a one-year old lamb' from šās 'last year' (PL *š^waI-s: q.v.). However, the root was used for denoting a two-year-old animal already in PNC, cf. the external evidence.

| W.-Cauc. **nəčə* a ram slaughtered in honor of the guest: Ad. *nəšə*; Kab. *nəš*; Ub. *nəčə*.

The Ub. form corresponds to PAK quite regularly, and there are no reasons to suppose a loan (despite Shagirov 1977). Judging from the external evidence, the root must have originally meant 'a two-year-old ram, a grown-up ram'.

[] An interesting case. The root must have originally meant simply 'two' and formed part of the suppletive paradigm of the PNC numeral 'two' (**tqIwä* - **nəwši*). The original meaning is preserved in PN and HU: cf. HU **šin* 'two' > Hurr. *šin-*, Urart. *šē-šə* (< **šin-(i)šə*), see DiakonoffStarostin 1986, 37. (Note that both in PN and HU the root is metathesized). But probably already in PNC the root was used also to denote a two-year-old animal; it is only the latter function in which it was preserved in most modern languages. The Nakh languages present here an important link, because they have preserved the root in both functions. Phonetically the comparison is satisfactory (PL has a form with a frequent *-j suffix; weakness of -š- should be best explained by an intermediate form **nišwaj* < **niwš:-aj*). Some problems are raised by -č- in WC (instead of the expected -š-; perhaps the affricate reflects here the rare Inlaut combination -wš:- ?).

**někwī* (~ -ī-, -ō-, -ǎ-, -ǣ-) oath; to swear: Av.-And. **nokwō*; W.-Cauc. **kV*.

| Av.-And. **nokwō* 1 oath 2 song: And. *nokwō* 1; Akhv. *nikwā* 1,2; Cham. *nakwā* 1; Tind. *nakwā* 1; Kar. *nakwā* 1; Bagv. *nakwā* (*Leksika*); God. *nakwā*.

The Bagv. recording (in *Leksika* 1971) is obviously faulty instead of *nakwā* (the And. word is also spelled there as *nokwō*). Unclear is the vowel -iin Akhvakh.

| W.-Cauc. **kV* 1 to swear 2 to dare: Abkh. *a-kw-rā* 1; Abaz. *k-w-ra* 1; Ad. *ja-kw-ən* 2; Kab. *ja-kw-ən* 2; Ub. *kwa-* 2.

PAT **kwa*; PAK **kwa*; Ub. *a-s-kw-á-n*. See Shagirov 1, 173.

[] An interesting And.-WC isogloss; phonetically and semantically looks quite satisfactory.

**neλwV* (~ **λwenV*) a k. of small fruit or berry: Av.-And. **nixwā* (~ -ō); Lezg. **λwem(a)*.

| Av.-And. **nixwā* (~ -ō) peach: Kar. *nixwā*; Bagv. *nixwā* (*Tlond.*).

| Lezg. **λwem(a)* edible berries: Arch. *λwem*.

Isolated in Archi, with possible Andian parallels.

[] An And-Lezg. isogloss. Y. Testelet suggests to compare also Tsez. *eλu* (possibly < PTs **ʔiλu* 'bilberry'). This would rather favour a reconstruction like **HλwenV*; but the difference between the root structure in Tsez. and PA is still to be explained.

**němzī* (~ -ě) louse: Nakh. **mače*; Av.-And. **noç:i*; Tsez. **nəcə* A; Lak. *naç*; Darg. **nez*; Lezg. **nāç*; Khin. *nimç*; W.-Cauc. **čA*.

| Nakh. **mače* louse: Chech. *meza*; Ing. *maza*; Bacb. *maç*.

6th class in all languages.. Cf. also Cheb. *maze*, Khild. *meze* etc.

| Av.-And. **noç:i* louse: Av. *naç*;; Chad. *naç*; And. *noç:i*; Akhv. *naç:i*; Cham. *naç*; Tind. *naç:i*; Kar. *naç:i*; Botl. *naç:i*; Bagv. *naç*;; God. *naç:i*.

| Tsez. **nəcə* A louse: Tsez. *noci*; Gin. *noce*; Khvarsh. *nuca*; Inkh. *noco*; Bezht. *naco*; Gunz. *nəcə*.

PTsKh **noca*, PGB **nəcə*.

| Lak. *naç* louse.

3d class.

| Darg. **nez* louse: Ak. *ner*; Chir. *nez*.

Cf. also Ur. *nir*?, Kub. *nid*, Tsud. *nez* etc.

| Lezg. **nāç*: louse: Lezg. *net*; Tab. *nic*;; Ag. *net*;; Arch. *naç*; Ud. *nec*;

Other relevant forms: Lezg. lit. erg. *neç-re*; Khl. pl. *net-er*; Arch. erg. *neç:iri*. 3d class (to judge from the Arch. form). Obl. vowel base unclear; the existing evidence points only to the PL oblique base in *-rV-, cf. Lezg. *neçre*, Tab. *nic:ru*, Arch. *neç:iri*. See Talibov 1960a, 297; *Leksika* 1971, 150; Giginayshvili 1977, 72, 106.

| Khin. *nimç* louse.

| W.-Cauc. **čA* 1 louse 2 nit: Abkh. *a-čā* 1; Abaz. *ča* 1; Ad. *ča* 1; Kab. *ča* 1; Ub. *ča-č* 2.

PAT **čA* (cf. also Bz. *a-č*); PAK **ča*. Ub. has a compound of **ta* 'nit' + **čA* 'louse' (despite Shagirov 2, 125 Ub. *tač* 'louse' can not belong here; coincidence with -č in *damač* 'egg' is probably fortuitous).

[] One of the best preserved common NC roots. Correspondences are regular (except the Av. paradigm A - since Nakh languages do not show here any trace of any laryngeal, and there is no pharyngealisation in PL, PD and Lak., it must be secondary).

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 277.

**něqwē* chaff: Av.-And. **nikwV*; Tsez. **nəχ:u* A; Lak. *nax*; Darg. **nekw*; Lezg. **nāqw*; Khin. *nuk*; W.-Cauc. **maqwə* (~ -qw:-).

| Av.-And. **nikwV* chaff: Av. *nakwū*; Chad. *naku*; And. *nikw*; Akhv. *nixw*; Cham. *nikw*; Tind. *nixwā*; Kar. *nikw*; Botl. *nikw*; God. *nikw*.

Av. paradigm B (*nakw-dāl*; but Chad. A - gen. *naku-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *nixwē*.

| Tsez. **nəχ:u* A 1 chaff 2 straw: Tsez. *noχu* 1; Gin. *noχu* 1; Khvarsh. *jūχu* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *jōχu* 1; Bezht. *naχo* 2; Gunz. *nəχu* 2.

PTsKh **noχu* (reasons for the metathesis of nasalisation in Khvarsh. and Inkh. are not clear); PGB **nəχu* (Bokarev has Gunz. *naχu*, which is a misspelling, cf. the MSU recording: *nəχu*).

| Lak. *nax* chaff.

Obl. *nuxw:-*. Cf. Khosr. *naxw*, *nuxw:-* id.

| Darg. **nekw* chaff: Ak. *neg*; Chir. *nekw*.

Cf. also Kub. *nikw*, Kharb. *nek*, Ur. *nig*, Muir. *nik* id.

| Lezg. **nāqw* 1 chaff 2 straw: Lezg. *našw* 1; Tab. *naqw* 1; Ag. *neqw* 1;

Rut. *naχ*^w 2; Tsakh. *naq*^w 1; Kryz. *nəχ* 2; Bud. *noχ* 1; Arch. *naχ*^w 1; Ud. *neq* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. erg. *naβ*^w*a-di*, Khl. *naβ*^w, *naβ*^w*a-di*; Tab. Kand. *niq*^w, Düb. *nuq*. The archaic oblique stem **niq*^w*V-* is reflected in Tsakh. *nuq-ne-*. There is not enough evidence for reconstructing the final vowel in the obl. base (most languages have here consonantal obl. bases). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Bokarev 1961, 59; Leksika 1971, 177; Gigineyshvili 1977, 72, 98.

| Khin. *nuk* chaff.

| W.-Cauc. **maq*^w*ə* (~ -*q*^w:-) hay: Ad. *maq*^w*ə*; Kab. *maq*^w.

PAK **maq*^w*ə*.

[] Except for a secondary assimilation in PWC (**maq*^w*ə* < **naq*^w*ə*) correspondences are quite regular. Both semantically and phonetically the etymology seems quite plausible. Attempts to compare the Adygh forms with different Caucasian material (Osset. *māk*^w*əl* / *bāk*^w*əl* 'stack', Georg. *magoli* etc. - see Abayev 2, 85, or with Arch. *maχ*^w 'thistle' - see Shagirov 1, 265) - seem in every respect less acceptable.

Abdokov (1983, 110-111) compares the EC forms with **-q*^w*a* in PAK **x*^w*ə(r)-q*^w*a* 'chaff' (with **x*^w*ə* 'millet' in the first part), whence Ad. (Bzhed.) *fər-q*^w*a*, Kab. *x*^w*ə-q*^w*a*. Although the semantic match is exact, the phonetic side raises some questions (tense **q*^w would be expected in PAK). It is possible that **maq*^w*ə* 'hay' and **-q*^w*a* 'chaff' actually represent a single root, with a secondary distortion within a compound with PAK **x*^w*ə* 'millet'.

**nēqwi* (~ -*ā*-, -*V*-) earth, dirt: Tsez. **nəq*^w (~ -*a*-); Lezg. **nāq*^w.

| Tsez. **nəq*^w (~ -*a*-) dirt: Bezht. *naq*.

Isolated in Bezht., but with good correspondences in Lezghian languages.

| Lezg. **nāq*^w 1 earth 2 grave: Lezg. *naq*^w 1; Tab. *naq*^w 2; Ag. *neq*^w 1,2; Rut. *naq*^w 1; Tsakh. *naq*^w 1,2; Kryz. *nəq* 1; Bud. *noq* 1; Arch. *naq*^w 1.

Cf. also Tab. Kand. *nuq* 'earth', Düb. *nuqu* id. 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh., but 4th class in Arch., Kryz. and Bud. Obl. base **niq*^w*i-* (cf. **nāq*^w*i-* with vowel levelling in Tsakh. Gelm. *naq*^w*i-*, Arch. *neq*^w*i-*, Ag. *neq*^w*i-*; the -*i*-vocalism is reflected in a secondary building - Tsakh. Mik. *nuq-ne-*). Cf. Khaidakov 1973, 71.

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss. Although the root is little known outside the Lezg. area, the reconstruction appears reliable.

**nēwqñ* tear; pus: Nakh. **natqu*; Av.-And. **moqo*; Tsez. **moqu* A; Lak. *maq*; Darg. **nerb*^w; Lezg. **nāwq*.

| Nakh. **natqu* pus: Chech. *notqā*; Ing. *nod*; Bacb. *notq*.

In Bacb. *notq* in Kadagidze's notation; Desheriyev writes *natq* (which is the more expected variant). Obl. base **natq-ar-*, cf. Chech. *natqara-*, Ing. *nadqaro* (showing that the loss of -*q* in the direct base is a recent phenomenon). Note that in Bacb. the plural *natq-ajri* means 'tears' (cf. the meaning in all other EC languages). 4th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. **moqo* tear: Av. *mā*^u; Chad. *mā*^u; And. *moGo*; Akhv. *maqā*; Cham. *mā*; Tind. *mā*; Kar. *ma*^a; Botl. *maβa*; Bagv. *ma*^a; God. *ma*^a.

Av. paradigm C (*ma*ⁱ*-l*, *mā*^a*-bi*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *ma*^a*-l*, Tlan., Ratl. *maqā-l*, And. (Gudava) *moqo*, Cham. Gig. *maj*, Kar. Anch., Tok. *ma*^a.

| Tsez. **moqu* A tear: Tsez. *mow*; Gin. *moqu*; Khvarsh. *muqu*; Inkh. *moqu*; Bezht. *maqo*; Gunz. *moqu*.

PTsKh **moqu*, PGB **moqu*. An old Ablaut is reflected in the PGB obl. base **miqā-* (Bezht. Tlad. *miqā-*, Gunz. *miqā-*).

| Lak. *maq* tear.

Cf. Khosr. *maq* id.

| Darg. **nerb*^w tear: Ak. *nerb*; Chir. *nerb*.

Cf. also Ur. *nirb*, Kait. *nerb* / *merb*, Tsud. *nerb*, Kub. *mēb*^w. Labialisation is lost almost everywhere, because the word is mostly used in plural where *b*^w > *β* before the labial suffix **-bi* (Chir. *nerb-be*, Kait. *merb-bi*, Kub. *mūb-be* etc.); however, it can be reconstructed on the basis of the Kub. form and the Kait. variant (with regressive labialisation *n-* > *m-*).

| Lezg. **nāwq*: 1 tear 2 to rejoice (**to cry of joy*): Lezg. *naβ*^w 1; Tab. *niwβ* / *niwq*: 1; Ag. *neβ*^w 1; Rut. *naβ*^w 1; Tsakh. *naβ* 1; Kryz. *nəβ* *xijiž* 2; Bud. *nuβa* *jixər* 2; Arch. *naβq* 1; Ud. *neβ* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. erg. *naq*^w*a-di*, Khl. *naβ*^w, *naq*^w*a-di*, Tab. Düb. *niwq:i*, Ag. Burk. *neβ*^w, Fit. *nibβ*^w, Bursh. *na/w* (< *na*^w), Tsakh. Gelm. *naβ*. Obl. base **nāwq:i-* (cf. Tab. *niwq:u-*, Tsakh. Gelm. *naβi-*).

See Leksika 1971, 125; Gigineyshvili 1977, 86; Talibov 1980, 272.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PN form **natqu* probably reflects an original plural form (**natqu* < **na(w)q-tu* < **nēwq-dV*). In PL and Darg. there occurred (for expressive reasons or due to a rare cluster **wq* ?) a strengthening of the word: they reflect a variant **nēwqū*. The medial -*rin* PD is obviously secondary, probably having penetrated there from an original plural form in **-r*, being later substituted in PD by the **-bi*-plural.

The old Ablaut **nēwqū* / **niwqV-* in this root has remained only in PGB (where the obl. base **miqā-* < **niwqV-*). Obl. bases like Arch. *nibqi-* or Tab. *niwq:u-* in this case are ambiguous (in Arch. - because of the neutralisation of vowels in the first accentless syllable, in Tab. - because of the merger of **ā* and **i*).

**nñēλV* milk; milk product (butter, cheese): Nakh. **nalχ[o]*; Lak. *naχ*; Darg. **niy*; Lezg. **nālλ*; Khin. eng.

| Nakh. **nalχ[o]* butter: Chech. *nalχa*; Ing. *nalχa*.

Obl. base **nalχe-* (Chech. *nelχa-*, Ing. *nalχo*). For final **-o* cf. Chech. Shar. *nolχo* (but Cheb. *nalχa* points rather to **-a*). 5th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing.

| Lak. *naχ* milk.

Cf. Khosr. *naχ* id.

| Darg. **niy* milk: Ak. *nī*?; Chir. *nig* / *niy*.

Cf. also Ur. *nī*?, Kub., Tsud. *nig* id.

| Lezg. **nālλ*: 1 milk 2 buttermilk: Lezg. *nek* 1; Tab. *nik*: 1; Ag. *nek*: 1;

Rut. *nāk* 1; Tsakh. *ñak* 1; Arch. *nal̥*: 1; Ud. *naq*: 2.

Cf. also Lezg. erg. *neke-di*, Rut. Ikhr. *nek*, obl. *neg:i-di*. Most languages reflect only consonantal oblique stems (in *-t:V, *-rV or *-nV; Arch. *nel̥*:i- is not informative for the PL reconstruction); however, we can reconstruct the PL Ablaut *ā/i, reflected in the Tsakh. paradigm *ñak*, *nik-ne*. In Udi the pure root means 'buttermilk, whey'; the meaning 'milk' is rendered by a compound *muč:la-naq*: (lit. 'sweet whey').

See Боканев 1961, 59; Giginayshvili 1977, 110.

| Khin. *eng* cheese.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Khin. form obviously belongs here, although the metathesis *eng* (instead of **neg*) is not quite clear; other languages do not allow to reconstruct any root structure except *RVCV. All other forms are completely regular.

Abayev (1958, 544) suggests some Caucasian source (connected with Khin. *eng*) for Osset. *ingín* 'curds'.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241.

nfiāḷwV* gadfly: Av.-And. **niḷ:wV*; Lak. *nal̥ku*; Lezg. **nāl̥*:*wVj* /ḷ:wāInVj*.

| Av.-And. **niḷ:wV* gadfly: Av. *niḷ*:; Chad. *niḷ*; And. *nič:u*; Akhv. *niḷ:i* (*Tlan*.); Cham. *nuṣa*; Kar. *niḷ:e* (*Anch*.).

Av. paradigm C (*niḷ:i-l*, *níḷ:a-l*), but Chad. A (*níḷi-l*, *níḷa-l*). Cf. also Kar. Tok. *niḷ:a*, *niḷ:u*.

| Lak. *nal̥ku* dragonfly.

Lak. *nal̥ku* is an exact match for PA **niḷ:wV* etc. However, the Lak for 'gadfly' is *al̥k* (Khosr. *al̥k*), which seems also to be related, but with a strange loss of initial *n*- (some old dialectal interference?). Note also Lak. Bartkh. *lal̥ku* 'dragonfly', where initial *l*- is probably a reminiscence of the former lateral nature of the Inlaut affricate.

| Lezg. **nāl̥*:*wVj* /**ḷ:wāInVj* 1 bee 2 gadfly: Lezg. *k:uni* (*Khl*.) 1; Arch. *nal̥*:*u* 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Kur. *k:uni* 'bee'. The Lezg. form is metathesized, while Archi preserves the old order of phonemes.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although not widely represented outside the Av.-And. area, the root seems quite reliable both phonetically and semantically.

It is interesting to note the root's full homonymy with PNC **nHāḷwV* 'blue' (q.v.): perhaps it had meant originally 'a blue (or green) insect'.

**nHaḷV* (~ -ḷ-) debt; sale: Av.-And. **naḷi* (~ -o-, -ḷ-); W.-Cauc. **ḷ:a*.

| Av.-And. **naḷi* (~ -o-, -ḷ-) debt: Av. *náḷi*; Cham. *naḷ*; Tind. *naḷi*; God. *naḷi*.

Av. paradigm A (*náḷu-l*, *náḷa-bi*). All Andian forms may be borrowed from Avar (but may be genuine, too).

| W.-Cauc. **ḷ:a* to sell: Ad. *śa-n*; Kab. *śa-n*; Ub. *śa-*.

PAK **ś:a-* (cf. Bzhed. *ś:a-n* id.); Ub. *á-s-śa-n*. See Abdokov 1973, 76, Shagirov 2, 146 (although PAT **śʷa-* 'to pay' does not correspond regularly to the PAK and Ub. forms, and should rather be compared with Ub. *śʷa* 'price' - see under PNC **maśwE*).

□ An Av.-And-WC isogloss. Phonetically and semantically satisfactory, but not very secure because of the scarcity of reflexes in EC.

**nHāḷwV* blue; (blue metal) > iron: Nakh. **ñāḷki* > **ñāḷki*; Tsez. **nek* V-; Lak. *nal̥*-; Lezg. **nāl̥*:(V)- (~ -ā-); W.-Cauc. **ḷʷV*.

| Nakh. **ñāḷki* > **ñāḷki* iron: Chech. *ēčig*; Ing. *āšk*; Bacb. *ʹajhki*.

3d class in all languages. The word has a complicated phonetic history. The original form **ñāḷki* was already in PN transformed (through assimilation) into **ñāḷki*, which is directly reflected in Bacb. *ʹajhki* (notation of Kadagidze; Matsiyev has *ajhk*, and Desheriyev - *ʹajhk*). In Checheno-Ingush the word obtained a common diminutive suffix *-k: **ñāḷki-k*, with further (regular) palatalisation > **ʹāčik*. This form, with assimilation and reduction, yielded Chech. *ēčig* (obl. *āčka* < **ʹāčike*-) and Ing. *āšk*.

| Tsez. **nek* V- 1 blue 2 green 3 grey: Tsez. *niga* 1,3; Gin. *nik-diju* 1,2,3.

PTsKh **nek* V-.

| Lak. *nal̥*- blue.

Cf. Khosr. *nal̥*:*s:a* id.

| Lezg. **nāl̥*:(V)- (~ -ā-) blue: Arch. *nal̥*-*du*.

In Arch. -L- regularly < -ḷ:- through assimilation (cf. in the predicative function *nal̥*:; *nal̥* as 'to make blue', *nal̥ kes* 'to become blue' etc.).

| W.-Cauc. **ḷʷV* 1 blue, green 2 iron: Abkh. *á-ječʷa* 1; Abaz. *jačʷa* 1; Ad. *ḷʷəčə* 2; Kab. *ḷʷəš* 2; Ub. *wəčʷá* 2.

PAK **ja-čʷa* (with a frequent pronominal prefix); PAK **ḷʷəčə*. The PAK and Ub. form reflect a PWC compound **ḷʷə-ḷʷV*, where the first part is **ḷʷə* 'copper, metal (in general)' (q.v.).

The need to see a colour name in the second part of the AK and Ub. compound is obvious: both in AK and Ub. the name of iron forms part of an opposition - in AK **ḷʷə-ḷʷá* 'metal' + 'red' = 'copper, red copper' : **ḷʷə-čə* 'metal' + '?' = 'iron'. In Ub. *wə-sʷá* 'metal' + 'white' = 'copper, bronze' : *wə-čʷá* 'metal' + '?' = 'iron'. If we assume that the Ub. and AK words for 'iron' are genetically related (certainly, the theory of Ub. *wəčʷá* being an Adygh loanword, see Shagirov 1, 140, can not be considered seriously), the correspondence PAK **č* : Ub. *čʷ* is unambiguously pointing to the PWC lateral labialised **ḷʷ*, for which the expected PAT correspondence is **čʷ* - and we find it in PAT **ja-čʷa* 'blue'.

The concept of iron being a 'blue metal' is by no means strange: it goes back to one of the earliest varieties of tempered iron (steel), which was in Greek called *kúanos* (cyan) and was dark-blue in colour (on the etymology of this word and the related Hitt. *kuwanna* - see under **kwīwV*). We must also mention the widespread Caucasian myth about the birth of the cultural hero from a blue stone - which metaphorically depicts the ritual of tempering iron (see in greater detail Ardzinba 1985).

In view of all this the theory of Yakovlev (1941, 140-141) and Shagirov (1, 140-141) who tried to explain PAK **ḥwāḥā* as 'dried (*ḥwā-*) earth (*ḥā*)' must be obviously taken as a folk etymology. Far more right was Abdokov (1973, 48) who thought the AK and Ubykh words genetically related and explained **ḥwā-* as 'metal' and **-ḥā* as a colour-name. He proposed to consider the second part as 'grey', not specifying, however, what particular root he had in mind (thus invoking Shagirov's criticism). Shagirov is right, indeed, that PAK **ḥaxwā* 'light-blue, pale' (Ad. *ḥāfā*, Kab. *ḥaxwā*) can not be involved (it has *ḥ*, not *ḥ̣*). For Ubykh Abdokov probably meant the root present in Ub. *cwā-bā* 'greyish' - which is actually possible (note a quite analogous variation *cẉ* / *cẉ* in the Ub. reflexes of PWC **ḥwV* 'earth' q.v.).

There is more to be said about the hypothetical PWC **ḥIwāḥwV* 'iron'. Since several authors relate the Hatti language to WC (see, e.g., Ivanov 1985), it seems very tempting to relate **ḥIwāḥwV* to the attested Hatti name for 'iron', *ḥap/walki* (with *ḥVw-* rendering **ḥIw-* and *-lk-* rendering the lateral *-ḥ-*), borrowed in Hurrian as *ḫabalgi*, and further - Greek *khalkós*, Balto-Slav. **gelež-* etc. (see Starostin 1985).

[] A very interesting common NC root. The original meaning 'dark, blue' in several subgroups developed to 'blue metal' > 'iron' (on the possible explanation of this semantic change see above, in the WC section). The PN form meaning 'iron' (**ḥāḫki*) can be explained best of all if we suppose a laryngeal prefix: **nHāḥwV* 'blue' - **nHāḥw* (or **nHāḥwV*) 'blue thing, metal' (cf. the same archaic derivational model in the pair **mīzV* 'sweet' - **H-mīzū* 'sweet thing, honey'). In that case we can also relate here (from the derived noun) a local EC root meaning 'horseshoe' (the semantic development is natural: cf. numerous cases like Darg. *mex* 'iron; horseshoe' etc.):

PTs **heḥ(u)* A: Tsez., Gin. *hiḥu* (PTsKh **heḥu*); Gunz., Bezht. *heḥ* (PGB **heḥ*); PL **Hāḥ(a)*, reconstructed on basis of a relic form: Rut. *āg* 'horseshoe'.

Finally, another derivate from the same root may be PEC **nḥāḥwV* 'gadfly, horsefly' (possibly as a 'blue insect') q.v.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241 (Lak.-Arch.).

**nHāḥV* forehead, face: Tsez. **maḥa*; Lak. *niḥa*; Lezg. **nāḥ(a)*; W.-Cauc. **naḥa*.

| Tsez. **maḥa* forehead: Bezht. *maḥa*; Gunz. *maḥa*.

PGB **maḥa*.

| Lak. *niḥa* face.

| Lezg. **nāḥ(a)* (~ *-e-*) 1 forehead 2 eyebrow 3 eyelash: Tab. *unḥ 1*; Ag. *unḥ 2*; Ud. *net. 3*.

The Ag. and Tab. forms reflect a compound **ḥil* 'eye' + **nāḥ(a)*; cf. also Ag. Bursh. *unḥ / urnḥ* (preserving a trace of original liquid **-l-*).

| W.-Cauc. **naḥa* forehead: Ad. *nāḥa*; Kab. *nāḥa*.

PAK **naḥā*. One cannot agree with Kuipers' (1960, 111) attempt to consider this stem an Adygh compound.

[] In PTs **m-* is due to the influence of **moḥo* 'face' q.v. See Trubetzkoy 1930, 277, Abdokov 1983, 79 (although there is some confusion of PNC **nHāḥV*, **nHēmdV* and **ḥēndū*, all of which must be kept separate).

**nHēmdV* eyebrow, eyelash: Av.-And. **nidV* / **midV*; Lak. *niḥta*; Darg. **net.*

| Av.-And. **nidV* / **midV* 1 eyebrow 2 eyelash 3 forehead: And. *nidu 1,2*; Akhv. *nido 3*; God. *mida 2*.

The meaning 'forehead' in Akhv. is a result of contamination with PA **hondV* 'forehead' q.v.

| Lak. *niḥta* forehead.

A compound with *bak* 'head' q.v. Cf. also Khosr. *niḥta-bak*.

| Darg. **net(a)* eyebrow: Ak. *ned*; Chir. *net:a*.

Cf. also Ur. *nid*, Kub. *nit*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In some languages the root has partially contaminated with PEC **ḥēndū* 'forehead'.

**nHirḥV* ~ **ḥHirnV* (~ *-ā,-ḥ*) wax; bees' nectar: Tsez. **cini*; Lak. *niḥra*.

| Tsez. **cini* wax: Gin. *cen*; Bezht. *čeni*; Gunz. *cini* (Nakh).

PGB **c/i/ni*; the Gin. form may be borrowed from one of the Bezht. dialects.

| Lak. *niḥra* bees' nectar.

[] A Tsez-Lak. isogloss; reconstruction is rather tentative.

**nHīwGĀ* / **ḠHwīnĀ* arm, shoulder; armpit: Tsez. **nuq*; Darg. **naq:I*; Lezg. **q:Iun*; W.-Cauc. **nāq:Iə*.

| Tsez. **nuq* armpit: Bezht. *nuq-uḥ*; Gunz. *nuq, nuq-iḥ*.

PGB **nuq* (forms in *-ḥ* are subessive).

| Darg. **naq:I* hand, arm: Ak. *naḥq*; Chir. *naq:I*.

Cf. also Ur., Kait. *naq:I*, Kharb., Tsud. *naqI* etc.

| Lezg. **q:Iun* shoulder: Lezg. *q:ūn*; Tab. *ḥIun*; Ag. *ḥun*; Rut. *ḥIun*; Kryz. *qunā*; Arch. *qlun*.

Unclear is *q-* in Kryz. (*q-* should be expected). Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *ḥun*, Fit. *ḥIun*, Burk. *ḥan*, Tp. *ḥun*. Obl. stem unclear (but not **-a*, judging by Lezg. erg. *q:ūnū*, loc. *q:ūne*, Tab. *ḥIuni-*, Ag. Bursh. *ḥuni-*); 4th class in Rut., Arch., 3d class in Kryz.

See Leksika 1971, 122; Giginayshvili 1977, 73, 85; Talibov 1980, 304.

| W.-Cauc. **nāq:Iə* armpit: Ub. *nāqI*.

Ub. *qI* may go back to PWC **qI* or **q:I* (although within WC we have no examples for **q:I* > Ub. *qI*, this is exactly the expected reflex).

[] Correspondences are regular (except for sporadic metatheses).

**nīmswV* (~ *-ē,-ī,-ā*) linen, cloth; cobweb: Nakh. **māša*; Av.-And. **nisV*.

| Nakh. **māša* 1 home-spun cloth 2 woolen cloth 3 cobweb: Chech. *māša*; Ing. *maša*; Bacb. *māše, maš*.

6th class in all languages. Obl. base **māsi-* (cf. Ing. *māšo*).
 | Av.-And. **nisV* 1 linen 2 cloth 3 cobweb 4 loom: Av. *nusí* 1,3; Akhv. *niša* 2, *niši* 3; Cham. *nis* 4; Tind. *nisa* / *nisi* 4.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *nusí-dul*). In some languages the root is also used within a distorted compound meaning 'spider' (see under **χwarVcV*), cf., e.g., God. *nusaḡar*. Cf. also Tind. *is:qara-nis* 'cobweb'. In the MSU recordings we find Cham. (U-Gakv.) *nis* 'loom': this is obviously the same word as *nis*: 'cloth' (recorded by Bokarev with a misspelling - or, perhaps due to contamination with a word reflected in Cham. Gig. as *nis:u* 'rope' and quite different etymologically: < PA **mirš:**i q.v.).

[] A Nakh-Av.-And. isogloss; correspondences are regular.

**nīrχV* (~ -ē-, -ā-) tree; oak-tree: Nakh. **χēn*; Tsez. **niχV* (~ -i-).

| Nakh. **χēn* 1 tree 2 wood, piece of wood: Chech. *χen* 2; Ing. *χi* 2; Bacb. *χē* 1.

Obl. base **χēna-* (Chech. *χēna-*, Ing. *χeno*). 6th class in all languages (but in Chech. 4th class with meaning 'butt-stock').

| Tsez. **niχV* (~ -i-) oak-tree: Tsez. *naho*; Gin. *nihi* / *nij*; Bezht. *nibe*.

PTsKh **n[i]χV* (~ -i-) (cf. also Tsez. /Imn./ *neχlu* ~ *naḡu*, Sh. *naḡu*).

[] A Nakh-Tsez isogloss (with metathesis in PN: **χēn* < **nē(r)χ*). Medial -r- is to be reconstructed because of the PTs reflex *-χ- (otherwise *-χ- would be expected).

**niwGV* a k. of berry: Av.-And. **muq:V* (~ **miq:V*); Lak. *qul-nuq̃i*; Lezg. **niwq̃:a(j)*.

| Av.-And. **muq:V* (~ **miq:V*) blackberry: Akhv. *muq:ali*.

Attested only in Akhv., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *qul-nuq̃i* strawberry.

Cf. Khosr. *q̃lunuq̃li* 'strawberry, raspberry'. Initial *q̃lu-* is most probably assimilated from **qV-* (cf. other cases like *qa-nak* 'sweetbrier', *q-asa* 'ashberry' etc.).

| Lezg. **niwq̃:a(j)* strawberry: Lezg. *neq̃i*; Tab. *niq:* / *nimq:*; Rut. *niGGā*; Tsakh. *niq:āj* (*Gelm.*).

Cf. Lezg. Khl. *neq̃i*; Tab. Kand. *niwq:*; Düb. *niwq̃i*; perhaps, also Ud. *bala-nq:o(j)* 'blackberry' (although the meaning of the 1st component, *bala-*, is not clear). 4th class in Rut. and Tsakh. All the forms point unambiguously to PL *-q̃-; thus Ag. Rich. *nuq̃i* 'a k. of berry (костяника)' must be a loanword, probably from Old Lak or some Lak. dialect.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

nīwc(w)A* prince, ruler; bride-groom: Nakh. **nobc*; Av.-And. **nuco*; Tsez. **niz(:)V* /m-; Lezg. **cuma*; W.-Cauc. **nəc:a.

| Nakh. **nobc* 1 bride-groom 2 son-in-law: Chech. *nuc* 1,2; Ing. *najc* 2.

Obl. stem **nabci-* (Chech. *newca-*, Ing. *najco-*); in Ing. the obl. base passed to direct.

| Av.-And. **nuco* 1 prince 2 son-in-law, bride-groom: Av. *nucá-l* 1;

And. *nuso* 2; Cham. *nusa* 2 (*Khaidakov*).

Av. paradigm B (pl. *nucá-bi*). Most Andian languages do not distinguish the stems **nuco* 'bride-groom' and **nusa* 'bride' (q.v.), because of the regular merger of *-c- - *-s- and *-o- - *-a-. The two roots, however, are well opposed in Avar (*nucál* 'prince' /cf. also *nucí-ja-w* id./ vs. *nus* 'bride') and And. (*nuso* vs. *nusa*).

| Tsez. **nuz(:)V* /m- B 1 husband 2 son-in-law: Tsez. *mez**a 2; Inkh. *muzo* 2; Bezht. *nuzo* 1.

PTsKh **muz**V B.

| Lezg. **cuma* bride-groom: Tsakh. *cuma*.

Isolated in Tsakh.; but with probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **nəc:**a god: Abkh. *a-nč**á; Abaz. *nč**a,

PAT **nəc**a.

[] The original meaning was probably 'chief, ruler' (> PWC 'god', Av. 'prince'). The semantic change 'ruler' > 'bride-groom' in most EC languages is usual (cf. the borrowed Turk. **bāg* in Ag. *beḡ*, Kryz. *bāg*, Bud. *bāg*, Khin. *bāg*, Ud. *bāj* 'bride-groom', the borrowed Pers. *padšah* 'king' in Av. Chad. *parcaḡ* 'bride-groom' etc.).

In PL (Tsakh.) the root underwent metathesis: **niwca* > **muca* > **cuma*. With analogous metathesis we can possibly relate here also Darg. *ucm-ij* 'ruler, prince'.

**nī* I (1st pers. pronoun): Lak. *na*; Darg. **nu*.

| Lak. *na* I (1st p.pr.).

| Darg. **nu* I 1 we 2: Ak. *nu* 1, *nu-ša* 2; Chir. *nus:a* 2.

Cf. also Ur., Muir. *nu* 'I', *nu-ša* 'we', Tsud. *ni-š:a*, Kait., Kub. *ni-s:a* 'we'.

[] A Lak-Darg. isogloss. The etymology is not very reliable, because the forms are very isolated, and do not fit into the paradigm of the 1st person pronoun reconstructed on other evidence (see **zō*).

If we compare the paradigm of the 1st p. pr. in Dargwa dialects, it becomes probable that PD **nu* is a secondary development < **du* (or, possibly, **du-n*, cf. PL **zon*): cf. Ak. nom. *nu*, erg. *nuni*, dat. *nab* vs. Chir. nom. *du*, erg. *di-c:e*, dat. *damī*. Still, PD **nu-* in the 1st p. plural **nu-š:a* stays unexplained, as well as Lak. *na* (also < **da-n* or **t:a-n*, cf. the obl. stem *t:u-* ?).

An etymological possibility would be to consider the morpheme **nī* as originally a collective plural pronoun: cf. its use in PD **nu-s:a* 'we' (exclusive), **nu-x:a* 'we' (inclusive), **nu-š:a* 'you (plur.)', quite parallel to Av. *ni-z*, *ni-l*: and *nu-z*. Its usage in the 1st person plural could have influenced the 1st person singular in Lak. and Darg., and this influence was strengthened by a chance of secondary nasalisation (e. g. PD **nu* < **du-(n)*).

**nūlxV* (~ **nīlxwV*) a k. of foliage tree: Nakh. **mVχV*; Lak. *murx*; Lezg. **moλ* (~-u-, -λ:); W.-Cauc. **nəx*(*)ə.

| Nakh. **mVχV* 1 asp 2 poplar, willow: Chech. *maχ* 1; Ing. *miχa* 2.

The Chech. word is quoted from the Russian-Chechen Dictionary. Vocalism is not quite clear. 4th class in Ing.

| Lak. *murx* tree.

3d class. Obl. base *murxi-ra-*. Cf. also Khosr. *murx*, *murxira-* id.

| Lezg. **moλ* (~*u-*, -*λ:*) hornbeam: Tab. *mux*.

In the Kand. dialect (field notes) the word *mux* means 'asp'. Apparently isolated within Lezghian, but having reliable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **nax*(^w)*ə* asp: Ad. *naxə*, *naxā-j*.

Attested only in Ad., but having probable EC parallels.

[] In PEC there occurred a labial assimilation (**nūlxV* > **mūlxV*); we must reconstruct **n-* for PNC, because **mūlxV* would have yielded PWC **PVxV*. Although not very widely spread, the root seems safely reconstructable (since the meaning 'asp' is constantly recurring in different subgroups, it may have been the name of the asp-tree).

See Abdokov 1983, 111 (Chech. : WC).

**nūsa* (~ -*ö-*) daughter-in-law: Nakh. **nus*; Av.-And. **nusa*; Khin. *çi-nas*; W.-Cauc. **nəsa* (~ -*š-*).

| Nakh. **nus* daughter-in-law, sister-in-law: Chech. *nus*; Ing. *nus*; Bacb. *nus*.

Obl. base **nasi-* (Chech. *nesa-*, Ing. *neso*, Bacb. plur. *nase-r*).

| Av.-And. **nusa* 1 daughter-in-law 2 bride: Av. *nus* 1; And. *nusa* 2; Akhv. *nusa* 1; Cham. *nusa* 1; Tind. *nusa* 1; Kar. *nusa* 1; Botl. *nusa* 1; Bagv. *nusa* 1; God. *nusa* 1.

Av. paradigm B (pl. *nusā-bi*). The Av. word was borrowed in Arch. *nus-dur* 'daughter-in-law' (with a suffixation typical for Archi kinship terms).

| Khin. *çi-nas* bride.

Historically a compound with **çi-* 'new' (lit. 'new bride', cf. Arch. *maçā-t:u-r* 'bride' - lit. 'new (fem.)' - etc.).

| W.-Cauc. **nəsa* (~ -*š-*) 1 daughter-in-law 2 sister-in-law: Ad. *nəsa* 1; Kab. *nəsa* 1; Ub. *nəsa-š* 2.

PAK **nəsā*. Shagirov 1, 288 supposes that the Ub. form is borrowed from Adygh (PAK **nəsā-š^wə* 'sister-in-law'); but this supposition does not explain loss of labialisation in Ub. It seems more probable that the Ub. and AK forms are genetically related. Despite Abdokov 1973, 62 the AK and Ub. words can not be related to Abkh. *aca*, Abaz. *taca*, Ub. *śasa* 'bride, daughter-in-law' (see Shagirov ibid.).

The Adygh forms were borrowed in Osset. (Dig.) *nissā* 'lady', Chan. *nisaβa*, *nusaβa* 'two daughters-in-law'. The latter form (undoubtedly borrowed < PAK **nəsab^wə*) makes it probable that other scattered Kartvelian forms (Georg. *nusa-dia* 'sister-in-law', Megr. *nosa*, *nisa*, Chan. *nusa*, *nisa* 'daughter-in-law') also have a WC origin.

[] Correspondences are regular, and this is undoubtedly a common NC kinship term. Cf. also HU **nas-* > Hurr. *naš-ardə* 'concubines' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 37). The root has interesting parallels in other linguistic families: Semitic (Arab. *niswa* 'women', *nisā* id. - whence Turk. *nisa*); IE (**snus-* 'daughter-in-law') - thus being an old Eurasiatic 'Wanderwort'.

See Genko 1930, 725; Balkarov 1965, 17; Abayev 1973, 190; Shagirov 1977, 287-288; Abdokov 1983, 86.

**nVčē* (~, -*i*) oak-tree: Nakh. **nač*; W.-Cauc. **pč:V*.

| Nakh. **nač* oak-tree: Chech. *naž*; Ing. *naž*.

3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing. Obl. base **naču-* (Chech. *noža-*, Ing. with vowel levelling *nažo*). Cf. also Lev., Cheb., Shar., Ved. *naž*, Khild. *naž*, Ing. (in Imnaishvili's recording) *nač*: (obl. *noža-*). The last two forms (Khild. -*ž* and Ing. -*č:*) suggest, even without a Bacbi parallel, the reconstruction of **č* in PN.

| W.-Cauc. **pč:V* 1 oak-tree 2 plane-tree: Abkh. *á-ž* 1; Abaz. *ž-č^wə* 1; Ad. *pčaja* 2; Kab. *bzej* 2.

PAT **žə*; PAK **pč:a-jə* (with a usual 'tree'-suffix **-jə*), cf. also Shaps. *pčaja* 'beech-tree'. The PAT form can not be related to PAK **č:ə-γə* 'tree' (see under PWC **č:ṽə*); on the other hand, the semantic shift 'oak-tree' - 'plane-tree', 'beech-tree' is rather common (it happened, e.g., in Greek), and the comparison of PAK **pč:a-jə* with PAT **žə* 'oak-tree' seems quite plausible.

[] The root is well attested in PN and PWC, but has left no traces in most EC languages. Khaidakov (1973) cites two other forms: Lak. *maža* 'oak-tree' and And. *nozi* id., but if they are genuine (the source is not very reliable), they must be ultimately borrowed from Nakh (see above about the reconstruction of **č* in PN, which later changed to -*ž*- (-*ž-*) in Chech. and Ing.).

Further connections of the root are not quite clear. Borrowing from the supposed Proto-Iranian **nauča-* 'some coniferous tree' (see about this root under **hwmīčē*) is not very probable - both semantically (the root **nVčē* means only leaf-bearing trees in NC languages) and phonetically (because a glottalised **č* is reconstructed). Thus for the time being we prefer to regard this root as genuine - until further research is done.

**nVkv* swimming, flowing: Nakh. **nāki*.

| Nakh. **nāki* swimming: Chech. *nēka*; Ing. *nāk*.

3d class in Chech. and Ing. Cf. also Cheb. *nāki*, Khild. *nēki*. Perhaps one should relate here also Bacb. *nak-ar* (3d class) 'avalanche' (?).

[] The root is attested only in Nakh, but cf. Urart. *nek-* 'to flow, flow out' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 31).

The Urartian parallel makes a loan from Iranian improbable: thus Osset. *nakā* 'swimming' is probably a loan from Nakh, not vice versa (pace Abayev 1973, 152) and hardly goes back to **snāka-*.

nVrswā* cucumber: Nakh. **nārs*; Av.-And. **nVsV-* (ṽVsV-*); Lak. *nis^warti*; W.-Cauc. **naš:ṽa*.

| Nakh. **nārs* cucumber: Chech. *nārs*; Ing. *nars*.

In Chech. the direct base was modified under the influence of the oblique base (*nārsa-*), cf. in Uslar's recording: *nars*, *narsi-*.

| Av.-And. **nVsV-* (**ṽVsV-*) cucumber: And. *unsozīw*.

The Andian word, cited from Khaidakov, was modified under folk-etymological influence: the word means literally 'ox'+ 'cow' (*unso-zīw*).

| Lak. *nīs^warti* cucumber.

| W.-Cauc. **naš^wa* 1 cucumber 2 melon: Abkh. *a-nāša* 1; Abaz. *naša* 1; Ad. *nāš* 2; Kab. *nāša* 1; Ub. *nāša* 1.

PAT **naša*; PAK **nāš:a* (cf. also Bzhed. *nāš:a* 'melon'). The correspondence PAT, Ub. š : PAK *š: points to PWC labialised *š^w.

□ Lak. and And. have suffixed forms (in Andian reinterpreted under the influence of folk-etymology, see above); nevertheless, all the forms correspond rather well to each other, and the PNC antiquity of the root seems quite probable. The root is widely represented in other Caucasian languages (Georg. *neswi* 'melon' - later borrowed in Gunz. *neso* id., Balk. *naša*, *narša* 'cucumber', Osset. *nas* / *nasā* 'pumpkin') - but all those forms are most probably North Caucasian loanwords (none of them can explain the appearance of -r- in PN). See the discussion in Shagirov 1, 935, Abayev 1973, 161.

**nV* this, that (a demonstrative stem): Av.-And. **nV-*; Tsez. **nV*; W.-Cauc. **nV*.

| Av.-And. **nV-* a deictic particle: And. *-n(o)-, -n(e)-*; Cham. *hā-*; Tind. *ā-*.

Used only in conjunction with other deictic stems. Cf. And. *ho-no-w*, *he-ne-w* 'this', *hi-n(i)-di-w*, *hi-n(i)-gi-w* etc. 'that'. In Tind. and Cham. the stem is preserved only as vowel nasalisation (Tind. *ā-b*, Cham. *hā-w* 'this').

| Tsez. **nV* a demonstrative stem: Tsez. *ne-si*, *ne-λa*; Inkh. *(ewe)-nu*; Bezht. *hu-ni*, *ho-no*.

The stem is used only in conjunction with other deictic particles. Cf. Tsez. *ne-si* (1st cl.), *ne-λa* (2-4 cl.) 'that (far)', also *e-n-du* 'this'; Inkh. *e-we-nu* 'that'; Bezht. *hu-ni* (1,4,5 cl.), *ho-no* (2, 3 cl.) 'this (near)'.

| W.-Cauc. **nV* a demonstrative stem: Abkh. *(a)-ni*; Abaz. *(a)-ni*; Ad. *na-*; Kab. *na-*; Ub. *n-*.

A demonstrative stem, primarily adverbial with far deixis, but also used in some other functions. In AT cf. Abkh. *a-ná* 'there', *a-ni* (**a-nə-jə*) 'that' etc.; also used as a preverb *na-* 'there' (directive). It is possible that the 3d person pronominal prefix *n(a)-* (in some verbal forms) in Abkh. and Abaz. also goes back to the same root.

In AK the stem has survived only as a preverb **na-* (Ad., Kab. *na-*) with exactly the same functions as in AA.

Finally, in Ubykh the only traces of this morpheme are the pronominal prefixes of the 3d person *n-* (sing.), *nā-* (plur.), obviously related to the AT prefix **n(a)-*.

□ An Av.-And.-Tsez.-WC isogloss (no other EC languages have preserved traces of this deictic root).

**=ōcV* to mow: Nakh. **=āc-*; Av.-And. **=Vc-*; Lak. *=u=ca-*; Lezg.

**?ocV*.

| Nakh. **=āc-* 1 to mow 2 to work hard, be exploited: Chech. *=āc-* 2; Ing. *=ac-* 2; Bacb. *=ac-* 1.

A PN derivate is **cēl* 'hoe' (< **sickle*, scythe), reflected in Chech. *cel* (*cēla-*), Ing. *cel*; however, Bacb. *cel* 'scythe' is rather to be considered a loan from Georg. *celi* 'scythe'.

| Av.-And. **=Vc-* 1 to mow 2 to clip, shear: Av. *=ec-* 1; Chad. *=oš-* 2.

An old derivate from this verbal root is *-cel* in Av. *χ:arí-cel* 'scythe' (in the first part of the compound - Av. *χ:er*, obl. *χ:arí-* 'grass'). The Avar compound was borrowed in many Andian and Tsezian languages (sometimes with distortion, usual for a long borrowed word): Akhv. *qalic:a*, Cham. *χ:arical*, Gig. *χarica* 'sickle', Tind. *q:arisa* (> Inkh. *qarisa*), Tsez. *χerceli*, Gin. *χalicen*.

| Lak. *=uca-* to mow; break off, tear off.

G. pr. *=u=cu-n*, dur. *cu-lu-n*. Cf. Khosr. *=uc^wa=n*, *c^wu-lu-n* id. (with secondary labialisation).

| Lezg. **?ocV* to mow: Ag. *uc-as*; Ud. *oca-psun*.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. There exists also a PEC nominal derivate **(?ō)cVtV*, reflected in PN **cēl* and Av. *χ:arí-cel*.

Deeters (1957, 390) compared the EC forms with PK **cel-* 'to mow; scythe'. If the PK verbal stem is actually denominative (see Dzhavakhishvili 1, 272, 2, 91), it is most probably borrowed from an EC source. See Klimov 1965, 223.

**=[ō]dV* to pluck, pick, pinch: Tsez. **=id-* (~ *-i-*); Lak. *=it:u-*; Darg.

**=ert:-* / **?ut:-*; Lezg. **?ot:^w[i]*; W.-Cauc. **da-*.

| Tsez. **=id-* (~ *-i-*) to shave: Tsez. *=ed-*.

Attested only in Tsez., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *=it:u-* to pluck, pick.

G. pr. *=i=t:u-n(u)*.

| Darg. **=ert:-* / **?ut:-* to mow: Ak. *ud-*; Chir. *=ert:-* / *ut:-*.

Cf. also Ur. *=ird-* / *ud-* 'to break, tear'; with preverbs Chir. *čer(k)=ert:-* / *čer(k)-ut:-* 'to break apart, tear away', *čars(a)=ert:-* / *čarsa-t:-* 'to take away', *čep:-ert:-* / *čap:-ut:-* 'to burst'.

| Lezg. **?ot:^w[i]*- 1 to shave 2 to pluck 3 to tear 4 to shear (sheep): Lezg. *t:^wa-* 1; Tab. *ud-u=d-* 2; Ag. *ud-* 2,3; Tsakh. *q-o=da-* 3 (*Mishl.*); Kryz. *=ud-* 4; Bud. *ed-* 4; Arch. *=ot:a-* 2,3.

Cf. also Lezg. pret. *t:u-na*; Tab. Düb. *u=d-* 'to tan' (*to pluck hair).

| W.-Cauc. **da-* 1 to choose, pick out 2 to put through, to string: Abkh.

a-*kāl-da-ra* 2; Abaz. *kāl-da-ra* 2; Ad. *xa-da-n* 1; Kab. *xa-da-n* 1.

PAT *-*da-* (only with preverbs; cf. also Abaz. *az-da-ra* 'to gather' (*'to pluck, pick together'); PAK *-*da-* (with the preverb **xa-* 'group, mass'; see Kuipers 1975, 16).

[] The original meaning is well reconstructable as 'to pluck, pick' (whence 'to pluck hair' > 'to shave' or 'to tan', 'to pluck grass' > 'to mow' etc.). On the whole the etymology seems quite reliable.

*=ōg^wV to burn: Darg. *=ik:^w-; Lezg. *?ok:^wi-; Khin. =ek:-/k:-.

| Darg. *=ik:^w- burn: Ak. =ig-; Chir. =ik:^w-.

Cf. also Ur. =ig^w-.

| Lezg. *?ok:^wi- burn: Lezg. *k:u-z*; Tab. *u-g-ub*; Ag. *ug^wa-s*; Kryz. *ug-až*; Bud. *s-ug-u*; Arch. *ok:a-s*; Ud. *bok:-sun*.

Relevant forms are also: Lezg. praet. *k:u-na*, Ag. Bursh. *igi-s*, Arch. dur. =*ork:u-r*. Belongs to the weak verb class in PL. Cf. also a derived adjective: Tab. *urg-ru* 'bitter', Lezg. Khl. *jik:ir*, Kryz. *gira-d* 'hot'.

Cf. Talibov 1960a, 302; Leksika 1971, 245; Giginishvili 1980, 277.

| Khin. =ek:-/k:- burn.

=ek:- is transitive (=ek:-*k^wi*), *k:-* (term. *k:-i*, dur. *k:-izi*) - intransitive.

[] The root is characteristic for East Dag. languages (Lezg., Darg., Khin.).

*=ol^wVr to defecate: Av.-And. *=i^wχ:-; Lezg. *?al^wχ^wVr- / *-χI^w-.

| Av.-And. *=i^wχ:- 1 to have diarrhea 2 diarrhea: Av. =i^wχ:- 1; And. *ri^wχ:ir* 2; Akhv. *ra^wχ:e* (Leksika); Cham. *ji^wχ:-de* (Leksika); Tind. *ra^wχir* (Leksika); Kar. *ra^wχ:ir* (Leksika); Botl. *b-i^wχ:a-tir* (Leksika).

Most of the forms are quoted from Leksika 1971; they seem, however, well recorded (except Tind. *ra^wχir* which is obviously a misspelling instead of **ra^wχ:ir*). The Av. parallel to PA **r-i^wχ:V-r* 'diarrhea' is Av. *ri^wχ:e-l* id., which was borrowed in Tsezian languages (Tsez. *rexel*, Gin. *rexel* / *ri^wχel*, Gunz. *ri^wχil*).

There exists also a PA form *?in^wχ:u (Tind. *un^wχ:i* 'faeces', Akhv. *ĩ^wχ:u* 'diarrhea') which indicates that the root once had a medial resonant, that was lost in the verbal stem.

| Lezg. *?al^wχ^wVr- / *-χI^w- 1 diarrhea 2 to defecate: Ag. *ar^wχ* 1; Tsakh. *ar^wχ* 1 (Gelm.); Kryz. *hūr-hä*- 2; Bud. *s-a^whar*- 2.

The verbal stem is preserved only in Bud. As a nominal stem *?al^wχ^wVr / *?il^wχI^wVr it is reflected in Ag., Tsakh. *ar^wχ* (a back-formation from a form = Ag. plur. *ar^wχ^war* with -r reinterpreted as a plural suffix), Kryz. *hūr-* (now only within a compound verb), Bud. *hure* 'diarrhea'.

Variation between **χ^w* / **χI^w* is probably explained by the root's expressive character.

[] An Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss. The comparison is rather probable, but needs several phonetic comments. *-l- in PL (unambiguously established on basis of Ag., Tsakh. -r-) corresponds directly to -n- in the PA derivative *?in^wχ:u, thus it must be reconstructed for PEC. However, in PA we should expect a weakened reflex *-χ-,

not *-χ:- after a medial liquid. The reason of the irregularity is probably an early loss of *-l- in the verbal stem (where all Andian languages and Av. reflect a pure stem *-i^wχ:-) and the consequent strengthening -χ- > -χ:- in the intervocalic position. Strong *-χ:- in *?in^wχ:u is obviously a result of later analogy with *-i^wχ:-.

*=ōl^wĒ to laugh: Nakh. *=el-; Av.-And. *=i^wl- (~ -l-); Tsez. **λ:e*-; W.-Cauc. **λ^wV-ēV* / **ēVλ^wV*.

| Nakh. *=el- to laugh: Chech. =el-; Ing. =el-; Bacb. =el-.

Bacb. Desh., Kad. =el-.

| Av.-And. *=i^wl- (~ -l-) to laugh: Av. =e^wl-; Chad. =et-aqn-; And. =e^wl-; Kar. =e^wl-; God. =e^wl-.

Tense -λ:- in Andian (MSU recording) is most probably a misspelling (=e^wl- would be expected).

| Tsez. **λ:e*- to laugh: Gin. *λe-zā*-; Bezht. *λō-dah-* (Tlad.); Gunz. *λe?*-.

PGB **λe-* (originally a compound with some laryngeal second part; cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *λowā*- id.). The Gin. form contains an expressive suffix.

| W.-Cauc. **λ^wV-ēV* / **ēVλ^wV* to laugh: Abkh. *á-čča-ra*; Abaz. *qə-čča-ra*; Ad. *šxə-n*; Kab. *da^wha-šxə-n*; Ub. *s^wačá-*.

PAT **čča-* (assimilated < **š(ə)ča-*); PAK **čxə*-; Ub. *sə-s^wačá-n*. Shagirov (2,149) justly criticizes Klimov (1967, 304) for comparing PAT **čča-* with PAK **šəšə-* 'to neigh', and follows Abdokov (1973, 24) in comparing PAT **čča-* and PAK **čxə*-; he also adds the Ubykh form, but only its second part (-ča) - see Shagirov 2, 149.

Since PAK **č* = Ub. *č* and PAK **x* = Ub. *š^w*, it seems very probable to compare the words in whole (assuming a metathesis in one of the subgroups). The PAT form **čča* can be easily explained as a result of assimilation < **šəča* (where **š* < **λ^w* and **č* < **č*). Therefore the commonly accepted comparison of Abkh. -čča- with PK **cc-* 'to laugh' (Charaya 1912, 48, Shagirov ibid etc.) seems rather superficial. If PWC **λ^wV-ēV-* (**ēV-λ^wV*) is a compound verb, only its component **ēV* can be compared with Kartvelian (we should add that both forms are probably onomatopoeic in origin); the component **λ^wV* is certainly related to EC forms meaning 'to laugh'.

[] Correspondences are regular (labialisation in PWC **λ^wV*, as in some other verbal stems, probably reflects an original class marker), and the EC-WC parallel seems satisfactory. See Abdokov 1983, 163.

*=ōl^wV to reap: Av.-And. *=ok^w-; Lezg. *?ol:^wi-.

| Av.-And. *=ok^w- to reap: And. =ok^w-; Cham. *ak^w-*; Tind. *ak^w-*; Kar. =ak^w-.

| Lezg. *?ol:^wi- to reap: Lezg. *gū-*; Tab. *u=g-*.

Cf. Lezg. pret. *g^we-na*, Tab. Kand., Düb. *u=γ-* id.

[] An And-Lezg. isogloss.

*=ōm^wĒV to put on (trousers, shoes): Av.-And. *=i^wλ:Vn-; Tsez. **ēλ-*; Lezg. *?ow^wλ:i-.

| Av.-And. *=i^wλ:Vn- 1 to put on (shoes, footwear, trousers) 2 stocking:

Chad. *reḫé-* 1; And. *=iḫ:in-* 1; Akhv. *iḫ:e-l* 2 (*Tseg.*); Cham. *=iḫ:n-* 1; Tind. *hinḫ:-* 1.

Initial laryngeal in Tind. is not quite clear (all other languages have changing class prefixes - although in Av. and And. mostly the 4th class prefix *r-* is used). The Akhv. form is derived, with a productive *-l*-suffix; cf. also Av. (Andal.) *hunḫ:* 'sock, stocking'.

| Tsez. **=eḫ-* to put on (shoes): Tsez. *=iḫ-* (*Radzhibov*); Khvarsh. *n-iḫ-*; Inkh. *n-eḫ-*.

PTsKh **=eḫ-*.

| Lezg. **owḫ:i-* to put on (trousers): Arch. *=ubḫa-s*.

Cf. dur. *=ubḫu-r*. The root is attested only in Arch., but has good external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. It is interesting to note that Archi, besides the verb *=ubḫa-s* which is a regular parallel for the Av.-And.-Tsez. forms, has also a noun: *imḫ:əla* 'knitted sock, stocking'. This must be an old loanword from some Andian source: cf. Cham. *ini-biḫ:inna-b* 'sock, stocking' (lit. 'smth.) put inside') and Akhv. *iḫ:el* 'stocking' - derivates from the same PA root **=iḫ:Vn-*.

**=önčwV* to do up, to close up: Av.-And. **=uč:-*; Darg. **=uč-*; Lezg. **ačwVn*.

| Av.-And. **=uč:-* to fill up, close up: Av. *=uč:-*.

| Darg. **=uč-* to darn: Ak. *=uču-kes*.

| Lezg. **ačwVn* 1 to slam, shut 2 to darn 3 to close up, do up: Lezg. *agal-č-* 1; Tab. *k-a=č-* 2; Ag. *alč'an-* 3 (*Bursh.*).

The Lezg. and Tab. forms contain locative preverbs.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**=önqV(IV)* old (person): Av.-And. **=iqor-*; Lak. *quna-*; Darg. **=uqna*; Lezg. **(?V)ḫVlā-*; Khin. *inqer*.

| Av.-And. **=iqor-* 1 old (of a person) 2 old (gener.): Av. *ḫéra-* 2; Chad. *=oxór-* 2; And. *=oxor* 1; Akhv. *=aqaro-ḫa-da-* 1; Cham. *=eḫa-ḫidda* 1; Tind. *=eḫara-* 1; Kar. *=eḫaro-* 1; Botl. *=aḫara-* 1; Bagv. *=aharu-* 1; God. *=aḫar* 1.

Cf. also Akhv. *Tseg.*, Tlan. *=aḫara-ḫa-*, Ratl. *=aqara-ḫa-da-*, Cham. *Gig. =aḫar*, Kar. *Tok. =iharu-*. Irregular is *-ḫ-* in Av. Chad. (under literary influence?).

| Lak. *quna-* big, grown up.

Cf. also *qunaw xun* 'to get old', Khosr. *qun-a-xu-s:a* 'old'.

| Darg. **=uqna* old (of a person): Ak. *=uqna*; Chir. *=aqna-ze*.

Cf. also Ur. *=uqna*, Tsud. *=uqna*, *=uqna-se* 'old' etc. (the root is used both as a noun - 'old man, woman' - and as an adjective).

| Lezg. **(?V)ḫVlā-* old (of a person): Arch. *ḫala-t:u-*.

Attested only in Archi (therefore the vocalic reconstruction for PL is hardly possible because of reduction in unstressed syllables), but having good external parallels.

| Khin. *inqer* old (of a person).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In Lak. and Darg. there occurred a nasality metathesis (**=önqVIV* > **=öqVnV*); otherwise correspondences are quite regular.

**=örqV* to chop, cut: Av.-And. **=uq-* (*~ḫ-*); Tsez. **?əḫ:V*; Lak. *=u=qa-*; Darg. **=alq-* / **=iq-*; Lezg. **t:-arḫV-*; Khin. *l-iq-uvi*; W.-Cauc. **p(ə)ḫ(ʷ)V-*.

| Av.-And. **=uq-* (*~ḫ-*) to be destroyed: Tind. *=uḫ-*.

Attested only in Tind., with possible external parallels.

| Tsez. **?əḫ:V* wound: Khvarsh. *āḫʷa* (*Leksika*); Inkh. *oxo*; Bezht. *ōḫo* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *əḫu*.

PGB **?əḫu* (cf. also Khosh. *oxo* 'festering wound'); PTsKh **?əḫʷə* (with a secondary labialisation).

| Lak. *=u=qa-* to cut off, break off.

G. pr. *=u=qu-n*. Cf. perhaps also (with expressive pharyngealization) *qal ucin*, *qal tun* (Khosr. *qla tun*) 'to burst, break, split' (intrans.).

| Darg. **=alq-* / **=iq-* to cut off, separate: Ak. *=alq-/=-iq-* (*Ur.*) 1; Chir. *=āq-/=-iq-* 2.

Zero conjugation in Ur. The vowel length in Chir. is rather strange.

| Lezg. **t:-arḫV-* 1 to chop 2 to beat: Rut. *darḫa-s* 1; Arch. *daḫi-s* 2.

The verbal stem (with the preverb **t:-*) is attested only in Arch. and Rut. However, the Lezghian languages also reflect two nominal derivates from the same root:

a) **b-arḫV-n* ('something cut > wound > pus, abscess'): Lezg. *barḫun* 'pus', Tab. *barḫun* 'pus, abscess', Ag. *balḫun* (Fit. *barḫun*, Burk. *balḫun*; -l- in Rich. and Burk. is not quite clear - perhaps from **b-arḫV-l* with shift of liquid ?) 'pus';

b) **ḫ-irḫV-t:* with the same meaning: Rut. *girḫid* 'abscess' (note the -i-vocalism reflecting the old Avlaut **a/i*).

Semantic shifts like 'to cut' > 'wound' are rather usual in Caucasian languages, thus all the listed derivates belong to this root with high probability.

| Khin. *l-iq-uvi* to cut, shear.

| W.-Cauc. **p(ə)ḫ(ʷ)V-* to cut (hair etc.): Ad. *wə-pḫʷə-n*; Kab. *pə-pḫʷə-n*.

PAK **pḫʷə-* (with different prefixes). Labialisation in PAK is probably secondary here (just as in **pḫʷa-* 'to snatch' < **p(ə)ḫla-* q.v.).

[] Pharyngealization in Darg. must be secondary (probably under influence of a similar verb *-alqʷ-* / *-iqIʷ-* 'to destroy, derange' q.v.); other correspondences are regular. Several forms reflect the old Ablaut stem **-irqV*.

As with other verbs of 'beating', there exist some derivates meaning 'wound' (> 'festering wound', 'pus'), notably PTs **?əḫ:V* (< **?orqV-n*) et al.

See Abdokov 1983, 167.

**=ōrsA* to fly; to jump (from above): Darg. **=ars:Vr-* (/c-); Lezg. **?ors(:)V*; W.-Cauc. **bəšA* (?-s).

| Darg. **ars:Vr-* (/c-) fly: Ak. *urc-es*.

Cf. also Ur. =*arsVr-/urs-* 'to fly'. Reasons of dialectal variations between -c- and -s- are not quite clear. The word for 'bird' in Ak. (*arcan*) is derived from the same root.

| Lezg. **ors(:)V* jump (from above): Tab. *urs-*.

Isolated in Tab. (cf. also Düb. *u=s-* id.), but with probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **bəsA* (?-s-) 1 bird 2 wing 3 fly: Abkh. *a-psā(tʷ)* 1; Abaz. *pssʰa-* 3; Ad. *bzawə* 1; Kab. *bzuw* 1; Ub. *bzā-pā* 2.

PAT **pəsəʰa-* (cf. also Bz. *a-psā*, *a-psā-tʷ* 'bird', Abaz. *pssʰa-čʷə* id.); -*ə* is obviously a suffix. PAK **bzə-wə* (where -*wə* is an archaic diminutive suffix).

Reconstruction of PAT **s* (and, therefore, PWC **š*) is based on Abkh. Bzyb. evidence quoted in Marr's dictionary; since Bghazhba has not included the word in his book, it may well be Marr's misspelling - in that case we must reconstruct simply PAT **pəsəʰa-* and PWC **bəsA*.

[] The etymology is not quite certain, primarily because of the scarcity of reflexes in EC languages, and some phonetic uncertainties (variation between **s* and **c* in Dargwa dialects, doubts in the precise nature of the PWC sibilant).

*=*ō3wV* to pour, weep: Nakh. **t-ēbč-* (~ -*č-*); Av.-And. *=*Vç:-*; Tsez. *=*icʷ-* (~ -*i-*); Lezg. **ʷoç:ʷi-*; W.-Cauc. **čʷV*.

| Nakh. **t-ēbč-* (~ -*č-*) to weep, bemoan: Chech. *tīž-*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *=*Vç:-* to drip, pour; to weep: Av. =*eç:-*.

Cf. also Av. *ç:al-t-* 'to soak, become wet' (probably derived from stem II of the same root).

| Tsez. *=*icʷ-* (~ -*i-*) 1 to melt, thaw 2 to pour: Tsez. =*ec-* 1; Gin. =*ec-* 1; Khvarsh. *ec-ah-* (*Radzhibov*) 1; Bezht. =*uc-/ūc-* 1,2; Gunz. =*ūc-* 1.

PGB *=*uc-* / *=*ūc-* (nasalisation can be due to the influence of another root, cf. PEC *=*izwVn* 'to strain, filter'); PTsKh *=*ic-* (~ -*i-*).

| Lezg. **ʷoç:ʷi-* 1 to wash 2 washed: Arch. =*oç:a-* 1; Ud. *oc:* 2.

Cf. Arch. dur. =*orç:u-r*.

| W.-Cauc. **čʷV* to weep, cry: Abkh. *a-čʷə-wa-ra*; Abaz. *čʷu-* / *čʷəwa-ra*; Ub. *čʷa-*.

PAT **čʷə-wa-*; Ub. *sə-čʷə-n*.

[] Correspondences are regular, and the EC-WC parallel seems quite probable.

p

**pabE* light, soft; soft, fluffy hair, beard: Av.-And. **papa-*; Tsez. **bab*; Lezg. **pVp:V-*; W.-Cauc. **bVba*.

| Av.-And. **papa-* 1 light 2 soft: And. *papa* 1; Akhv. *hʷahʷa-da-* 1,2; Cham. *papa-b* 1; Tind. *papa-b* 1; Kar. *papa-b* 1; Botl. *papa* 1; Bagv. *papa-b* 1; God. *papa* 1.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *papa-da-b*. See Gudava 1964, 35, 125.

| Tsez. **bab* 1 beard (with whiskers) 2 big beard: Gin. *bab* 1; Bezht. *bab* 2.

The original meaning was 'soft' (cf. the external evidence). Since in Caucasian languages the meanings 'soft' and 'warm' are often interrelated (cf., e.g., **tVntV*), we may think that another old derivate of the same root is PTsKh **bobo-RV* 'hot' (Tsez. *boboru*, Gin. *bobore*, Inkh. *bobolu*), which otherwise has no etymology.

| Lezg. **pVp:V-* 1 hair 2 cock's wattle 3 cock's comb 4 soft, downy: Lezg. *purp:u* 4; Tab. *purpu* 4; Ud. *pop* 1.

Vocalism is hard to establish (mainly because of the root's expressive nature). In Lezg., besides the adjective *purp:u* (cf. also Akht. *p:irp:i*) there exists an expressive suffixed formation: *bub-uχ* 'cock's wattle'. The original meaning of the root must have been 'soft, fluffy hair, down' (cf. the external evidence; note that in Ud. *pop* also means 'goat's wool'). Since -*r-* is observed only in adjectival forms, it must be an adjectival infix here.

| W.-Cauc. **bVba* soft; shaggy 1 fluffy, downy: Abkh. *a-bāba* 1; Abaz. *baba* 1; Ub. *dʷədʷā*.

PAT **baba*.

[] The root presents assimilations (common for roots with two stops): PAA **papa-* < **paba-*, PWC **bVba* < **pVba*.

**pāHnV* hen: Nakh. **mē?*; Darg. **abʰa*; Lezg. **pa²*.

| Nakh. **mē?* young hen: Chech. *me?*.

Chech. obl. *mēʰa-*.

| Darg. **abʰa* hen: Ak. *abʰa* (Ur.).

Cf. also Sirg. *abʰa* id.

| Lezg. **pa²* hen: Tab. *pe?*; Ag. *paʰ*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *paʰla*, Ag. Bursh., Burk. *pā²*, Fit. *pe?*, Tp. *p:äʰ*.

[] An onomatopoeic and thus not very reliable root; the PD form is reduplicated (with voicelessness of **p* neutralized before ?). The final cluster **Hn* is reconstructed to account for nasalisation of the initial **p-* > *m-* in PN.

**panGVlhV* (~ -*lfi-*) burdock; leaf, bark: Av.-And. **mVq:Vr-*; Lezg.

**parq:ul-*.

| Av.-And. *mVq:Vr- bark: Av. *maq:ár*; Chad. *maqár*.

Av. paradigm C (*maq:ri-l*, *maq:ra-l*; but Chad. /secondary/ B: *moqró-l*, *maqára-l*). Av. > Arch. *maq:ar*.

| Lezg. *parq:ul: 1 bark 2 burdock 3 plantain: Lezg. *p:arqul* 2; Rut. *paq:lul* 2; Kryz. *bärqul* 3; Arch. *paq:ut* 1.

The root reveals an initial fluctuation of *p (Rut., Arch.) and *p: (Lezg., Kryz.), probably due to assimilation. Pharyngealization in Rut. is secondary, due to contamination with PL *palqI 'burdock' (which is a quite different root q.v.). 3d class in Arch., but 4th class in Kryz.

□ A Lezg.-Av. isogloss. Lak. *maqara* 'shell, bark' is obviously an Av. loanword (otherwise -l- would be expected).

*pānzwV cattle (horned): Nakh. *bažo; Av.-And. *panzV; Tsez. *posu (~ṣ-,s:-).

| Nakh. *bažo horned cattle: Chech. *baža*; Ing. *bežan*; Bacb. *bžā*.

PN paradigm *bažo, *baži-: cf. Chech. *baža*, *beža*-. For the direct base *bažo cf. also Chech. *Čeb.*, Khild., Shar. *božo*, Itumk. *božu*; Bacb. (with metathesis) *žabō* 'horned cattle, herd'. There was also a PN derivate *baži-n(a) 'horned cattle', whence the Ing. form and Bacb. *bžā* (< *bažan), and also Chech. *bežana* id.

| Av.-And. *panzV horned cattle: Av. *panz*.

Av. paradigm C (*panzi-l*, *pánza-l*).

| Tsez. *posu (~ṣ-,s:-) cattle: Tsez. *posu*; Gin. *posu*; Khvarsh. *posu* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *posu*.

PTsKh *posu.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular except for secondary assimilatory voicing of *p- > *b- in PN. The word was borrowed (from Av. or, rather, from Tsez.) into Ossetian (*fos/fons* 'cattle; booty') (whence again into Nakh: Chech. *hons*, Ing. *fos*) - see Abayev 1, 478-9.

*parčē water jug: Av.-And. *parč:i; Lak. *parš:*; Lezg. *parč.

| Av.-And. *parč:i earthenware water jug: Av. *parč:i*.

Av. paradigm B(gen. *parč:i-dul*, pl. *parč:á-l*).

| Lak. *parš:* a brass water jug.

The Lak. form must have had a strong -š: (to judge from external evidence) which is neutralized in the word-final position.

| Lezg. *parč water jug: Tsakh. *parč*.

Attested only in Tsakh., thus borrowing is not excluded.

□ Attested only in three languages, thus the PEC antiquity is dubious (although phonetically a loan is not likely).

*pārē lightning: Av.-And. *piri; Tsez. *pir A; Lak. *par*; Darg. *palr; Lezg. *par / *rap.

| Av.-And. *piri lightning: Av. *piri*; Chad. *piri*; Akhv. *hiri*; Tind. *piri*; Kar. *pire*; God. *piri*.

Av. par. B (gen. *piri-dul*). Cf. also Akhv. *tl.*, Ratl. *piri*. The same root

with an expressive suffix is present in Av. *pír-x:-ize* 'to flash, glitter'. Av. *pār-x:-ine* 'to blaze up' is still another variant of this root (possibly influenced by Lak. *parx* 'flash'. Tind. (or Av.) > Khvarsh. (Ram.), Inkh. *piri* 'lightning'.

| Tsez. *pir A lightning 1 thunder: Tsez. *per* 1; Bezht. *pir* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *pir*. PGB *pir.

| Lak. *par* lightning 1 lustre.

Cf. also *parx* 'flash', *parx:annu* 'silhouette' (cf. an analogous suffix in Avar), *čupar* (a compound with *ču-* 'fire') 'lightning', Khosr. *čupar* id.

| Darg. *palr lightning: Ak. *palr* (*Tsud.*).

| Lezg. *par / *rap lightning: Lezg. *raprap*; Tab. *raprap*; Ag. *ča-rp* (*Bursh.*); Rut. *čaj-rap* (*Shin.*); Arch. *parə-la*.

The root is reduplicated and metathesized in Lezg. and Tab., and has a suffix in Arch. (but cf. also *par-bos* 'to flash (as lightning)'). The Ag. and Rut. forms are compounds with *čaj* 'fire' (cf. also the same distorted in Ag. Rich. *čarf* 'lightning').

□ The correspondences are regular (with minor exceptions due to expressive causes: pharyngealization in Darg. and metathesis in some Lezg. languages). Note also the existence of an old compound *čājī-pārē (*čājī 'fire') reflected in Akhv. Tseg. *ča-piri*, Lak. *ču-par* and Rut. *čaj-rap*.

*pārVpāiV butterfly, moth: Av.-And. *pVrVpV / *pVIVpV; Tsez. *papa-tu; Lezg. *pa(r)pal-; W.-Cauc. *parəpalə-.

| Av.-And. *pVrVpV / *pVIVpV butterfly: Av. *lapláp*; And. *pirinpa*.

Irregular correspondences between Av. and And. are explained by the expressive nature of the root.

| Tsez. *papa-tu butterfly: Gin. *papa-tu*; Bezht. *papa-to*; Gunz. *papa-tu*.

PGB *papa-tu. The root has a frequent expressive suffix *-tu.

| Lezg. *pa(r)pal- butterfly: Ud. *pāpālāk:*.

Cf. also Nidzh. *pampaluk:*. Isolated in Ud., but with probable external correspondences.

| W.-Cauc. *parəpalə- moth: Abkh. *a-parpalə́k*.

Attested only in Abkh., but with sound PEC parallels.

□ An expressive reduplicated root.

*pažo (~ -ž-, -ə) hut, cabin: Av.-And. *paži (~ -o-); Lezg. *pač:.

| Av.-And. *paži (~ -o-) tent, shelter: Av. *paž*; Akhv. *hʷaži*; Kar. *paže*.

Av. gen. *paži-l* (par. B or C).

| Lezg. *pač: shelter, cabin: Tab. *paž* (*Düb.*); Ag. *paž*; Rut. *paž* (*Khniukh.*); Kryz. *pāž*; Arch. *pač*.

Obl. base *pač:a- (cf. Tab. *paža-*, Ag. *paža-*, Arch. loc. *pača-j*). Cf. Khaidakov 1973, 82.

□ A Lezg.-Av.-And. isogloss. There is a suspicious PAK root *pačə 'room' (Kab. *paš*, Bzhed. *pašə*; see Kuipers 1975, 10, Shagirov 2,11) which could go back to PWC *pačʷə and thus be a good match (with assimilative devoicing *ž > *č) for PEC *pažo; however, there is a good probability that the Adygh word is a recent loan from Russ. *neub* 'stove' (see Shagirov *ibid.*).

***pāngwV** (?*m-) bee: Nakh. *niq; Av.-And. *pVq:V-nV; Darg. *mirqʷi.
 | Nakh. *niq bee-hive: Chech. *niq*; Ing. *niq*.
 6th class in both languages. Obl. base *nāqi- / *nāqar- (cf. Ing. *neqi*, Chech. *naqara*-).

| Av.-And. *pVq:V-nV drone: Av. *púq:na*.
 | Darg. *mirqʷi bee: Ak. *mirqi*; Chir. *murqe*.
 Cf. also Ur., Tsud. *mirqi*, Kub. *mūqe*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Not quite clear is the initial consonant: PN and PD point to PEC *māngwV; however, the Av. form (unless it is a result of dissimilatory denasalisation) favours PEC *p-.

***pāršwA** (~ -l-) bubble, bladder; to swell: Nakh. *puš; Lak. *purš*;
 Darg. *puš(a); Lezg. *pVrš:ʷ- (~ -l-); W.-Cauc. *pəšə-ta- (~ -s-).

| Nakh. *puš bump, lump: Bacb. *puš*.
 Isolated in Bacb., but having reliable external parallels.
 | Lak. *purš*: bellows.
 Cf. gen. *purš:i-ra-l*.

| Darg. *puš(a) 1 bellows 2 bubble, bladder: Ak. *puš 1, puša* 2.

Cf. also Chir. *puš-bukan* 'bellows', Ur. *puša* id., Kait. *puš-liḳ* 'bladder', Kharb. *puš-larq* id., Tsud. *pušū* id. (the second component of compounds is not clear etymologically).

| Lezg. *pVrš:ʷ- (~ -l-) 1 lungs, liver 2 bellows: Arch. *purš:ə-qat* 2; Ud. *pułšpułš 1* (Khaidakov).

Perhaps with a semantic shift ('smth. inflated') one could compare Tsakh. *piš-ni* 'lip'?

| W.-Cauc. *pəšə-ta- (~ -s-) to swell: Ad. *psəta*; Ub. *psta*-.

Ub. 3d p. *a-psəta-n*. Dumézil 1975 considers the Ub. word as a loan from Adyghe, deriving the Adyghe verb from *psə* 'water'; Shagirov 2,36 also supports this etymology. It is possible, but seems to us less likely in view of the external evidence.

Since there are no AT parallels, it is impossible to distinguish between reconstructing *-š- or *-s- in the root.

[] The correspondences are quite regular (in PWC there occurred a usual delabialisation of the second consonant after a preceding labial). The back vowel in the second syllable is suggested by PWC.

***p[e]lV** onion, ramson: Av.-And. *perV; Lezg. *p[e]l(VʔI).

| Av.-And. *perV onion: Av. *per*; Chad. *per*.

Av. gen. *poró-l* (par. B or C); Chad. paradigm B (*poró-l, perá-l*). Cf. also Kar. Tok. *per* (< Av.). It is not clear, whether Cham. *bal* 'garlic' can be related here.

| Lezg. *p[e]l(VʔI) onion, garlic 1 ramson: Kryz. *pułʔ-ar 1*; Arch. *pil*.

There is an unclear -ʔ- in the Kryz. form; -u- in the first syllable is probably due to reduction and assimilation (-ar is a plural suffix).

[] An Av.-Lezg. isogloss with not very certain vocalic correspondences.

***pěχV** bubble, blister; lung: Nakh. *paχ; Lezg. *p[e]χ(a); W.-Cauc. *rV-pəχa.

| Nakh. *paχ lung: Chech. *paχ*; Ing. *peχk*.

6th class in Chech., 4th class in Ing. The PN obl. form was *paχu- (to judge from Chech. *poχa*-); Ing. *peχk* goes back to a secondary diminutive *paχ-iḳ.

| Lezg. *p[e]χ(a) blister 1 scrotum: Lezg. *piχ*; Ag. *peχ-er 1* (Burk.); Kryz. *peχ*.

*-e- or -i- may be reconstructed in the 1st syllable. In Ag. -er is a former plural suffix. See Khaidakov 1973, 49.

| W.-Cauc. *rV-pəχa lung: Abkh. *a-rphā*; Abaz. *rapha*.

PAT *rVpəha; historically the rV- is probably a prefix.

[] The final vowel is uncertain.

***pəlpV** dirt, clay, dust: Nakh. *poppVr; Av.-And. *polpV; Tsez. *pop;
 Lak. *palp*; Darg. *pallpa; Lezg. *pal(l)p; W.-Cauc. *bəbə.

| Nakh. *poppVr 1 clay 2 clay mortar: Chech. *poppar 2*; Ing. *toppar 1*.

Initial t- in Ing. is obviously a result of dissimilation. The root contains an expressive medial geminate. It belongs to the 5th class in Ing. and 6th class in Chech.

| Av.-And. *polpV foam: Av. *polóp*; Chad. *polóp*; And. *pol*; Akhv. *hʷale*.

Av. gen. *polpí-l* (par. B or C; but Chad. irregularly gen. *pólpa-l*). External evidence clearly shows that *polpV is the original form, thus the Andian reflexes are secondarily 'dereduplicated'.

| Tsez. *pop foam: Bezht. *pöp*; Gunz. *pob*.

PGB *pop.

| Lak. *palp* clay mortar.

| Darg. *pallpa soap foam: Ak. *palrpal* (Kub.).

Kub. -r- presupposes PD *-l- (in cluster; *-r- would have disappeared).

| Lezg. *pal(l)p 1 dung (of cow, sheep) 2 husks, sawdust: Ag. *pap* (Fit.) 1; Ud. *palp*.

Cf. also (with expressive strengthening) Ag. Bursh. *p:ap*: 'cow's dung'.

| W.-Cauc. *bəbə dust 1 bubble 2 blister 3: Abkh. *á-bəb*; Ad. *psə-bəb 2*; Kab. *psə-bəb 3*.

PAK *baba (psə- 'water').

[] A reduplicated root with somewhat irregular correspondences: secondary voicing in PWC, secondary glottalization in PD and secondary pharyngealization in Eastern Daghestan languages (Western forms do not reveal any trace of lost laryngeals). Nevertheless, the root seems reliable, and the irregularities are probably due to its expressive nature.

***pḥātV** a k. of vessel: Nakh. *p(ḥ)et(V)(-ē-, -a-); Tsez. *peti; Lezg.

*p:altVj.

| Nakh. **peŭ* tub: Ing. *ped*.

Isolated in Ing., but with probable external parallels.

| Tsez. **peŭi* honeycomb: Bezht. *peŭi*.

Isolated in Bezht., but with probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **p:alŭVj* jug, jar: Ag. *balŭi* (*Bursh.*).

Attested only in Ag., but having possible external parallels. Laryngeal features are not quite clear: handwritten MSU records have *balŭi* in *Bursh.*, but *balti* in *Burk.*; in the printed version there appears *balŭi* in both dialects - this still is to be checked.

[] The root is reflected only in three languages, thus the PEC antiquity is somewhat dubious. However, it can be possibly related to PWC **pətə* 'kitchen' (Ub. *pət*, Ad. *pət*; Shagirov's etymology in Shagirov 2, 39 - from *pətə-n* 'to be an extension of smth.' - seems rather uncertain), if we assume an assimilative deglottalisation and semantic development 'some kitchen vessel' > 'kitchen'.

**phīlV* (~-ŭ-, -ŭ-, -ŭ-) a k. of foliage tree: Nakh. **b(h)ōl-ik* (~-ŭ-); Tsez. **bile* (~-i-); Darg. **pall*.

| Nakh. **b(h)ōl-ik* (~-ŭ-) grove: Chech. *bōlak*.

Isolated in Chech., but having probable external parallels (cf. even a similar suffix formation in Chech. and Darg.).

| Tsez. **bile* (~-i-) 1 poplar 2 ash-tree 3 asp: Tsez. *belli* 1,2; Gin. *bele* 1; Khvarsh. *bel* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *bulle* 3.

PTsKh **biIRe*.

| Darg. **pall* asp: Ak. *pallpallag*.

The Ak. stem is reduplicated and has a velar suffix (cf. the Nakh form). The simple form is preserved in Tsud. *pall* id.

[] An irregular voicing **p* > *b* in Western languages should be probably explained by the initial cluster **ph*- or **pʰ*-.

**phāχV* dust, steam: Tsez. **pəχ*: (~-b); Darg. **paχI*; W.-Cauc. **p:ax(I)a*.

| Tsez. **pəχ*: (~-b) 1 dust 2 steam: Bezht. *paχ* 1; Gunz. *pəχ* 1,2.

PGB **pəχ*.

| Darg. **paχI* dust: Ak. *palh* (*Kait.*).

Cf. also Gapsh., Tsud. *pūh* (with secondary vowel labialisation) id.

| W.-Cauc. **p:ax(I)a* steam: Ad. *pāχ*; Kab. *bāχa*.

PAK **p:āχa*.

See Shagirov 1,69 (Shagirov is right in thinking that Abaz. *baχ* is a Kabardian loan - pace Abdokov 1973,40; there is, however, absolutely no reason to consider the Adyghe root an Arabic loan).

[] The original laryngeal (-H-) is reflected as pharyngealization in Darg.

**phāmzV* (~-ŭ-) twig, bar: Nakh. **p(ʰ)ott* (~-ō-, -ŭ-); Lak. *palnç*.

| Nakh. **p(ʰ)ott* (~-ō-, -ŭ-) wooden bar: Chech. *pott*.

Isolated in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *palnç* a small stick for playing.

[] A Nakh-Lak isogloss. In Inlaut *-m- is preferable to *-n- which would yield other reflexes (zero instead of -n- in Lak. and initial nasalisation in Nakh).

**phulqī* (~-ō-) dirt; secretion in the eye: Lak. *pulrqu*; Lezg. **p:olqI*; W.-Cauc. **bəb(I)a*.

| Lak. *pulrqu* scrap metal.

| Lezg. **p:olqI* 1 secretion in the eye 2 blind: Lezg. *burqu* 2; Tab. *burqI* 1; Ag. *palr* 1; Rut. *birqI-d* 2; Tsakh. *birqI-na* 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *p:urqu* 'blind', Tab. *burqu* id., Düb. *bulqu* 'matter in the eye' (pointing directly to PL *-l-), Ag. Fit., Burk. *palr*, Bursh. *pa²* id. In Ag. *p* < **p*- by assimilation; the vowel reflex -al- is not quite clear. The adjective stems (= nominal oblique stems) in all languages point to a PL obl. base **p:olqI*-.

| W.-Cauc. **bəb(I)a* 1 rotten 2 having a bad eye-sight: Abkh. *a-bā* 1; Abaz. *bʰa* 1; Ad. *nā-bbā* 2; Kab. *nā-bbā* 2.

PAK **na-bbā* (**na* 'eye'). The original meaning of the root was 'eye secretion, matter in the eye' which explains the divergence of meaning in PAT and PAK.

[] The initial **p*- is secondarily voiced in PL and PWC (or should we reconstruct **bHulqī* with devoicing in Lak.?).

**phVrtwV* some inner organ: Tsez. **piŭVr*-; Lezg. **palrt*-.

| Tsez. **piŭVr*- 1 urine bladder 2 lung: Inkh. *puŭeru*; Bezht. *pirŭi* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *pirŭi*.

PGB **pirŭi* (< **piŭVri*, cf. the Inkh. form).

| Lezg. **palrt*- one of the large intestines: Arch. *palrti*.

Attested only in Archi, but having a probable Tsez. parallel.

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss. The word strikingly resembles PK **pir(s)ŭw* 'lung' (see Klimov 1964, 189 where the author lists the Gunz. word, but erroneously links also the reflexes of PEC **qwalŭV*- q.v.).

**pidV* (~-ə-, -o-) excrements, dirt: Av.-And. **bida* (~-o); Darg. **pat:a*.

| Av.-And. **bida* (~-o) 1 dirt 2 diarrhea: Akhv. *beda* 1; Tind. *beja* 2.

Without And. it is impossible to distinguish between *-a and *-o. Tind. (cf. also Akn. *beda*) > Inkh. *beda* 'faeces'.

| Darg. **pat:a* excrements: Chir. *pat:a*.

Darg. > Ag. Burk. *palŭt*: 'cow's dung' (with expressive pharyngealization).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level (an Av.-And.-Darg. isogloss). The PA form reflects an assimilation (**pida* > **bida*).

**pīnçwA* resin; juice: Nakh. **mutta* (~-ŭ-); Av.-And. **pinç:i*; Lak. *piç*; Darg. **penç*; Lezg. **pi(n)ç*; W.-Cauc. **bzə*.

| Nakh. **mutta* (~-ŭ-) juice: Chech. *mutta*.

| Av.-And. **pinç:i* resin: Av. *piç*; Chad. *piç*; And. *pirç:i*;

Akhv. *mic:i*; Cham. *bis*; Tind. *mic:i*; Kar. *biç:i*.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. *piç:i-l*). Voiced *b-* in Kar., Cham. is not quite clear (cf. also Kar. Tok. *piç:i*, Cham. Gig. *mic:i*).

| Lak. *piç* dew; perspiration.

| Darg. **penç* resin: Ak. *penç*.

| Lezg. **pi(n)ç* resin: Ag. *piç*.

Isolated in Ag. (Arch. *piç*, erg. *piç:i* < Av.), but having good external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **bzə* 1 water 2 juice: Abkh. *a-3ə* 1,2; Abaz. *3ə* 1,2; Ad. *psə* 1; Kab. *psə* 1; Ub. *bzə* 1.

PAT **3ə* (cf. also Bz. *a-3ə*); PAK **psə*; Ub. def. *a-bzə*. Shagirov (2, 16) suggests that PAT **3ə* should be separated from the AK and Ub. forms and prefers to compare them with PAT **p(ə)sə* 'water, river' (reconstructed on hydronymic evidence). There exists indeed a PAT root **pəsə* 'to become wet, soak' (e.g. Abaz. *psə-ra* id., Abkh. (a-3ə) *a-psə-la-ra*, Bz. (a-3ə) *a-psə-la-ra* 'throw into water') which could be compared with PAK **psə* (- but not with voiced *bz-* in Ub.). Still it is very hard to separate the AA root **3ə* from Ubykh (with which it correlates even in what concerns accent), and the Ubykh one from AK. We think that in PAK there could have occurred a contamination of two original roots: **bzə* 'water' and **pəsə* 'river; liquid' - this would be the best explanation of the whole situation.

Abdokov (1983, 185) compares PAT **3ə* with PAK **p:c:a-* in **p:c:a-n-thá* 'glue' (Ad. *pcānthā*, Kab. *bzānthā*). This would be fine in view of the EC data, but Shagirov (1, 81) is probably right in treating **p:c:a-n-thá* as 'fish glue' (with **p:c:a* 'fish').

[] Av. *piç*: > Arch. *piç* 'resin'. The EC-WC comparison see in Abdokov 1983, 185: it seems rather probable if we take into account the archaic meaning 'juice' preserved in AT.

**pinŁwV* (~*Łw-*) a k. of plant: Av.-And. **pinŁ:V-*; Lezg. **pi(n)Ł:*.

| Av.-And. **pinŁ:V-* a k. of shrub (волжанка, таволга): Av. *penŁ:eli*.

Attested only in Av., but with a probable Arch. parallel.

| Lezg. **pi(n)Ł:* a k. of plant (вид зонтичного растения): Arch. *piŁ*.

Attested only in Arch., but with probable Av. parallels (however, hardly a loan from Av.).

[] An Av.-Lezg. isogloss. Abdokov (1983, 111) compares the Av. and Arch. forms with PAK **pābza* (Ad. *pābž*, Kab. *pābza*) 'bushes, dense growth' which is phonetically improbable (see Shagirov 2,7 on the possible morphological structure of the PAK form).

**pirpi* beech-tree, plane-tree: Nakh. **pop*; Av.-And. **pipi*; Tsez. **pipe* B; Darg. **purpi*; Lezg. **pirp*.

| Nakh. **pop* plane-tree: Chech. *pop*; Ing. *pop*.

Obl. base **popa-* (cf. Chech. *popa-*, Ing. *popo*). 6th class in Chech., 3/5th class in Ing.

| Av.-And. **pipi* plane-tree: And. *pipi*.

Attested only in And., but having reliable external parallels.

| Tsez. **pipe* B plane-tree 1 beech-tree 2 cudgel: Gin. *pepi* 1; Khvarsh. *pepe* 2; Bezht. *pipe* 1; Gunz. *pibe-s*.

PTsKh **pipe*; PGB **pipe*.

| Darg. **purpi* beech-tree: Ak. *purpi*.

Cf. also Ur. *purpi*, Kub. *pūpe*.

| Lezg. **pirp* beech-tree 1 poplar: Lezg. *pipi-n t:ar*; Tab. *pirpu-n har*; Kryz. *pip* 0,1; Bud. *pip*; Ud. *pup*, *pup-na* *χod*.

3d class in Kryz. and Bud. Obl. stem **pirpe-* or **pirp-* (Tab. *pirpu-* points rather to **pirpi-*, but this can be a recent innovation due to the wide spread of -u-bases).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The B series in PTs could suggest a laryngeal in PEC (**pHirpi*), but there is no trace of it in any other language; it is possible that Khvarsh. *pepe* is a result of secondary assimilation (< pipe), which would allow us to reconstruct **pipe* A for PTs.

**pirgwΛ* a k. of fruit: Nakh. **šam-maša*; Av.-And. **pirq:i*; Lak. *piq*;

W.-Cauc. **pəqV*.

| Nakh. **šam-maša* 1 peach 2 apricot: Chech. *šammaša* 1; Ing. *šamaša* 2.

| Av.-And. **pirq:i* 1 apricot 2 fruit: Av. *piq*: 2; Kar. *biq:e* 1; God. *perq:i* 2.

Reasons for voicing in Kar. (cf. also Kar. Tok. *beq:i*) are not quite clear.

| Lak. *piq* bad fruits.

Gen. pl. *piqurdil* (pointing to -q).

| W.-Cauc. **pəqV* 1 plum 2 peach 3 fruit: Abkh. *a-phʷá/bhʷá* 1; Ad. *pχa-* 1,3; Kab. *pχa-* 1,3; Ub. *pqə* 3.

The PAK root **pχV-* / **pχʷV-* is present in several compounds: **pχa-gʷəλə* 'wild plum' (Ad., Kab. *pχagʷəλ*), **pχa-šhaməša* 'fruit'. With labialisation cf. Shaps. *pχʷə-sʷta* 'plum', *pχʷə-ca* 'peach'. The PAK form **q:ə-pčá* 'plum' (Ad., Kab. *q:əpčə*) is probably a modification of **pχʷə-pčə* under influence of PAK **q:əcá* 'peach' which has a separate etymology (q.v.).

In Ub. the root means 'a k. of big plum'.

The WC languages have yet another root with close meaning, but without the initial labial: cf. Abaz. *hʷa-sá*, Abkh. *a-hʷa-sá* 'wild plum' (in Bzyb. we have *a-phʷasá* / *a-bhʷasá* - obviously, a result of merging **pəhʷa* 'plum' and **hʷasá* 'wild plum'); *-*sa* is a frequent component in names of plants. We could compare also Bzhed. *χərc* 'peach' (as opposed to other terms with **q:-* or **pχʷ-*, see above). Although we can not absolutely exclude the possibility of a secondary loss of the initial labial in these forms (see Shagirov 2, 229), it is still possible to reconstruct a separate PWC root **χʷV* (or **χʷʷV*, **χʷIʷV*) 'wild plum' opposed to **pəqV* plum. This root (but not Abkh. *a-phʷá*, pace Lomtadze 1961, 116-117) could be compared to PL **χʷen*: 'plum, wild plum' (Lezg. *χʷat*, dial. *χʷad*, Tab. *χut*, dial. *χud*, Ag. *χut*, dial. *χur*, *χud*, Rut. *χād*, Tsakh. *χon*, Kryz. *χed*, Bud. *χed*).

[] The Nakh form is an obvious compound; the first part of it goes back to PEC **γōnʷV* 'pear, fruit' q.v.; thus **šam-maša* < **šan-paša* with

assimilation. The Lak. form can also be a loan from Avar (especially considering its meaning), but the rest of the forms correspond to each other quite regularly and must be genuinely related.

pidwV** / ***bitwV** feather, down: Nakh. ***patVr**; Tsez. ***pidwV**; Lezg. ***put**:/put**; Khin. **pit**; W.-Cauc. ***bət^wa**.

| Nakh. ***patVr** down 1 goat's down: Chech. *patar*; Ing. *petar*.

3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing. -r is originally a suffix (plural).

| Tsez. ***pidwV** feather: Bezht. *pudo*; Gunz. *pode*.

PGB ***podV**/***pudV** (vowel vacillation possibly reflects the earlier labialisation).

| Lezg. ***put**:/***put** 1 horse's main 2 plait, tress: Lezg. *put* 2 (*Akht.*); Ag. *put* 1.

Cf. also Ag. Burk. *pud* 'horse's mane'; the voiceless -t in Lezg. and Ag. (Rich., Tp.) is due to late assimilation.

| Khin. *pit* hair.

| W.-Cauc. ***bət^wa** sheep's spring-time hair: Abkh. *á-bt^wa*; Abaz. *bč^wa*.

PAT ***bət^wa** (in Abkh. there exists also a secondary variant *á-pt^wa*).

[] The root reveals some secondary shifts of laryngeal features (usual for roots with two stops); some reflexes (PL ***put**, Khin. *pit*, Abkh. *á-pt^wa*) go back to a variant with both stops unvoiced (***pitwV**).

***pilxwV** diarrhea: Tsez. ***piχ^wV**; Lak. *pur*; Darg. ***paxl^w**; Lezg. ***pulχ[:]**.

| Tsez. ***piχ^wV** diarrhea: Bezht. *puχi*.

Attested only in Bezht. (thus in PTs it is also possible to reconstruct -u- and -b^w-), but having reliable external parallels.

| Lak. *pur* diarrhea.

| Darg. ***paxl^w** diarrhea: Ak. *puχ-ne* (*Kharb.*).

Cf. also Kad. *pulχ*, Ur. *poχ* 'excrements'.

| Lezg. ***pulχ[:]** diarrhea: Rut. *piχ*; Arch. *purχ*.

Cf. Arch. erg. *purχ^e*. Arch. -r- before a uvular goes back only to PL ***-l-**. The Rut. form is irregular (***purχ** would be expected), which must be explained by the expressive nature of the root (perhaps also a contamination with PL ***p[e]χ** 'blister, bubble' q.v.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Pharyngealization in PD is probably secondary (due to the root's expressive nature). Lak. *pur* reflects ***purh** (from earlier ***pulχ[:]** with a regular reflex ***χ[:] > h**).

pirV** to fly, flight: Av.-And. ***par-pV**/par-χ[:]V-**; Tsez. ***par-** (~ -ɔ); Lezg. ***pVr-**; W.-Cauc. ***pərə**.

| Av.-And. ***par-pV-** / ***par-χ[:]V-** flutter 1 fly, fly up: Av. *pār-*.

The Av. root is present in forms: *pār-p-ad-ize* 'to flutter, fly', *pār-χ[:]-ine* 'to fly, fly up' (the first is probably reduplicated, the second contains an expressive suffix).

| Tsez. ***par-** (~ -ɔ) to wave, sway, heave: Bezht. *par-āl-* (*Tlad.*).

Attested only in Bezht. (cf. also Khosh. *par-āl-* id.), but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. ***pVr-** 1 fly 2 take wing: Lezg. *purr awun* 2; Tab. *purr apub* 2; Bud. *pír píř sí^ʔi*; Arch. *parχ bos* 1; Ud. *pur pesun* 1.

An expressive root, but obviously very archaic. Most Lezghian forms point to PL ***pur** or ***por**; the Arch. form *parχ* may have been influenced by Avar. *parχ[:]ine*.

| W.-Cauc. ***pərə** fly (v.): Abkh. *a-pār-ra*; Abaz. *pār-ra* (*Ashkh.*); Ub. *pār-*.

PAT ***pərə**; Ub. 1 p. *sə-pārə-n*.

[] An expressive root; however, there are no doubts in its NC antiquity (see Trubetzkoy 1930, 279). The Av. form has been borrowed into Lak. (*parχ učín* 'take wing') and Darg. (*parχ-buqi arces* id.), possibly also into Arch. (*parχ-bos*).

***pörV** (~ -l-) bee; butterfly: Nakh. ***par-lu**; Av.-And. ***pira**; Tsez. ***pör**.

| Nakh. ***par-lu** (~ -ō-, -ā-) butterfly: Chech. *polla*.

Since there is no Ing. form, several vocalic reconstructions for PN are possible. We assume that the final -la is a suffix, thus the original Inlaut resonant may have been -r- or -l-.

| Av.-And. ***pira** bee: And. *pera*; Akhv. *hera*; Cham. *pijā*; Tind. *pera*; Kar. *pera*; Botl. *pera*; Bagv. *pera*; God. *pera*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *peru*, Ratl. *pera*, Cham. Gig. *pera*.

| Tsez. ***per B** (~ -i-, -ə-) bee: Khvarsh. *par*; Inkh. *por*.

PTsKh ***pər**.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level.

***pūHV** to blow, blowing: Nakh. ***hu(:)p**; Av.-And. ***pu[?]-**; Tsez. ***pi-āl^w-**; Khin. *pi*; W.-Cauc. ***p:Vwa** (~ -b-).

| Nakh. ***hu(:)p** to blow, blowing: Chech. *hup ala*.

Attested only in Chech., but with probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. ***pu[?]-** to blow: Av. *pú-jze*; Akhv. *hu-ruλa*; Tind. *pē-λa*; Kar. *puwa-λa*; God. *pu-di*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *pu-ja-q:e*, Ratl. *pū* etc.

| Tsez. ***pi-āl^w-** (~ -i-) to blow 1 to swell, blow up 2 to whistle: Tsez. *peλ^wa* 1; Gin. *peλ-* 2; Bezht. *puλe-*; Gunz. *puλa*.

PTsKh ***piāl^w-** (~ -i-); PGB ***puλ-**.

| Khin. *pi* 1 air 2 to blow.

| W.-Cauc. ***p:Vwa** (~ -b-) 1 to breathe 2 breath: Kab. *bawa-n* 1; Ub. *bāwa* 2.

The word is lacking in Ad. (*bawa-* 'to kiss' is quite a different root, despite Kuipers 14), thus ***b-** or ***p:-** may be reconstructed for PAK, and, consequently, for PWC. Despite Shagirov 1,77 the Kab. word is certainly not a Turkic loan, and the Ubykh word - not a loan from Kabardian.

[] The root is obviously onomatopoeic; nevertheless, correspondences seem to be regular and the root may be safely reconstructed for PNC.

***purV-χV** / ***purV-lV** bladder; bellows: Av.-And. ***pur(d)ixV** / ***purV-lV**; Tsez. ***pura-**; Lak. **purpuχ:i**; Lezg. ***paraχ:l-**.

| Av.-And. ***pur(d)ixV** / ***purV-lV** bellows: Av. *perélo*; Chad. *pil*; And. *purχul*; Akhv. *holoχa*; Cham. *butuχ*; Tind. *pujiχan, pujuχan*; Kar. *puxedero*.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. *periχur* id., And. *purχ-un-* 'to ferment (of dough)'. An expressive stem with many irregularities. Cham. *butuχ* demonstrates a metathesis of laryngeal features < ***puδuχ** = Tind. *pujiχan* (a borrowing from Old Tind. is Inkh. *puδuχa* 'bellows'). Cham. Gig. *perala* 'bellows' is most probably a borrowing from Av., as well as Gunz. *palal* id.

| Tsez. ***pura-** bellows: Bezht. *püräh-ägö* (*Tlad.*).

Cf. also Khosh. *pürädägi* id. An expressive stem, preserved only in Bezht. Formally it is derived from *püräh-* 'to blow' (iter.) which is in its turn derived from *pü-* (cf. *pü-χe-* 'to blow') - which may be, however, a later morphological re-analysis.

| Lak. *purpuχ:i* urinary bladder.

| Lezg. ***paraχ:l-** urinary bladder: Rut. *paraχIul* (*Ikhr.*); Tsakh. *paraχ:laj*.

[] Reconstructed for PEC. An expressive stem with numerous irregular changes. The suffix *-lV is rather common, but *-χV is unusual (possibly originally a locative morpheme?).

***pürV** part of face under the nose; nose: Tsez. ***poro**; W.-Cauc.

***p^wA**.

| Tsez. ***poro** part of face under the nose: Bezht. *poro*; Gunz. *poro*.

PGB ***poro**.

| W.-Cauc. ***p^wA** nose: Abkh. *a-pā-nça*; Abaz. *pānça*; Ad. *pa*; Kab. *pa*; Ub. *fa-čá*.

PAT ***pā-nā-ča** (cf. also Bz. *a-pānč*). Etymology of *-ča (= Ub. -ča) see under *(p)-ča. PAK ***pa**. The morpheme ***p^wA** 'nose, front' does not occur independently outside AK, but is present in many compounds both in AA and Ubykh (cf. PAT ***pā-la** 'meet', ***pā-cā** '(front) tooth' etc.; Ub. *fa-La* 'face' / 'nose'+ 'eye' / etc.). The PAT form ***pānāča** can not be kept apart from Osset. *finz* 'nose' (see Abayev 1958, 497); since the PAT form has a clear morphological structure, we must acknowledge that it is also the ultimate source of Georg. *pinčwi* and Arm. *pinž* 'nostril'.

[] Phonetically and semantically the correspondence between PTs and PWC is quite satisfactory.

***puṭi** / ***buṭi** (~ -e) genitals (mostly female): Nakh. ***buṭ** (~ -ū-); Av.-And. ***buṭa**; Tsez. ***biṭV A** (~ -i-); Lak. **puṭi**; Darg. ***puṭi**; Lezg. ***p:ot** (~ -u-).

| Nakh. ***buṭ** (~ -ū-) vulva: Chech. *bud*; Ing. *bud*.

| Av.-And. ***buṭa** vulva, vagina: And. *buṭa*; Akhv. *buṭa*; Cham. *buṭa*; Tind. *buṭa*; Kar. *buṭa*; Botl. *buṭa*; Bagv. *buṭa*; God. *buṭa*.

Tind. > Inkh. *buṭa* id.

| Tsez. ***biṭV A** (~ -i-) vagina: Tsez. *beṭi*; Gin. *beṭe*;

PTsKh ***biṭə** (~ -i-).

| Lak. *puṭi* a hollow stalk, tube.

| Darg. ***puṭi** 1 chibouque 2 anus: Ak. *puṭi* 1; Chir. *puṭe* 2.

The common meaning is 'hollow tube' (cf. the Lak. form).

| Lezg. ***p:ot** (~ -u-) 1 penis 2 vagina: Ag. *buṭ* 1; Bud. *biṭi* 2.

The Ag. and Bud. words are hard to separate; in view of the external evidence the Ag. meaning must be secondary (through an intermediate meaning like 'clitoris' - cf. analagous semantic shifts in the root ***khəlčV**). With expressive irregularities cf. also Tab. Düb. *baIt:aj* 'vagina (of a girl)'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In the Anlaut there occurs a variation ***p-/b-** (probably ***p-** > ***p̥-** through assimilation and then again > ***b-** through dissimilation - a process typical for roots containing two stops).

The meaning 'hollow stalk, tube' in Lak. provides a necessary semantic link between 'vulva' in Western languages and 'penis' in Aghul; cf. also the meanings in Darg. dialects.

***pVrVcĖ** wooden plough: Av.-And. ***pirVc:V**; W.-Cauc. ***pəza**.

| Av.-And. ***pirVc:V** wooden plough: Av. *purúc*; And. *rebc:u*; Akhv. *ēbec:e*; Cham. *bijaca*; Tind. *bec:i*; Kar. *bec:e*; Bagv. *perc*.

Av. paradigm C (*purc:i-l*, *púrca:l*). In And. the form is metathesized (probably under influence of another PA root, ***ric:i** q.v.). On the laryngeal in the Akhv. form see under ***Hrājčū**. Several languages reveal secondary (dissimilative) voicing ***p-** > **b-**. Cf. also Kar. Tok. *peric*.

| W.-Cauc. ***pəza** ploughshare: Abkh. *a-pāza*; Abaz. *pāza*; Ad. *c^wā-bza*; Kab. *vā-bza*; Ub. *c^wā-bzá*.

PAT ***pəza** (cf. also Bzyb. *a-pāza*); PAK ***c^wa-bzá**.

The first part of the Adygh and Ub. compound, despite Shagirov 1977, 104-105, is connected neither with PWC ***c^wə** 'ox' (q.v.) nor with PWC ***z^wa** 'to plough' (q.v.), but reflects a separate PWC root (see under ***Hrājčū**). Again, pace Shagirov ibid., since the correspondence between Abkh. and Ad. here is quite obvious, it is impossible to connect the second part of the compound with PAK ***bza** 'to cut' (q.v.). Finally, since Ub. has a palatal *ž*, the Ub. form (again despite Shagirov ibid.) can not be regarded as an Adygh loanword. The correspondence between PAK ***-bza**, PAT ***pəza** and Ub. *-bzá* is quite regular.

[] A typical 'culture word'. Although similar words are widely spread in the Caucasus and nearby regions, only the Av.-And. and WC forms can be regarded as genuine. The Tsezian forms (Tsez. *birus*, Gunz. *bərus*, Bezht. *bo'os*, Khvarsh., Inkh. *buruc*; note that Av. Chad. *burús*, because of its phonetic structure, is most probably a back-loan from Tsezian languages) are more or less recent loans from Av.-And. languages; the Av. word is also borrowed in Kum. *purus*. There is also a number of quite enigmatic forms: Bagv. Tlond. *perec*; Ud. *penec*: 'plough' which are probably also borrowed, but the source is not clear. We should also mention Lezg. *bazu* 'pole of the plough', obviously connected with Azer. *bazi* id., but without a certain etymology (cf. the WC forms).

*pǎʔV kiss: Nakh. *paj / *ʔopa(j); Av.-And. *ʔ[u]ba (~ -o); Lak. paj;
Darg. *p:aj / *up:aj; Lezg. *pah / *paʔ; Khin. pa; W.-Cauc. *ba (~ *bla).

| Nakh. *paj / *ʔopa(j) kiss: Chech. oba / uba; Bacb. paj.

An expressive root, having, however, good external parallels.

| Av.-And. *ʔ[u]ba (~ -o) 1 kiss 2 to kiss: Av. ubá 1, baʔ- 2; And. hobba-d- 2;
Cham. obba 1; Tind. oba 1; God. oba-di 1.

An expressive root with somewhat irregular correspondences.

| Lak. p:aj kiss.

Cf. Khosr. up:ā tun 'to kiss'.

| Darg. *p:aj / *up:aj 1 kiss 2 to kiss: Ak. baj 1; Chir. up:a ī 2.

| Lezg. *pah / *paʔ 1 kiss 2 to kiss: Lezg. pah 1; Ag. pa aqas 2; Tsakh. ubba / uba 1; Arch. pa-bos 2.

An expressive root. In Archi there are several variants: pa-bos, paʔ-bos, baʔ-bos.

| Khin. pa kiss.

| W.-Cauc. *ba (~ *bla) 1 kiss 2 to kiss: Abaz. ba 1; Ad. ja-ba-wə-n 2; Kab. bā 1.

PAK *ba, *ja-ba-wə (cf. also Kab. jabawə-n 'to smack one's lips'). An expressive root; see Shakryl 1968, 64, Shagirov 1, 66, 170.

[] An expressive (onomatopoeic) root, common for many NC languages. The problem of its NC antiquity is hard to solve; we may note that the correspondences are more or less regular (of course with some distortions, usual for onomatopoeic roots). See Abdokov 1983, 185.

*pñilçwǎ dirt, mud: Nakh. *phaç (~ʒ); Av.-And. *(hi)biç:V; Lak. pallçu; Darg. *pal(l)ça; Lezg. *pi(l)c:(a); W.-Cauc. *pəça (~ p-,b-).

| Nakh. *phaç (~ʒ) horse's dung: Chech. phaz; Ing. phaz.

Obl. base *phaçu- (Chech. phoza-; Ing. with vowel levelling phazo). 6th class in Chech., 5th class in Ing.

| Av.-And. *(hi)biç:V 1 ear-wax 2 eye secretion 3 dirt: Av. hebeç: 1; Akhv. hebeç:o 2; Cham. biša 3; Tind. bec:u-ra 2.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. hebeç:i-l).

| Lak. pallçu eye secretion.

Cf. Khosr. pallça id.

| Darg. *pal(l)ça 1 faeces 2 eye secretion: Ak. palça 1 (Ur.); Chir. pallç-ne 2.

Cf. also Tsud. palça 'ordure (of small animals)'.

| Lezg. *pi(l)c:(a) swamp, marsh: Ud. p:iz / piz.

Isolated in Ud., but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *pəça (~ p-,b-) 1 swamp 2 mud, silt: Kab. psə-pça 1; Ub.

zʷə-mçá 2.

Both in Kab. and Ub. we have compounds, probably with PWC *bza 'water' (with an irregular reflex in Ub. because of the word's expressive nature).

[] The root is widely represented and, despite its expressive nature, behaves strictly according to phonetic correspondences. In PWC nasalisation is a remnant of the original Inlaut resonant; labialisation of the second consonant is lost, as very often, in dissimilation to the preceding labial consonant. It is interesting to note the exceptional preservation of the laryngeal in some Av.-And. languages, perhaps pointing to a PEC variant with a rare structure *hñilçwǎ.

A loan from Lak. or Darg. (with expressive irregularities) is Tsakh. Gelm. pallç 'eye secretion'.

*pihV blood vessel: Av.-And. *biHV; Tsez. *baljV; Darg. *beh(i); Lezg. *p:ij (~*p-); Khin. pi.

| Av.-And. *biHV blood: Av. bi; Chad. bi.

Av. paradigm A (gen. bi-dul).

| Tsez. *baljV throat, gullet: Tsez. balja; Inkh. qir-baji.

PTsKh *baljV. Inkh. has a compound with *qʷVr- 'crawl, crop' q.v. (cf. also Bokaryov's notation: Inkh. balji 'throat').

| Darg. *beh(i) blood: Chir. bāl.

Cf. also Kait. beʳe (Mus. biʳi), Kub. bē.

| Lezg. *p:ij (~*p-) blood: Rut. ā-bir; Tsakh. e-b; Arch. bi; Ud. p:i.

Cf. also Tsakh. Gelm. e-bi (ebiji-) which is more archaic than the form eb in other dialects. Only Arch. and Ud. preserve the independent root, while other languages reflect a compound *ʔāʔ-p:ij (in Rut. the second part was reinterpreted as a plural marker -bir).

See Leksika 1971, 114.

| Khin. pi blood.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. The meaning 'blood vessel' is reconstructed because of the correlation 'blood' (in most languages) : *vessel' > 'throat, gullet' in PTs.

*pVhVtV feather; mane: Nakh. *pēla-k; Av.-And. *HulV; Lak. pihulli; Darg. *pahIal(a) (/ʔp-); W.-Cauc. *pəla / *pəra.

| Nakh. *pēla-k feather: Chech. pēlag.

Isolated in Chech., but with reliable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *HulV feather: Av. hūli.

Av. paradigm A (hūli-dul, hūla-bi). The word is isolated in Avar, but has possible external parallels.

| Lak. pihulli feather.

Cited from Khaidakov 1966.

| Darg. *pahIal(a) (/ʔp-) feather: Ak. palhalla.

Cf. also Kait. pahal, Kub. puhall.

| W.-Cauc. *pəla / *pəra 1 mane 2 shaggy: Abkh. á-bra 1; Abaz. bra 1; Ad. pəLāc/bəLāc 2; Kab. baLāca 2.

PAT **bāra*; cf. also with **p*:- **pārā-cʷə* id. > Abkh. *a-prā-kʷčʷ* / *a-pār-čʷkʷ* (Bzyb. *a-prāxʷčʷ* / *ā-prākʷčʷ*), Abaz. *prāčʷ* (the second part in Abkh. has contaminated with *ā-kʷčʷ* / *ā-čʷkʷ* 'top'). PAK **bəLá-ca* / **pəLá-ca* (Ad. reflects also a variant with -r-: Ad. *pārāc* / *bārāc* 'shaggy').

WC languages reflect numerous variants with variation p/b and r/l. If Osset. *barc* / *barcā* 'mane' really goes back to Proto-Iran. **barsa-* (see Abayev 1, 237; doubts are raised by Osset. -c-), then the forms PAK **bārāca* and PAT **pārācʷə* should be regarded as Alanisms; otherwise the direction of loan should be reversed and the WC forms analysed on WC ground (cf. PAT **bāra* and PWC **cə* / **cʷə* 'hair').

Abdokov (1983, 73) compares the WC forms with PEC **balV* 'wool' (q.v.), which seems phonetically less probable. He also cites Chech. =*älla* 'hairy' - which is in reality a participle of =*al-* 'to grow' and does not belong here at all.

[] The comparison seems generally plausible, but there are some unclear points probably explained by the root's expressive nature. It concerns especially the Avar form, where one should suppose a specific loss of **p(V)*- before the following laryngeal.

**pVrkV* / **pVrkVCV* whirligig, humming-top: Nakh. **marqV-*; Av.-And. **birku*; Tsez. **pVz(:)Vk-/kVpVz(:)-*; Darg. **čiripan*; Lezg. **pVrkVrCV-/kVpVrCV-*.

| Nakh. **marqV-* whirligig, humming-top: Ing. *marqilg*.

Attested only in Ing.; possibly an irregular development of PEC **pVrkV-*.

| Av.-And. **birku* whirligig, humming-top: Cham. *berku* (*Leksika*); Tind. *berku*; Kar. *birku* (*Leksika*).

Tind. > Inkh. *berku* id.

| Tsez. **pVz(:)Vk-/kVpVz(:)-* whirligig, humming-top: Tsez. *pezekru*; Bezht. *kampuz* (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *kampuz*.

An extremely irregular expressive stem.

| Darg. **čiripan* whirligig, humming-top: Chir. *čiripan*.

| Lezg. **pVrkVrCV-/kVpVrCV-* whirligig, humming-top: Lezg. *pkarzam* (*Khl.*); Tab. *ṭirišʷ*; Ag. *ṭabruc*; Rut. *kʷarse-nej*; Tsakh. *korca-ni*; Kryz. *kālbās-āng*; Bud. *kābarsu-n*; Ud. *p:izan*.

An extremely irregular expressive stem.

[] All the listed variants seem to share a vague resemblance to the sound type **PVRKV* / **PVRKVCV-* (sometimes with metatheses), but of course it is impossible to make a precise reconstruction for an expressive 'nursery word' like this.

**pVsV* orphan: Av.-And. **bVs(:)-*; W.-Cauc. **pVsV* (~ -š-).

| Av.-And. **bVs(:)-* orphan: Av. *bes-da-la-*.

The stem *besdal* is also used adverbially (e.g. *besdal harize* 'to become an orphan, lose one's parents' etc.). Known Andian forms (Kar. *bes.tala-*, God. *besdal*) are most probably borrowed from Avar.

| W.-Cauc. **pVsV* (~ -š-) step-relative: Abkh. -*psa*; Abaz. -*psa*; Ad. -*pʷas*; Kab. -*pas*.

PAT **-pāsa* (cf. Bzyb. -*pāsa*), used in compounds: Abkh. *ān-psa* 'step-mother',

āb-psa 'step-father', Abaz. *an-psa*, *ab-psa*; *pa-psa* 'step-son'. PAK **-pasə* (also used in compounds: Ad. *nə-na-pʷas*, Kab. *āna-na-pas* 'step-mother', Ad. *tə-na-pʷas*, Kab. *āda-na-pas* 'step-father'). The PAK form is impossible to separate from PAT **-pāsa*, thus we can not accept Abitov's and Shagirov's treatment of the AK morpheme as compound ('sitting instead of'), see Shagirov 1,61, as well as the derivation of PAT **-pāsa* from the verb **pāsaxə-* (Abkh. *a-psāx-ra*, Bzyb. *a-pśāx-ra*, Abaz. *psax-ra*) 'to change' (Shakryl 1968, 37). The latter explanation should be rejected also for phonetic (accentological) reasons. Abdokov (1983, 141) also rejects PAK **-pasə* as a compound, adducing instead Kab. *bəfa* (< **bəsʷa*) in *bəfa-q:ʷa* 'step-son', *bəfa-pχʷ* 'step-daughter': however, the source of these words is unknown to us.

[] The root is well known in WC languages, but within EC preserved only in Avar as an archaism. See Abdokov 1983, 141.

*qā²VrV (/ *²ārVqV) far; long, high: Tsez. *b:ə²ər-; Lak. laqi-; Darg. *haraq-; W.-Cauc. *q:ara.

| Tsez. *b:ə²ər- high: Bezht. *hō*; Gunz. *hə²əru*.

PGB *hə²əru, cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *ho²oro*. Initial PTs *b:- is probable because of external evidence (otherwise *h- or *h- could also be assumed).

| Lak. *laqi*- long.

| Darg. *haraq- far: Ak. *haraq-si*.

| W.-Cauc. *q:ara far: Abkh. *á-χara*; Abaz. *qara*.

PAT *qara (cf. Bz. *á-χara*).

[] Lak. has l- instead of r-, obviously, under the influence of *laq-s:a* 'high' (going back to PEC *-əqĒ q.v.). Otherwise correspondences are regular. Cf. also Hurr. *keri*, *ker-ae* 'long, far away' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 59).

*qaHlaχi (~ -e) some scraping instrument: Nakh. *χerχ; Av.-And. *q:anχ:a (~ o); Tsez. *χ:aχ:a; Lak. χ:allaχ:i.

| Nakh. *χerχ curry-comb: Chech. *χerχ*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *q:anχ:a (~ o) 1 bricklayer's scraper 2 harrow: Av. *q:alaχ: 1* (Mikailov-Saidov 1951); Cham. χ:āχ:adi 2; God. χ:anχ:al 2.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. χ:anχ:al 'rake, harrow'. A loan from Andian (Cham. or an unattested Tind. *χ:anχ:a) is Inkh. *χanχa* 'rake'. The reason for reconstructing PA *q:- (assimilated to χ:- in Cham. and God.) is not only Av. q:-, but also the common Andian compound *λ:iχ:V-q:Vrχ:V 'rake' (q.v.), which is probably containing the present root in a distorted shape.

| Tsez. *χ:aχ:a rake: Khvarsh. *χaxa*.

Attested only in Khvarsh. (Inkh. *χanχa* 'rake', because of its phonetic structure with -n-, must be considered a loan from Andian), but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. χ:allaχ:i harrow.

Cf. Khosr. χ:Iilaχ:li 'rake, harrow'. Cf. also a verbal stem: Khosr. χ:Iiχ:li-n (dur. χ:Iiχ:li-n) 'to scrape'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive root, somewhat distorted in reflexes, but still reconstructable.

*qālkwə ram (2 and more years old): Nakh. *qāqu; Lak. χ:alku; Lezg. *q:alk:.

| Nakh. *qāqu ram (from 2 up to 3 years old): Chech. *qōqa*.

In Chech. cf. also the derivate *qēqorg* 'lamb which has lost his mother'. The root is attested only in Chech., but has good EC parallels.

| Lak. χ:alku ram (3 and more years old).

| Lezg. *q:alk: ram (2 years old): Rut. *q:arg*; Tsakh. *ḡarg*.

Obl. stem *q:alk:a- (~ *q:alk:e-), cf. Rut. *q:argi-*, Tsakh. *ḡarga-*. *-lis safely reconstructed (PL *-r- would be lost in this position both in Rut. and Tsakh.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In PN (Chech.) and PL there occurred assimilations (*qāqu < *qāku, *q:alk: < *qalk:), typical for roots of this structure. Otherwise the correspondences are regular (this is a good case of a 'tense' word).

*qālsV to scratch: Av.-And. *qas:-; Tsez. *χ:ās:- (~ ḡ-); Darg. *qars:-.

| Av.-And. *qas:- to scratch: Av. *q:as-*; Chad. *qaš-*; Akhv. *q:as-*.

The correspondences are irregular, and the reconstruction not quite certain: Av. reflects *q:as-, but the regular Akhv. correspondence would be *q:as-*. The most probable solution is to reconstruct *qas:- with an independent metathesis of the tenseness feature in Av. and Akhv.

| Tsez. *χ:ās:- (~ ḡ-) to scratch: Bezht. *χos-λ-* (Tlad.); Gunz. *χās-d-*.

PGB *χās- (with different suffixes; cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *χos-λ-*, and, with vowel alternation, Tlad. *χis-λ-* 'to plane').

| Darg. *qars:- to scratch: Ak. *qars-bires*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive root, with some violations of phonetic rules (due to its expressive character).

*qāmV wax: Av.-And. *qV(mHV) (~ χ-); Lak. qan; Lezg. *mulaχ.

| Av.-And. *qV(mHV) (~ χ-) wax: Av. *he*.

Av. paradigm A (gen. *hē-dul*).

| Lak. qan wax.

Gen. *qamu-l*.

| Lezg. *mulaχ wax: Lezg. *mulaχ*; Tab. *malaχ*; Tsakh. *moχ* (Gelm.); Kryz. *miläχ*; Arch. *χam*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *mulaχ* id. 4th class in Tsakh., but 3d class in Archi. PL *mulaχ is probably a metathesis < *χam(:)-ul. The original form was reinterpreted in Archi as an oblique base (cf. the Archi oblique base *χamli-*) and a new direct base *χam* was generated (probably also under influence of Lak. *qam - although it is difficult to suppose a direct loan from Lak.).

See Khaidakov 1973, 100.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Av.-Lak. parallel is quite satisfactory; the PL form can be dealt with if we assume a metathesis (see above).

*qāmkV fang, molar; stake: Av.-And. *χanχa (~q,o); Tsez. *χ:əg- (~ḡ-, -gl-); Lezg. *χa(m)k; Khin. *χak*.

| Av.-And. *χanχa (~q,o) fang, canine tooth: Cham. *χanχa* (Gig.). Isolated in Cham., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *χ:əg- (~ḡ-, -g,-) molar tooth: Bezht. *χäg* (Khosh.); Gunz. *χəḡin*.

PGB *χəg-. Gunz. has a suffixed form (cf. also Bezht. (Madiéva) *hagna*). -ḡ- in Bezht. is irregular (due to assimilation).

| Lezg. **χa(m)k* picket, stake: Lezg. *χak*; Rut. *χak*.

Cf. Lezg. erg. *χk-uni*. 3d class in Rut. Medial -m- reconstructed on the basis of external evidence (both in Lezg. and in Rut. it is lost before velars).

| Khin. *χak* stake.

[] There are some distortions (due to assimilations in a root with two stops) in Av.-And. and Tsez., but generally the comparison seems plausible. The Khin. word may be borrowed from Lezg.

**qamVcV* / **GamVcV* ant; grasshopper: Nakh. **qēc-* (~ -3-); Av.-And. **ḡamça*; Tsez. **χ:ḡçə* A; Lak. *qaç*; Lezg. **qamç(ä)* / **qamç(a)*; W.-Cauc. **q:aməza-*.

| Nakh. **qēc-* (~ -3-) bug, bed-bug: Chech. *qīzig*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **ḡamça* 1 grasshopper, locust 2 dragonfly: And. *ḡaça* 1; Akhv. *ḡaça* 1; Cham. *ḡança* 1; Tind. *ḡarça* 1; Kar. *ḡaça* 1; God. *ḡaça* 2.

Cf. also God. Zib. *ḡança* 'dragonfly'. A variant **qamça* (with voiceless **q-*) is reflected in Cham. Gig. *χanza* 'grasshopper'.

| Tsez. **χ:ḡçə* A grasshopper: Tsez. *χoçi*; Gin. *χoçe*; Bezht. *χaço*; Gunz. *χḡçə*.

PTsKh **χoçə* (~ -ō-), PGB **χḡçə*.

| Lak. *qaç* locust.

Cf. Khosr. *q^waç* id. The Khosr. dialect has also *q^warç* 'grasshopper'; its relationship to this root is unclear (it could be a contamination of *q^waç* with the reflex of PEC **χwērcV* q.v. - which should have been **χ:ḡarç* or **harç*).

| Lezg. **qamç(a)* / **qamç(a)* 1 grasshopper 2 gadfly: Tab. *uḡan ḡlanc*: 1; Ag. *ḡaçrak* 2 (*Bursh.*); Arch. *apal-χaçi* 1.

The word is contaminating with the PL root for 'tongs' q.v. (Tab. *uḡan ḡlanc*: means literally 'grass tongs'). Although this is obviously a folk-etymology, it creates problems for the precise reconstruction of the PL form.

| W.-Cauc. **q:aməza-* 1 ant 2 ant-hill: Ad. *q:āmzag^w* 1; Kab. *q:ānzag^w* 2.

PAK **q:amzā-g^wə* (*-g^wə is probably 'middle, location').

[] An expressive (like most names of insects) and widely spread common NC root. Despite some phonetic variation (especially irregular is the PTs form), it seems worth reconstructing for PNC.

**qānVcwV* dirt: Av.-And. **qa(n)ç:V* (~*χ-*, -o-); Tsez. **qīc* A; Lezg. **χanç(a)*; W.-Cauc. **χ^wənəç^wV*.

| Av.-And. **qa(n)ç:V* (~*χ-*, -o-) saliva: Cham. *χaṣ* (*U.-Gakv.*).

Cf. also Cham. Gad., Gig. *χaṣ:i* id. The meaning 'saliva' is due to contamination with PA **haç:i* 'saliva' q.v. (reflected in Cham. L.-Gakv. *haṣ*).

| Tsez. **qīc* A 1 dirt 2 swamp 3 mud, slash: Tsez. *qēc* 1,3; Khvarsh. *qēc* 1,3; Inkh. *qīc* 3; Bezht. *qīca* 2; Gunz. *qīca* 2.

PTsKh **qīc*; PGB **qīca* (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *qīca*). The form with final -a is probably an original oblique stem (cf. Tsez. *qēca-*, Inkh. *qīca-*).

| Lezg. **χanç(a)* 1 a layer of hardened dirt 2 crust: Lezg. *χanç* 1; Tab. *χaχanç* 2.

The Tab. form is reduplicated. Obl. base unknown.

| W.-Cauc. **χ^wənəç^wV* dirt, mire: Abkh. *a-ḡənç^vá*; Abaz. *ḡənç^wə*.

PAT **ḡənəç^wV*.

[] An expressive root, with usual (especially in cases of roots with two stops) assimilations (PWC **χ^wənəç^wV* < **χənəç^wV*) and shifts of laryngeal features (PTs **qīc* < **qīç*). Otherwise more or less regular.

**qar^vV* (~ -2-) planking (for the ceiling): Darg. **qar*; Lezg. **qlar*.

| Darg. **qar* 1 lid, cover; ceiling 2 top: Ak. *qar* 2; Chir. *qar* 1,2.

Cf. also Ur. *qar*, Kait. *qar* 'lid, cover'.

| Lezg. **qlar* 1 planking for the ceiling 2 ceiling: Tab. *qlar*; Rut. *qlar* (*Shin.*) 1; Tsakh. *qurék* 2.

In Tab. the root means 'a prop, support for grapevines' (probably from the original meaning 'prop, support (in general)'). The Tsakh. form (cf. also Gelim. *qurok*, Tsakh. prop. *qurk*) is an original locative (subessive) case in *-*λ*; however, the vocalism and loss of pharyngealization are strange (perhaps *qurék* < **qeru-λ*: with secondary depharyngealisation?).

[] A Darg-Lezg. isogloss.

**qārçwV* shoulder, arm: Nakh. **p̄hars(s)*; Av.-And. **ḡažu*; Tsez. **çab:a* (~*ḡ-*); Lak. *qaç*; Darg. **qarç^w*al(a); Lezg. **χa(r)ç*.

| Nakh. **p̄hars(s)* (~*ā-*) arm: Chech. *p̄hars*; Ing. *p̄hars*; Bacb. *p̄hars*.

Obl. base **p̄harsi-* (cf. Chech. *p̄harsa-*, (Uslar) *p̄hersi-*). Cf. also Chech. Shar., Khild. *p̄harc*.

| Av.-And. **ḡažu* arm: Av. *ḡež*; Chad. *ḡež*; And. *ḡažu*; Akhv. *ḡaža*; Cham. *ḡaz*; Tind. *ḡažu*; Kar. *ḡažu*; Bagv. *ḡaž^w* (*Tlond.*); God. *ḡaži*.

Av. paradigm C (*ḡažá-lzul*, *ḡúž-dul*, Chad. *ḡeži-l/ḡožó-l/ḡežá-ldul*, *ḡéza-l/ḡúž-dul*). The vowel -e- in Av. is somewhat hard to explain (this root has never contained a medial nasal which usually causes the shift a > e in Av.; see also the discussion under PEC **gwəçV*).

| Tsez. **çab:a* (~*ḡ-*) shoulder: Inkh. *çaba*.

Isolated in Inkh., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *qaç* shoulder.

Cf. Khosr. *qaç* id.

| Darg. **qarç^w*al(a) shoulder: Ak. *quçar*; Chir. *qaçara*.

Cf. also Ur. *quçar*, Muir. *qarçala*, Sirg. *qarçal*, Kub. *qaçal*. The variation between ç and ç̣ in this root is typical for reflexes of **çw*.

| Lezg. **χa(r)ç* side (of body): Ag. *χaç* (*Bursh.*).

Isolated in Ag., but having probable external cognates.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In PTs there occurred a (not uncommon) metathesis; PN reflects a variant **qwarç(w)V* with shift of labialisation (possibly under influence of **p̄hā* 'arm', **p̄hōš* 'sleeve' q.v.). The most difficult problem is presented by the PA form (which should be regularly **qaçu*). We probably deal with a result of a complicated contamination here. Two different PEC roots, **gwəçV* 'arm' and **qarçwV* 'shoulder, arm' should have yielded at first PA **g^wVçV* and **qaçu* respectively. The former must have acquired a uvular Anlaut (> **g^wVçV* q.v.) under influence of the latter, and the latter must have developed into

**ḡaḡu*, with a subsequent assimilation to **ḡaḡu*, under influence of the former (note that the two roots have stayed separate only in some Akhv. and Kar. dialects - everywhere else they have completely merged).

**qārḡV* / **pārḡV* outerwear, fur-coat: Nakh. **bēq*; Av.-And. **q:aba-*; Lak. *barq-ut*; Darg. **parq*; Lezg. **qap:a(r)čaj*.

| Nakh. **bēq* fur-coat: Chech. *beq*; Ing. *beq*.

Obl. base **bēqa-* (Chech. *bēqa-*, Ing. *beqo*). 4th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing.

| Av.-And. **q:aba-* fur-coat: Av. *q:abārča*; Chad. *q:apača*; And. *q:apa*, *q:apača*; Akhv. *q:āča*; Cham. *q:abača*; Tind. *q:abača*.

Av. paradigm C (*q:abčī-l*, *q:ūrču-l*). The simple stem is preserved only in And. (with an assimilation *-b- > -p-). All other languages reflect the derivate **q:abarča* (< **q:arba-ča*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Ratl. *q:abača*. Another PAA derivate is reflected in Av. *q:abá-lu* (-dul, *q:abála-bi*) 'women's outer garment', And. *q:alabej* (< **q:aba-laj*) 'a k. of outer garment', Cham. *q:abala* 'traditional women's garment'.

| Lak. *barq-ut* fur-coat.

| Darg. **parq* fur-coat: Ak. *parq* (Kub.).

| Lezg. **qap:a(r)čaj* fur-coat: Tab. *qabačej* (Khaidakov); Rut. *q:abačaj*.

See Khaidakov 1973, 93.

[] A rather complicated case (as is usual with cultural words). First, we must for phonetic and semantic reasons dismiss the possibility of borrowing from Arab. *ḡabā*? 'langärmeliges Obergewand' (which, however, is also present in Tsezian languages: Bezht., Gunz. *ḡaba*, Gin. *ḡoboj* 'shirt'). Second, we must exclude interlingual borrowings: Arch. *part:uq* 'fur-coat' from Lak. (*barqut*, dial. *bartuq* with metathesis); Lak. *q:awaču* (< **q:abaču*) from Avar or from Lezghian languages; some of the Andian forms also may be borrowed from Avar. Lezghian (Tab., Rut.) forms could be also considered as Avar loanwords. However, there are reasons to reconstruct the derivate **qārḡV-čV* (or **-čV*) already for PEC, cf. Hurr. *qūrbizi* 'garment worn under mail-coat or helm' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 18), which was borrowed in Akkad. *kurbisu*, *gurpisu*. Thus the PL form **qap:a(r)čaj* may well be genuine (with a shift of laryngeal features usual for roots containing two or more stops).

**qāwḡwV* nut: Av.-And. **qiḡV-* (~ **ḡ-*); Lak. *hiwx*; Darg. **qix:ʷ*; Lezg. **ḡeḡ:ʷ(a)*.

| Av.-And. **qiḡV-* (~ **ḡ-*) pea(s): Av. *ḡilálo*.

The Av. word can be analyzed as an old compound **ḡil* (*'nut', cf. external evidence) + **halo* (> *holó*) 'peas'.

| Lak. *hiwx* nut.

Cf. gen. *hiwx:u-l*. The initial h- is a result of dissimilation: *hiwx* < **qiwx:*, cf. the dialectal form: Khosr. *quhā* (with an opposite dissimilation) 'fruit-stone'. The Lak. dial. form > Ag. Burk. *quwa* 'fruit-stone'.

| Darg. **qix:ʷ* nut, walnut: Chir. *qix:ʷ*.

Cf. also Kub. *qixʷ* (pl. *qix:ʷe*), Tsud. *qixʷ*, Sirg. *qix*. There exists also a PD form **ḡiḡʷ* (Ak., Ur. *ḡiw*), which is probably an assimilation < **qiḡʷ* (reflecting either a contamination or an old compound of the root **qix:ʷ* with another root, going back to PEC **ʷārḡV* q.v.).

| Lezg. **ḡeḡ:ʷ(a)* nut, walnut: Lezg. *ḡeḡ*; Tab. *ḡif*; Ag. *ḡlaw*.

Cf. also Tab. Kand. *qif* (probably with a new q-, dissimilated from the final fricative), Düb. *ḡif:i*, Khür. *ḡif:*, Lezg. Khl. *ḡāḡI*. In Lezg. the final -ḡ is a result of assimilation < -x; pharyngealization in Ag. is secondary (after a uvular in a position before a front vowel; cf. in other dialects: Bursh., Burk. *ḡew*, Fit. *ḡiw*).

A variant **ḡeḡ:ʷ* is reflected in Rut. *ḡik* (obl. base with levelling *ḡikiri-*, but cf. Mükhr. *ḡik*, *ḡiggiri-*); Tsakh. *ḡek* (obl. base *ḡek:a-*), Ud. *uq:I* (3d class in Rut., Tsakh.). Just as PD **ḡiḡʷ*, this variant reflects a contamination or compound of PEC **ḡāwḡwV* and **ʷārḡV* (q.v.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Phonetically rather complicated, because of numerous assimilations/dissimilations of *q- and *-x-; in the Darg.-Lezg. area the case is still more complicated: several languages and dialects reflect a variant **qāwḡV* (**qāḡwV*), being a result of merger of **qāwḡwV* and **ʷārḡV* 'nut' (q.v.). Nevertheless, a good correlation between most Av., Lak., Darghian and Lezghian forms allows us to suggest the reconstruction **qāwḡwV* with reasonable certainty. Not quite clear is the relationship of the EC form and PK *(s)ḡil-'small nut' (see Klimov 1965, 177). We should note that Georgian *tḡili* 'nut' (going back to that root) was the source of some superficially similar EC forms: cf. Av. Chad. *qilu* 'nut', Bezht., Gunz. *ḡili* id.

**qēʷV* cough: Nakh. **qah*; Av.-And. **q:VHV*; Lak. *qah*; Darg. **qeh*.

| Nakh. **qah* cough (of animals): Chech. *qah*.

Obl. base *qahā-*. An expressive word, but having rather exact external parallels.

| Av.-And. **q:VHV* cough: Av. *q:éʷi*.

Cf. also *q:éʷi-ze* 'to cough'.

| Lak. *qah* dry cough.

Cf. also *quhu* 'cough', Khosr. *quhu* id.

| Darg. **qeh* cough: Ak. *qeh*; Chir. *qlah*.

[] An onomatopoeic word, but complying to standard phonetic rules.

**qēleqī* a k. of tree or bush: Nakh. **ḡarḡa* (~ -ā-); Av.-And. **q:VrVq:V*; Tsez. **ḡ:ōḡ:ə* (~b); Lak. *ḡ:alax:i*.

| Nakh. **ḡarḡa* (~ -ā-) a k. of poplar: Chech. *ḡarḡa*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **q:VrVq:V* 1 thorny bush 2 bush, shrub: Av. *q:arāq: 1*; Chad. *qerēq 2*; And. *q:alax:e 2*.

Av. paradigm C (*q:arq:i-l*, *q:arq:a-l*, Chad. *qirqī-l*, *qérqa-l*). The Akhv. form (*q:alax:e* is a MSU recording; Magomedbekova writes *q:olax:e*) may be loaned from Av. (as certainly is Kar. *q:arax:* 'bush').

| Tsez. **ḡ:ōḡ:ə* (~b) tree: Bezht. *ḡōḡō*; Gunz. *ḡōḡe*.

PGB *χōχə.

| Lak. χ:alaχ:i thorn, prick; needle; (dial.) bush.

Cf. Khosr. χ:alaχ:i 'needle'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*qēm̐tV palm of hand, handful: Nakh. *phā-bat; Av.-And. *q:ontV; Lak. -qat.

| Nakh. *phā-bat distance between stretched hands: Chech. phā-bat; Ing. phā-bat.

A compound with *phā- 'arm' (see under *phō) as first component.

| Av.-And. *q:ontV 1 palm of hand, handful 2 paw: Av. q:at 1,2; Chad. q:at 1; And. q:ota 1,2; Akhv. q:ati 1; Cham. q:anta 1; Tind. q:atu 1; Kar. keda-q:atu 1; Bagv. q:at (Tlond.).

Av. paradigm C (q:atī-l, q:āta-l). In Kar. a compound (lit. 'two handfuls'). Some Andian languages also have borrowings from Avar: Akhv. (Tseg., Tlan.) q:at, And. (quoted from Leksika 1971) q:ata 'handful, palm of hand'.

| Lak. qat palm of hand.

Cf. Khosr. qat 'hand' (gen. pl. qat-urdil).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level.

*qērHV / *qēr-di a k. of foliage tree (linden, asp): Nakh. *daq; Av.-And. *qorHV / *qo(r)-dV; Tsez. *b:od A; Lezg. *χer / *χer-t:.

| Nakh. *daq 1 asp 2 birch: Chech. daq 1; Ing. daq 2.

3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing. Obl. base *daqo- (Chech. doqa-, Ing. daqo).

| Av.-And. *qorHV / *qo(r)-dV linden, lime-tree: Av. had; Chad. hádu-l b̐wef; And. χo; Akhv. qa, qa-ā:i ruša; Cham. χā-ā: woha; Tind. χa-ā:uā:a roha;

Av. paradigm A (erg. hādi-c:a, pl.hāda-l). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. χa-ā:, Ratl. qar-ā:i ruša. The Tind. form is a secondary building (a new genitive χaā:u-ā:a from an original genitive *χa-ā:V - cf. analogous forms in other languages). Both stems (*qorHV and *qo(r)-dV) go back to PEC variants. Av. had > Arch. had 'linden, lime-tree'.

| Tsez. *b:od A linden, lime-tree: Tsez. bōId; Gin. bōd; Khvarsh. bōda (Radzhibov); Inkh. bōdo; Bezht. had; Gunz. hōdō-s χōχe.

PTsKh *bōd(ə) (Bokarev and Lomtadze note pharyngealization in Tsez., Gin. and Inkh., but in the MSU recordings no pharyngealization is present); PGB *hōd.

| Lezg. *χer / *χer-t: 1 linden, lime-tree 2 birch, poplar: Tab. χlard 1; Ag. χird 1,2; Tsakh. χid 1; Kryz. χir 1.

Cf. also Tab. Kand. χlarž 'linden'. This form (with palatalisation *d > ž), as well as Tab. lit. obl. stem χlardi-, Ag. Bursh. obl. stem χirdi-, Tsakh. obl. stem χide-, point to the PL oblique stem *χert:e-. Pharyngealisation in Tab. is secondary (before a front vowel). 3d class in Kryz. and Tsakh. The two stems: *χer (reflected in Kryz. χir) and *χert: (reflected in other languages) go back to different PEC variants.

[] For PEC two variants must be reconstructed: 1) *qērHV (> PA *qorHV, PL *χer); 2) *qērdi (> PN *daq (with metathesis < *qad), PA

*qo(r)-dV, PTs *b:od, PL *χert:). PEC *-di is a suffix, frequently present in plant names. It is possible that this *-di is originally an oblique base marker (note the frequent usage of tree names in a construction 'X's tree' = 'tree X').

*qērVq̐wV coat, coat of mail: Nakh. *ba̐ba; Darg. *qarik̐; Lezg. *qārVq̐ / *qārVq̐.

| Nakh. *ba̐ba coat of mail: Chech. ba̐ba; Ing. ba̐b.

3d class in both languages.

| Darg. *qarik̐ sheepskin coat: Chir. qarik̐.

| Lezg. *qārVq̐ / *qārVq̐ 1 sheepskin 2 sheepskin coat 3 coat of mail 4 shell: Lezg. qerq̐ 1,3; Tsakh. qarq̐ 2; Bud. qerq̐ 4.

4th class in Tsakh. and Bud. In Lezg. the root means simultaneously 'a piece of sheepskin' and 'coat of mail'. The disyllabic structure must be reconstructed to account for the preservation of -r- in Tsakh. (the cluster *-r̐q̐- would have yielded -q̐-); another solution would be to reconstruct *-l̐q̐, but this is against the external evidence.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for occasional assimilations (usual in a root with two stops), correspondences are regular. Cf. also HU: Hurr. karkar-ni, Urart. qarqara- 'armour' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 58). It is interesting to note the recurring meaning 'coat of mail, armour' (in Nakh, HU, Lezg.): it shows that the root may have designated some piece of armour or warrior's garment in PEC.

*qālV house, hut: Av.-And. *qVrV (~ χ-, h-); Darg. *qali; Lezg. *χal.

| Av.-And. *qVrV (~ χ-, h-) mow, hayloft, shed: Av. hor; Chad. hor.

Av. paradigm C or A (pl. hōra-l); Chad. C (horú-l, hōra-l).

| Darg. *qali house, room: Ak. qali; Chir. qale.

Cf. also Ur. qali, Kub. qal etc. Cf. also the derived words for 'roof': Ak. qalč, Chir. qalč.

| Lezg. *χal 1 house 2 roof 3 nest: Tab. χal 1; Ag. χal 1; Rut. χal 1; Tsakh. χaw 1; Kryz. χal 2; Bud. χal 2; Arch. χal 3.

Cf. also Ag. Burk. χalaš 'roof' (= Darg. Chir. qalč). The oblique base can be reconstructed (with Ablaut) as *qola- (cf. Tab. χula-, Ag. χula-, Rut. χáli- and the derivate χila-di 'roof', Tsakh. Gelm. χawa-). Belongs to the 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages (except Kryz., where it belongs to the 3d class). In Arch. cf. also the derivate χali 'family' (clearly derived from 'house' and thus indicating that the meaning 'nest' in Arch. is secondary).

Cf. Talibov 1960a, 299; Leksika 1971, 197; Giginayshvili 1977, 69.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*qānfiā / *qāmfiā raven, crow: Av.-And. *q:omHo; Darg. *q:laqa; Lezg. *qlan; Khin. q:amar.

| Av.-And. *q:omHo 1 raven 2 jackdaw, rook; Av. nuq:ā 1; And. q:ommo 1; Akhv. q:a 2.

Av. paradigm B (*nuq:á-dul*, *nuq:-bí*); the Av. form is metathesized. Av. > Cham. Gig. *nuq:a* 'kite'. The And. form is quoted from Khaidakov 1973; in Akhv. we would expect *q:-*, thus *q^wa* (in a MSU recording of Northern Akhvakh) is probably a misspelling.

| Darg. **q:Iana* crow: Ak. *q:aIna*; Chir. *q:ulq:a-q:Iana*.

Cf. also Chir. *çat:ar-q:Iana* 'jackdaw' (lit. 'black *q:Iana*'); Ur. *q:Iana*, Kub. *q:ina*, Tsud. *q:Iana*, Kad. *šIana* et al. 'crow'.

| Lezg. **qIlan:* 1 crow 2 rook: Ag. *qlad* 2; Rut. *qlad* 1; Tsakh. *qlan* 1; Arch. *qlipi-χIlan* 1; Ud. *šIaina* 1.

Obl. base **qIlan:a-*, cf. Tsakh. (Gelm.) *qIana-*. 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. Archi has a compound with *qlipi-* (see **p:eq*).

See Leksika 1971, 150.

| Khin. *q:amar* crow.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Despite some variation (between -n- and -m-) the root seems reliable enough.

**qə[w]3V* a k. of berry or small fruit: Nakh. **qē3* (~ -ç-); Av.-And. **šaza* (~ o); Tsez. **χ^wəcu* B; Darg. **qaza*.

| Nakh. **qē3* (~ -ç-) currants: Chech. *qez*; Ing. *qazar*.

Cf. Chech. plur. *qēzar-š*. 4th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **šaza* (~ o) apricot: God. *šaza*.

Attested only in God., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. **χ^wəcu* B currants: Gin. *χ^wičū*; Bezht. *šaco*; Gunz. *šəcu*.

PGB **šəcu*.

| Darg. **qaza* currants: Ak. *qaza* (Kub.).

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root reveals several irregularities: in PTs we would rather expect **-s-*; the God. form *šaza* is quite irregular (we would rather expect something like **χ^wiza* or **χuza*). We probably have to deal with old interdialectal loans.

**qhwVrtV* / **qhwVrdV* devil, ghost: Av.-And. **q:^wati* (~ -o-); Lak. *χ:urt:a-ma*; Lezg. **q^war[t]*; W.-Cauc. **šI^wədə* (~ w-).

| Av.-And. **q:^wati* (~ -o-) 1 witch 2 house-spirit: Av. *q:art* 1; Akhv. *q:^wati* (Tseg.) 1,2.

Av. paradigm A (*q:árti-l*, *q:ártal-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *q:ati* 'witch, house-spirit'. Irregular is North Akhv. *χ:^watala* id. A loan from some Andian language (unattested) is probably Tsez. *qudi* 'giant, mythic creature' (cf. also - with irregular transformations? - Gin. *quIbłi* 'devil').

| Lak. *χ:urt:a-ma* witch.

Cited from Khaidakov 1966.

| Lezg. **q^war[t]* house-spirit: Lezg. *q^warc*.

External evidence speaks strongly in favour of **-t-* in this root. The Lezg. form *q^warc* may, in fact, reflect PL **q^wart*, if we suppose that the oblique stem had been **q^warte-* (with a regular palatalisation -t- > -ç- before a front vowel and expansion of -ç- to the direct base, as in several other PL roots). In this case similar forms in some other Lezghian languages (Tab. *q^warc*, Rut. *q^warcalij* 'house-spirit') are to be explained as loanwords from Lezghi.

| W.-Cauc. **šI^wədə* (~ w-) witch: Ad. *wədə*; Kab. *wəd*; Ub. *wədə*.

PAK **wədə*; Ub. def. *á-w(ə)də* / *a-w(ə)də*. The correspondence PAK **w-* : Ub. *w* points to PWC **w-* or **šI^w-*. The Ubykh form may (or may not) be borrowed from Ad.; but the PAK form, at least, is genuine.

□ An interesting common NC root. Despite assimilative / dissimilative processes (typical for roots with two stops), the etymology seems quite satisfactory.

**qHarčV* heifer, calf: Av.-And. **šadVča*; Lak. *quIřču*; Lezg. **χIVrč-*; W.-Cauc. **č(ə)qa*.

| Av.-And. **šadVča* 1 heifer (1-2 y. old) 2 bull-calf: And. *šajča* 1; Cham. *šadača* 2; Kar. *šajča* 2; God. *šadača* 2.

The root contains the infix **-dV-*, present also in other names of young domestic animals.

| Lak. *quIřču* heifer.

| Lezg. **χIVrč-* heifer: Arch. *χIorči*.

Since the Arch. word is isolated within Lezg., it may be an old Lak. loanword (cf. the Lak. form *quIřču*). It is interesting to note, however, that in Tab. (Kand.) the word *qIanc:* (< PL **qI^wanč:* 'young of an ass') means also 'heifer (more than 2 y. old)' which is probably a result of contamination of two similar roots: **qI^wanč:* and **χIVrč-*.

| W.-Cauc. **č(ə)qa* calf: Ad. *ška*; Kab. *šča*.

PAK **čka*. Since there are no Ub. or PAT parallels (despite Balkarov 1964, 117 Ub. *Laqə* 'calf' can not be compared), it is hard to guess the nature of the initial affricate in PWC (since in PAK there occurred neutralizations in clusters like **CK-*). External evidence suggests that it must have been a hushing affricate. Also both velar **k* or uvular **q* may be reconstructed (since in clusters with dental affricates the Adygh languages do not tolerate uvulars).

□ u In PA **š-* is a result of assimilation (**šadača* < **qadača*). The root should be distinguished from a similar **GačV* q.v. (because in Lak. there exists an opposition *q:alča* - *quIřču*).

The EC-WC comparison is acceptable if we assume a metathesis in one of the subgroups - which is a rather usual phenomenon in NC roots (especially those containing two stops).

Other etymologies of the WC form (comparison with Georg. *dekeuli* 'heifer' in Rogava 1958 or with Tat. *ičke* 'goat' in Shagirov 2) seem to us less acceptable, both for phonetic and semantic reasons.

**qHāčwa* (~ -e) skin: Av.-And. **q:^wiča* (~ **q:ič^wa*); Tsez. **χ:eš*; Lak. *χ:alča-ra*; Lezg. **q^weša* (~ **qeš^wa*).

| Av.-And. **q:^wiča* (~ **q:ič^wa*) sheep skin: And. *χuca*; Cham. *χoša*; Kar. *q:oča*; Bagv. *q:uča*.

Cf. also And. (Gudava) *q:uča*, Cham. Gig. *q:uča*. Some forms are highly irregular (namely And. *χuca* and Cham. *χoša*) - probably due to assimilative processes.

| Tsez. *χ:es: skin, shell: Bezht. χes.

Isolated in Bezht., but with probable external parallels.

| Lak. χ:alča-ra raw hide.

| Lezg. *q^wesā (~ *qes^wa) strip of leather: Tsakh. qošā.

Isolated in Tsakh., but with probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The stem is violating the rule of 'uniform strength': the first consonant is reflected as tense, but the second - as lax. This is obviously due to the influence of two other roots, PEC *GēlcwV and PEC *bHācwa (q.v.), with a very similar meaning.

*qHā[mɪ]V back (of head): Av.-And. *qirto (~ χ-); Lak. q:inta; Darg. *qI^wanṭa; Lezg. *χIarṭ- (~ -ä-).

| Av.-And. *qirto (~ χ-) back (of head): And. χerto (*Khaidakov*).

Attested only in And., with probable external parallels.

| Lak. q:int:a back (of head).

| Darg. *qI^wanṭa back (of head): Ak. ^ɬela-qalṇa.

Cf. also Kait. qI^wanṭa-la, Kharb. qI^wanṭa-la, Tsud. qI^wanṭa id.

| Lezg. *χIarṭ- (~ -ä-) back (of head): Tab. χIarṭa-q-iš^v.

Lit. Tab. has a locative building; cf. also Düb. χIarṭa id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The listed forms are no doubt related to each other, but correspondences are highly irregular (due to assimilations / dissimilations of the two stops; the behaviour of the medial resonant is also not clear).

*qHōmVɪV snivel, snot: Nakh. *qant-al (~ -ä-); Av.-And. *χ:intV; Tsez. *χ:ido (~ ɬ-); Darg. *qI^wat-ni; Lezg. *qlomoṭ; Khin. χint.

| Nakh. *qant-al (~ -ä-) snivel, mucus from the nose: Ing. qandal.

Attested only in Ing., but with probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *χ:intV snivel, snot: Av. χ:ojnčér (*Uslar*); Akhv. χ:ēṭe; Tind. χ:inta (*Leksika*); Bagv. χinta (*Leksika*).

There is some confusion as to the strength of the initial consonant: Bagv. χinta is quoted from *Leksika* 1971 and thus may be a misspelling instead of *χ:inta (the recordings there are very inaccurate); in Akhv. we have χ:ēṭe in the records of MSU, but χēṭe (and also Tseg., Tlan., Ratl. χenṭe) in Magomedbekova's recordings.

The Av. form χ:ojnčér (*Uslar*) should be most probably explained as a compound *χ:Vnɪ (= PA *χ:intV) + *^ɬinčér; the second part is independently reflected in Av. Chad. ^ɬinčí (q.v.).

| Tsez. *χ:ido (~ ɬ-) snot, snivel: Bezht. χida; Gunz. χidə (*Gunz.*).

PGB *χido (cf. also Gunz. Nakh. χido). Gin. χido 'snot' has no parallels in TsKh, and, to judge from the vocalism, is a loan from some GB dialect.

| Darg. *qI^wat-ni snot, snivel: Ak. qut-ni.

Cf. also Kad. qut-ne, Gapsh. qIat-ni, Kharb. qI^wat-ne, Tsud. qlut-ne id.

| Lezg. *qlomoṭ snivel, snot: Tab. qlunṭul (*Düb.*); Ag. qlunṭ; Rut. qlimiṭ; Tsakh. qlimiṭ.

3d class in Rut. and Tsakh. Ag. > Darg. Chir. qlunṭ 'snot'. It is not quite clear whether Bud. χiṭ 'saliva' should be also related to this root.

See *Leksika* 1971, 125.

| Khin. χint snot.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive root with several irregularities: the most severe one is PA *χ:- instead of expected *q:-. Other irregularities are mostly assimilations (in PN: *q- < *qbefore *t; in PD: *t < *t after *q-) or dissimilations (in PTs, where -t would be expected). All this is rather usual in a root with two stops (especially in an expressive one).

*qHüre (~ *qūr²e) pear: Nakh. *qor; Lak. qulrt; Darg. *qlar; Lezg. *χlera / *žu-χlera; W.-Cauc. *q^wa.

| Nakh. *qor 1 pear 2 apple: Chech. qor 1; Ing. qor 1; Bacb. qor 2.

6th class in Chech. and Bacb., 5th class in Ing. Obl. stem *qōru- (cf. Chech. qūra-, Ing. qoro).

| Lak. qulrt pear.

Obl. qulrtu-; cf. Khosr. qlurt, qlurtu- id.

| Darg. *qlar 1 pear 2 pear/apple (a generic name): Ak. qalr 1; Chir. qlar 2.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. qlar, Kub. qī (loc. pl. qū-ba-d) 'pear'. An interesting form (suggesting a possibility of labialisation in PD) is Mek. qI^war (MSU recording) id.

| Lezg. *χlera / *žu-χlera pear: Lezg. č:ūχ^wer; Tab. zixir; Ag. č:ixlar; Rut. χlir; Tsakh. žixlā; Kryz. žuhur; Bud. čohur; Arch. χlert; Ud. ar.

Cf. also Tab. Kand. žixir, Düb. žaxlar; Ag. Bursh., Burk., Tp. žexer, Fit. žixir; Tsakh. Gelm. žixlajä. 4th class in Arch., but 3d class in all other class-distinguishing languages.

Pharyngealisation must certainly be reconstructed for PL; however, it was lost (neutralised before a front vowel) in the Tab.-Ag. area (otherwise in Ag. dialects we would have reflexes X/h), reappearing later in the same position in a number of dialects (Tab. Düb., Ag. Rich.).

The most archaic root structure is preserved in Tsakh. (Gelm. žixlajä), pointing to the PL *-a-Auslaut (with the obl. base *χlerä-). The Arch. form has a suffixed -t, either inherited from the PEC variant *qHür-di, or, more probably, under the influence of the Lak. form qulrt.

As for the strange first part *žu- (usually yielding regularly žV- or žV-, but devoiced in the first weak syllable before a voiceless *χl in Lezg., Ag. Rich. and Bud.), it is most probable that we deal with a compound *žum-χlera 'quince'+pear' with the first component distorted.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 84; *Leksika* 1971, 162; Giginayshvili 1977, 92.

| W.-Cauc. *q^wa pear: Abkh. a-hā; Abaz. ha; Ad. q:^wəzə; Kab. q^wəz; Ub. χa.

PAT *ha; PAK *q^wə-zə (on the meaning of *zə see *žə). Shagirov (1, 238-239) justly notices that Trubetzkoy (1930, 276) was wrong in separating the Abkh. and Ub. forms and relating them to different EC roots. The correspondence PAT *h : PAK *q^w : Ub. χ points regularly to PWC *q^w.

See Mészáros 1934, 378; Balkarov 1969, 177; Shagirov 1, 238-239.

[] Another possible reconstruction would be PNC *qHwēre (see above about a possibility of reconstructing *qI^war in PD), with loss of labialisation in most languages.

The correspondences between PEC and PWC, in what concerns the timbre features, are regular in any case (note the palatalisation + labialisation in PWC, which can correspond both to *ü and to *qw + *e in PEC). In PWC, however, we would expect a form like *q:^wa (with tense *q:) corresponding to a long vowel in PEC. This discrepancy is still to be explained, but of course it does not make the comparison less valid.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 276, Abdokov 1983, 105.

There is also a possible (but very problematic) Kartvelian parallel: Georg. (m)*sxali*, Megr. *sxuli*, Chan. *cxuli*, Svan. *icxi* 'pear' (see Charaya 1912, 26; Gudava 1954, 706-707).

***qHwangwV** (~-ə-, -ö-) nose, muzzle: Lak. *qanqa*; Darg. *q:I^wanq:I; Lezg. *qI^waqI^w(a).

| Lak. *qanqa* dried snivel in nose.

| Darg. *q:I^wanq:I nose: Ak. *q:al^wq:*; Chir. *q:luq:I*.

Cf. also Ur. *q:I^wanq:I*, Tsud. *q:I^wanqI*, Kub. *q:I^waqI* etc.

| Lezg. *qI^waqI^w(a) 1 nose 2 cheek: Lezg. *q^weq* 2; Tab. *qluql* 1; Ag. *qluql* 1.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *qlaqI*, Ag. Fit. *qI^waqI^w*. Obl. base unknown (Lezg. *qūq:^we* may point to *-a or -ä).

It is interesting to note that the compound *qI^waqI^w + *s:iw ('nose'+ 'mouth') served in Ag. as the word for 'face' (Ag. *qlusi*, Fit. *qlusu*, Burk. *qessu* with phonetic simplifications).

[] An expressive reduplicated root, spread only in the Eastern area.

***qHwilqwV** part of stomach: Lak. *qalrqala*; Darg. *q:iq:I^wa; Lezg. *qIulqI (~*qIilqI^w).

| Lak. *qalrqala* third stomach.

| Darg. *q:iq:I^wa stomach: Ak. *q:iq:al*.

| Lezg. *qIulqI (~*qIilqI^w) 1 belly, stomach 2 inner membrane of stomach: Lezg. *qurq* 2; Arch. *χIurχlu* 1.

Cf. Lezg. erg. *qurq:u-ni*. Arch. -r- points to PL *-l- (*-r- would be lost in this position). Lezg. does not reveal the expected effect of pharyngealization (*qūrq* would be regularly expected) - probably because of secondary vowel reduction in forms like *qurq:u-ni*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level (a Darg.-Lak.-Lezg. isogloss).

***qHwōłwV** neck, collar: Av.-And. *q^wilu (~χ^w-); Darg. *qI^wab; Lezg. *χIaw.

| Av.-And. *q^wilu (~χ^w-) back of the head: Tind. *χolu*.

Isolated in Tind., but with probable external parallels.

| Darg. *qI^wab 1 neck 2 collar: Ak. *qalb* 1; Chir. *qI^wab* 2.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. *qI^wab*, Kub. *qIab* 'neck' etc.

| Lezg. *χIaw collar: Lezg. *χew*; Tab. *χIaw*; Ag. *χaw*; Rut. *χIiw*; Tsakh. *χIow* (*Mishl.*).

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *χIaw*, Lezg. Khl. *χIäw*, Ag. Bursh., Burk. *χaw*, Tp. *haw*. Obl. base *χIowa- (cf. Lezg. *χiwe*-, Rut. *χIiwi*- - whence also the direct base *χIiw*, Tsakh. *χIowa*-). 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh.

See Khaidakov 1973, 90.

[] Reconstructed for the EC level. Correspondences are regular.

***qHwōnV** hornless animal: Tsez. *b:^w[ə]nV; Lezg. *χIon.

| Tsez. *b:^w[ə]nV 1 hornless animal 2 hornless goat: Tsez. *βIuni* 1 (*Kid.*); Gin. *βuni* 1; Bezht. *βana* 2 (*Khosh.*).

PTsKh (*β^wVne) > *βune.

| Lezg. *χIon 1 cow 2 ox 3 (cow's dung) > dung, faeces: Tab. *χIuni* 1; Ag. *χuni* 1; Rut. *χIin* 3; Tsakh. *χIin* 3; Kryz. *hāni* 2; Bud. *hani* 2; Arch. *χIon* 1.

For the semantic development in Rut. and Tsakh. cf., e.g., Slav. *govno < I.-E. *g^wou- 'cow'. Most languages reflex a derivate with a common PL suffix *-j (*χIonV-j).

[Another possible solution is to keep the Rut. and Tsakh. forms separate and compare them with PN *qo 'dung' > Chech., Ing., Bacb. *qo*. This seems, however, less probable because of the obvious complementary distribution of 'dung' and 'cow' among Lezghian languages.]

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss. Phonetically quite plausible, but acceptable only if we suppose a PL semantic development 'hornless animal' > 'hornless (young) cow, calf' > 'cow'.

***qHwōžĀ** corn, wheat: Tsez. *qečV; Darg. *q:I^wač; W.-Cauc. *k:^wačə (~ -c:-).

| Tsez. *qečV corn, grain: Tsez. *qiči*; Gin. *qiči*; Khvarsh. *qeč* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *qeče*.

PTsKh *qeče.

| Darg. *q:I^wač: bread: Chir. *q:Iuč:*.

| W.-Cauc. *k:^wačə (~ -c:-) wheat: Ad. *k^wacə*; Kab. *g^waž*.

PAK *k:^wac:ə. An obvious loan from WC is Svan. *kwecen* 'wheat'.

[] Not quite clear is velar *k:^w in PWC (although there are several cases of such a correspondence; perhaps the explanation lies in the special development of the initial cluster); otherwise correspondences are regular, and the reconstruction seems reliable.

A variant of the same root is, perhaps, reflected in Cham. *βoc*: 'rye' (presupposing PA *β^wič:V); reflexes of both consonants are, however, irregular, and we should perhaps think of it as an old loanword (from some related language). The Cham. (*Tind.-Cham.) form was, in its turn, borrowed in Inkh. *βuč* 'rye'.

***qłI?i** elbow; arm, wing: Tsez. *χ:[i]rV; Lak. *qa*; Lezg. *χ:il.

| Tsez. *χ:[i]rV elbow: Bezht. *χaro* (*Tlad.*).

Although Bezht. *Tlad. χaro* 'elbow' is hard to separate from *Khosh. haro*,

Gunz. *hōru* etc. (PTs **hōru* q.v.), it has to be done - because the consonantal correspondence 'Tlad. *χ*- : *h*- in other languages' is absolutely irregular.

| Lak. *qa* wing.

Cf. Khosr. *qa* id. An old derivate from the same root is probably Lak. *quk* (< **qul-k*) 'mitten' (= Rut. *χuluk*, Tsakh. *χuk* 'sleeve').

| Lezg. **χ:il* hand: Lezg. *bil*; Tab. *χil*; Ag. *bil*; Rut. *χil*; Tsakh. *χil*; Arch. *χol*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *χil*, Tab. Ulz. *χ:il*, Ag. Bursh. *χ:il*, Tp. *bil*. Obl. base **χ:ile-*, cf. Lezg. *bili-*, Tab. *χili-*, Ag. *χili-*, Rut. *χili-*, Tsakh. *χile-*. The weak reflex *χ-* in Archi (*χ:-* would be expected) may be probably explained by the contamination of PL **χ:il* 'hand' and **χāla* 'sleeve' q.v. 4th class in Rut., Arch. and Tsakh.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although the Tsezian data are not very secure, the reconstruction seems reliable enough.

**qōn²V* yard, enclosure: Nakh. **qVwe*; Av.-And. **qVnV* (~ *χ*-); Lak. *quI*; Lezg. **χlan(a)*.

| Nakh. **qVwe* 1 enclosure for sheep 2 pen, enclosure: Chech. *qī*; Ing. *qij*.

5th class in Chech., 3d class in Ing. -Without Bacbi it is impossible to establish the quality of the medial consonant (**w*, **j*, **d*, **b* or **g*).

| Av.-And. **qVnV* (~ *χ*-) palace: Av. *hin*.

Av. paradigm C or A (pl. *hūn-dul*).

| Lak. *quI* yard.

Gen. *quIni-l*.

| Lezg. **χlan(a)* 1 door 2 enclosure, yard: Lezg. *χen 1*; Arch. *χlan 2*.

The root is very similar to PL **χ:lan* (q.v.), but they are opposed in Lezghi and have different EC origins.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Reflexes of the root in some languages are very close to those of PEC **χhāni* 'door, part of door' (q.v.), due to a merger of **q* and **χ*; but the two roots are certainly opposed.

**qōr²a* (~-rḥ-) pea(s): Nakh. **qo(w)e* ~ **qe(w)u*; Lak. *quIru*; Darg. **qara*; Lezg. **χara*.

| Nakh. **qo(w)e* ~ **qe(w)u* haricot: Chech. *qō*; Ing. *qe*.

**qo(w)e* or **qe(w)u* are possible reconstructions, correlating with external evidence; without the Bacb. reflex it is impossible to make the reconstruction more precise.

| Lak. *quIru* pea(s).

| Darg. **qara* pea(s), bean(s): Ak. *qara*; Chir. *qara*.

Cf. also Ur. *qara*, Kub. *qā* etc.

| Lezg. **χara* pea(s): Lezg. *χar*; Tab. *χar*; Ag. *χur*; Rut. *χar*; Tsakh. *χara*; Kryz. *χarχar*.

PL paradigm: **χara*, obl. **χorä-* (cf. Ag. *χura-*, whence also the direct base *χur*; in other languages there had been a vowel levelling of the obl. stem: Lezg. *χaru-*, Tab. *χara-*). Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *χar*, Tab. Düb. *χar*, Ag. Fit. *χur*, Bursh., Burk. *χar* (*χaru-*). Kryz. has a reduplicated form (as in some other names of agricultures).

See Leksika 1971, 162; Giginayshvili 1977, 92.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Pharyngealization in Lak. is probably caused by the lost laryngeal (which, however, did not cause the same effect in PL and PD).

**qudV* dirt, mould: Av.-And. **qudi* (~ *χ*-); Lak. *qut*.

| Av.-And. **qudi* (~ *χ*-) mould: Cham. *χud*; Tind. *χuji*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *χudi* id. Tind. > Inkh. *χudi* 'mould'.

| Lak. *qut* dung.

Gen. *qut:a-l*. Cf. also Khosr. *qut*, *qut:a-l* 'horse's dung'.

[] An And-Lak. isogloss.

**qumqV* a k. of grain, cereal: Nakh. **qunq*; Av.-And. **qunqa* (~ *χ*); Lak. *quwqu*; Darg. **qaqa*.

| Nakh. **qunq* boiled maize grains: Chech. *qunq*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **qunqa* (~ *χ*) pod: Cham. *χoxa*; Tind. *χunχa*.

| Lak. *quwqu* wheat groats.

| Darg. **qaqa* grain, seed: Tsud. *qaqa*.

The Darg. word (although attested only in the Tsud. dialect) is the probable source of Lak. *qaqu* 'millet' (an etymological doublet with *quwqu* 'wheat groats').

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although the original meaning is not quite clear (some kind of cereal), phonetically and semantically the above forms are close enough to each other to postulate a common EC source.

**qur²V* (~ -o-, -h-) a bundle of sheaves: Lak. *quI*; Lezg. **χIur* (~ -o-).

| Lak. *quI* sheaves stacked in a semicircle.

| Lezg. **χIur* (~ -o-) a bundle of sheaves: Tab. *χIur* (Düb.).

Attested only in Tab., with a probable Lak. parallel.

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss.

**qVdV* (~ *χ*:-) brisket: Av.-And. *(*mV*)*qVdV* (~ *χ*); Tsez. **χade* (~ ḃ:-, -ḃ-).

| Av.-And. *(*mV*)*qVdV* (~ *χ*) brisket: Av. *mehéd*.

The Avar form is actually a contamination of two different roots (see PNC **mōnqī* 'breast').

| Tsez. **χade* (~ ḃ:-, -ḃ-) brisket: Bezht. *ḃade*.

Attested only in Bezht., with a probable Avar parallel.

[] An Avar-Tsez. isogloss. Somewhat dubious, although the similarity of Av. *-hed* and Bezht. *ḃade* 'brisket' can hardly be coincidental (while at the same time it is impossible to keep the Avar form away from PA **nīqi* 'breast' - quite a different root, see **mōnqī*).

*qVmbVtV guest: Av.-And. *qVbVIV; Lak. qamal.

| Av.-And. *qVbVIV guest: Av. *hoból*; Chad. *hoból*.

Av. paradigm B (pl. *halbá-l*). Av. > Gunz., Bezht. *hobol* 'guest'.

| Lak. *qamal* guests.

Cf. Khosr. *qamali-čū* 'guest' (plur. *qamal*).

[] Borrowing is rather improbable, but the vocalism is hard to reconstruct. Despite Klimov (1964, 150) the Avar word is not related to PN *ba-du 'orphan' etc. (see *ubV).

*qVrtwV freckles, rash: Nakh. *qartV; Av.-And. *q:atV-rV (~ -o-); Tsez. *qat; Lezg. *qe(r)t:ʷ.

| Nakh. *qarta rash, measles: Chech. *qarta*; Ing. *qarta*.

Vowel length can not be established.

| Av.-And. *q:atV-rV (~ -o-) dot, drop: Akhv. *q:atira*.

Attested only in Akhv., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *qat freckle: Tsez. *qat*.

Isolated in Tsez., but with probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *qe(r)t:ʷ freckle: Rut. *qud* (*Ikhr.*).

Isolated in Rut., but with probable external parallels. (There are several PL reconstructions possible; we have chosen the one which is best compatible with external evidence).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is not very widely spread, but correspondences are satisfactory (if we take into account the high rate of assimilations in roots containing two stops).

*qVtV cleft, gap between stones: Av.-And. *q:iʃa (~ -o-); Lak. *qunʃa*; Lezg. *q:Vt(a).

| Av.-And. *q:iʃV 1 gap, crevice 2 precipice 3 stone: Av. *q:iʃ* 1; Cham. *q:iʃ* 2; Kar. *q:iʃa* (*Anch.*) 3.

Av. paradigm B ~ C (gen. *q:iʃi-l*). Av. > Gunz. *qit* 'gorge, ravine'.

| Lak. *qunʃa* pit.

| Lezg. *q:Vt(a) small stone: Ag. *q:ut*; Rut. *q:at*;

The vocalism is unclear. In Agul there occurred an assimilation (*q:ut* > *q:ut:*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The vocalism is not quite clear. In PL we have to assume an early process *q:Vt > *q:Vt. In [Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 28] we regarded Lak. -n- as going back to *-l-, and compared Urart. *quldā* 'steep' (or 'precipice'), but Lezghian data seem to contradict the reconstruction of any medial resonant. Therefore, medial -n- in Lak. must be secondary (on analogy with *kulnʃa* 'pit, small pit'), and the Urartian word is probably unrelated.

*qwālči (~ -č-, -ā-, -ə-) top (of boot): Tsez. *χōč(u) / *χōču A; Lak. *qlarʒi*.

| Tsez. *χōč(u) / *χōču A top (of boot): Tsez. *hoč*; Gin. *xoč*; Khvarsh. *χuč* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *hōč*; Bezht. *bačo*; Gunz. *βōču*.

PTsKh *χōč, PGB *βōču. The vacillation č/ç is typical for reflexes of PEC

glottalised affricates in tense words.

| Lak. *qlarʒi* top (of boot).

Cf. also Khosr. *qlarʒi* id.; Bartkh. (Khaidakov 1966) *alrzi* 'leg below knee'.

[] A Tsez-Lak. isogloss (with early assimilation q- > q- in Lak.).

*qwanʃV (~ -ī-, -ē-, -m-) broom; comb: Av.-And. *q:ʷanʃa (~ o); Lak. *q:ʷanʃa*; Darg. *q:ʷanʃ.

| Av.-And. *q:ʷanʃa (~ o) broom: Cham. *q:ʷanʃ*; Tind. *q:ʷanʃa*; Kar. *q:arʃa*; Bagv. *q:arʃa* (*Tlis.*).

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *q:arʃa*, Kar. Tok. *q:ʷarʃa*. Tind. (or Cham.) > Inkh. *qoʃo* id.

| Lak. *q:ʷanʃa* comb.

| Darg. *q:ʷanʃ comb for carding wool: Chir. *q:ʷanʃ*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Seems satisfactory both semantically and phonetically.

*qwāpā pot, vessel: Nakh. *qāpā; Av.-And. *q:apa (~ o); Tsez. *χ:upa (~ -o, χ:ʷi-); Darg. *qaba; Lezg. *χ(:)ʷap; W.-Cauc. *Gāba (~ -p:).

| Nakh. *qāpā earthenware pot: Chech. *qāba*; Ing. *qaba*.

4th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *q:apa (~ o) pot: Av. *q:abā*; Bagv. *q:apa*.

Av. *q:abā* can be a loanword from Nakh; however, the Bagv. word is probably genuine (-p- can not be explained otherwise). Av. (or Nakh) > And., Inkh. *qaba* 'jar'.

| Tsez. *χ:upa (~ -o, χ:ʷi-) scoop: Inkh. *χlupa*.

Attested only in Inkh., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *qaba vase: Ak. *qaba*.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. *qaba* 'a k. of pot'.

| Lezg. *χ(:)ʷap: sack, bag: Rut. *χʷab*; Tsakh. *χab-ğä*; Kryz. *χeb*.

Suffixation in Tsakh. is not quite clear.

| W.-Cauc. *Gāba (~ -p:-) boat, vessel: Abkh. *á-bba*; Abaz. *šba*; Ub. *šabá*.

PAT *γāba; Ub. def. *á-bba*.

[] Although the word is cultural, and there was active interlingual borrowing (among the forms listed above Av. *q:abā* may represent a loan from Nakh, and Darg. *qaba* - from Avar), there is little doubt in its PNC antiquity; minor phonetic aberrations are easily explained by the root structure with two stops, leading to assimilative/dissimilative processes. It must have denoted a big wooden vessel (hence the meaning 'boat' in PWC), with a secondary development > 'earthenware vessel' (PN, PA). The meaning 'sack, bag' in PL is obviously secondary, possibly under Turkic influence - nevertheless, PL *χ(:)ʷap: can not be regarded as a loan from Turkic *kap (the initial fricative χ- can not render Turk. k-).

*qwāqwV (~ χ) trough; basket: Av.-And. *χ(ʷ)Vχ(ʷ)V (~q); Lezg. *χʷax(ʷa).

|| Av.-And. *χ(ʷ)Vχ(ʷ)V (~q) basket: Av. *heh*; Chad. *heh*. Av. paradigm B (*hahí-l*, *hahá-l*; Chad. *hohó-l* / *hihi-l*, *hahá-l*/*hih-bí*).

|| Lezg. *χʷaχ(ʷa) trough: Lezg. *χʷaχ*; Tab. *χʷaχʷ* (*Khiv.*); Ag. *χaχʷ*; Rut. *χuxuj* (*Khniukh.*).

3d class in Rut. (the Rut. form contains a productive suffix *-Vj).

[] An Av.-Lezg. isogloss.

*qʷata (~ē-) large intestine: Av.-And. *q:ʷata (~o); Lak. *qʷata*.

|| Av.-And. *q:ʷata (~o) 1 large intestine 2 stomach: Av. *q:ʷatá* 1; Kar. *q:ʷata* 2. Av. paradigm B (*q:ʷatí-l*, *q:ut-bí*). The Kar. form may be borrowed from Av.

|| Lak. *qʷata large intestine.

Cf. Khosr. *qʷata* id.

[] An Av.-And.-Lak. isogloss; borrowing not excluded.

*qʷānV woman: Nakh. *qin; Tsez. *binV (~b:-); Lak. *qami*; Lezg. *χon-p:V; Khin. *χin-*; W.-Cauc. *pəχʷA.

|| Nakh. *qin 1 wife of brother-in-law 2 daughter-in-law: Chech. *qin* 1; Ing. *qi* 2.

Obl. base *qina- (Chech. *qina-*, Ing. *qino-*).

|| Tsez. *binV (~b:-) woman: Tsez. *βlana*; Khvarsh. *βini*; Inkh. *βline*.

PTsKh *βilnV (in Tsez. two forms coexist: *βlana* and *βlana-bi*, the latter being a former plural).

|| Lak. *qami* women (pl.).

|| Lezg. *χon-p:V 1 woman 2 women (pl.t.): Lezg. *χnub* 1 (*dial.*); Tab. *χp:i-siw* 1; Ag. *χumb-ar* 2; Kryz. *χinib* 1; Arch. *χom* 2.

Cf. also Tab. Kand. *χp:i-r* (pl. *χp:-ar*), Ag. Bursh. *χewe-r* (pl. *χaw-ar*) 'woman'. Originally pluralis tantum with *-p:V as a plural marker; -ar in Ag. *χumbar*, Tab. pl. *χp:-ar* had been added later. The Lezg. and Kryz. forms are somewhat resembling Azer. *χanim* 'lady', but borrowing is quite improbable for phonetic reasons.

|| Khin. *χin-* woman.

The root is *χin(i)-* (cf. plur. *χini-bir*); the meaning of -mķir is as yet unclear.

|| W.-Cauc. *pəχʷA daughter: Abkh. *a-phá*; Abaz. *pha*; Ad. *pχʷə*; Kab. *pχʷə*; Ub. *pχa*.

PAT *pəha (with a secondary dissimilative delabialisation); PAK *pχʷə. The root must have originally meant 'woman' in general and has preserved this meaning in PWC *pəχʷA-sʷə: PAT *pəhʷəsə 'woman' (Abkh. *a-phʷəs*, Bz. *a-phʷəs*, Abaz. *pəhʷəs*) = Ub. *pχasʷ* 'wife'. Cf. also Ub. *pχa-zá* 'wife, woman'.

WC languages reflect numerous variants with variation p/b and r/l. If

[] One of several common NC roots meaning 'woman, female'. Its specific usage in Lak. (where *qami* is phonetically a development < *qan-bi with the old plural suffix) and PL suggests that it may have been a collective noun 'women', at least, in PEC.

In PWC *p(ə)- is a frequent nominal prefix. We should note also some phonetic irregularities: Khin. *χ-* instead of expected *q-* (probably under influence of Az. *χanim* 'lady' / which has nothing to do with the root in question/ or related Lezghian

forms; direct borrowing from Kryz or Azer. is rather improbable in this case); PL *χon-p:V instead of expected *χʷen-p:V - probably, an early reduction in a polysyllabic pluralis tantum. Otherwise the correspondences are regular, and the reconstruction seems rather secure.

*qwebV (~-i-) beak: Lak. *q:ilp:a*; Lezg. *qʷep: (~-i-).

|| Lak. *q:ilp:a* beak.

Cf. also Khosr. *q:ilp:i* id.

|| Lezg. *qʷep: (~-i-) beak: Ag. *qup:* (*Burk.*).

Isolated in Ag., but with a Lak. parallel.

[] A Lak.-Agul isogloss. Lak. pharyngealization is possibly due to the influence of *qilʔ* 'beak; adam's apple'. Borrowing is not excluded, thus the PEC antiquity of the root is dubious.

*qwejV oath: Nakh. *pha; Av.-And. *q(ʷ)Vj; Tsez. *χō A; Lak. *qʷa*; Darg. *qIʷa; Lezg. *χʷāj(a).

|| Nakh. *pha vendetta: Chech. *pha*; Ing. *pha*.

5th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing. Obl. base *pha-ne-, cf. Chech. *pħana-*, Ing. *pħano*.

|| Av.-And. *q(ʷ)Vj oath: Av. *ha*; Chad. *hédi*.

Av. paradigm C ~ A (plur. *hāja-l*). The Chad. form is a masdar from the derived verb *he-d-* (lit. *héd-ize*, masd. *hédi*) 'to swear, take oath'.

|| Tsez. *χō A oath: Tsez. *ho*; Gin. *ho*; Khvarsh. *hū* (*Leksika*); Inkh. *hō*; Bezht. *hā*; Gunz. *hō* / *hōj*.

PTsKh *χ,ō. In PGB we would expect *βō: the Gunz. reflex is normal, but Bezht. should have β-, so a loan in Bezht. from Gunz. or old Gin. (or, perhaps, an influence of Av. *ha* 'oath') is possible.

|| Lak. *qʷa* oath.

Cf. Khosr. *qʷa* id. The Lak. name for 'wedding' is probably derived from the same root (as 'oath-taking'): cf. Lak. *qati*, Khosr. *qʷati* 'wedding' (for the dental suffix cf. perhaps forms like Av. *hē-di-ze*, *hédi*, Arch. *χʷe-t:a-s*, *χʷet:i* 'oath' - although the glottalisation of -t- in Lak. is a problem).

|| Darg. *qIʷa oath: Ak. *qal*; Chir. *qIʷa*.

Cf. also Ur., Muir. *qʷi*, Kait., Tsud. *qʷal*, Kub. *qʷe*.

|| Lezg. *χʷāj(a) 1 oath 2 anger: Tab. *χu* 1; Ag. *χIuj* (*Bursh.*) 1; Arch. *χʷe-t:i* 1; Ud. *χuj* 2.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *χuj*, Ag. Fit. *χIuj*, Burk. *χi*. Pharyngealization in Ag. dialects is secondary (before an original front vowel). The Arch. form is actually a back-building from the derived verb *χʷe-t:a-* 'to swear, take oath'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except for the not quite clear nasalisation in PTs).

*qʷəlθV(rV) / *χʷəlθV(rV) lung: Nakh. *phatV (~ā-); Av.-And. *quns:ir / *χ:uns:ir; Tsez. *χəʔVr B; Lak. *hutru*; Darg. *qursali / *χ:ursali; Lezg. *χult:ul / *χ:ult:ul.

|| Nakh. *phatV (~ā-) lung: Bacb. *pħajtī*.

discovered in other derivatives like Kab. *q:ṽā-gṽa* 'hornless, one-horned', Ad., Kab. *q:ṽā-pa* 'corner, angle', Kab. *q:ṽā-ps* 'root' etc.

Ub. *q̄a* and PAK **q:ṽa* point unambiguously to PWC **q:ṽa*; however, in PAT we would rather expect **qṽa* than **ṽa*. The reason of the irregularity is that the PAT form must have originally been a compound: 'two horns', PWC **tqI:ṽa-q:ṽa* which underwent a dissimilation and was transformed into **tṽaqI:ṽa* > PAT **tṽaṽa*. In this way the numeral retained here the initial dental, which was lost in the independent position (PAT **ṽa* 'two' q.v.).

[] Correspondences are regular, and there is no doubt in the PNC antiquity of the root. See Trubetzkoy 1930, 277.

***qwitV** (~ -ä-) dust, dirt: Lak. *χ:it*; Darg. **q:(ṽ)it*.

| Lak. *χ:it* dust.

Gen. *χ:it:u-l*. Cf. Khosr. *χ:it*, *χ:it:u-l* id.

| Darg. **q:(ṽ)it* sediment, slush: Ak. *q:it*.

[] A Lak-Darg. isogloss.

***qwīṽrV / *rṽiqwV** field, arable land: Nakh. **qaw*; Av.-And. **qurHV*; Tsez. **bu-* (~ **b:-*); Lak. *qu*; Darg. **qu*; Lezg. **χuj*; W.-Cauc. **rəq:(ṽ)a*.

| Nakh. **qaw* arable land, field: Chech. *qa*; Ing. *qa*; Bacb. *qaw*.

Obl. base **qawe-* (cf. Chech. *qe-*, Ing. *qajwa*). 3d class in all languages.

| Av.-And. **qurHV* field: Av. *χur*; Chad. *hur*; And. *χur*; Akhv. *quri*; Cham. *χuja*; Tind. *χuja*; Kar. *χure*; Botl. *χuri*; Bagv. *huri*; God. *χuri*.

Av. paradigm B (*χurú-l*, *χur-zál*; but Chad. C: *horó-l*, *húr-dal*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *χur*, Kar. Tok. *hur*.

Some languages in the direct stem reflect a special stem **qūša* (or **χ-*): cf. Bagv. (Gudava) *hūša* (but plur. *hura-bi*), Cham. Gig. *χuša* (but erg. *χuru-di*, pl. *χu-dir*), Tind. Akn. *hūša*. This is either an independent root (although its origin is not clear), or a trace of the archaic plural **qurH-ša* (corresponding, e.g., to Chech. *qa-š* 'fields').

| Tsez. **bu-* (~ **b:-*) field: Khvarsh. *ḅudu* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *ḅIudul*.

PTsKh **ḅIu-du(l)*; the word probably reflects an old compound, analogous to that reflected in Tab. *χuṽil* 'field' (see below).

| Lak. *qu* field.

Obl. base *quni-*, pl. *quru*. Cf. Khosr. *qu*, *quni-*, *quru* id.

| Darg. **qu* field: Ak. *qu*; Chir. *qu*.

Cf. Ur., Gapsh., Kub., Tsud. *qu* 'field, arable land'.

| Lezg. **χuj* field: Tab. *χu-ṽal*; Ag. *χu*; Rut. *χuj*; Arch. *uχ*.

4th class in Rut. and Arch. Cf. also Tab. Kand., Düb. *χuṽil*, Ag. obl. *χuji-* (Bursh. *χuj*, *χuji-*). The Tab. form probably reflects some old compound (cf. Inkh. *ḅIu-dul* 'field', see above).

See Gigineyshvili 1977, 68.

| W.-Cauc. **rəq:(ṽ)a* 1 (arable) field 2 steppe 3 valley: Abkh. *á-rχa* 3; Abaz. *rqa* 1,2; Ub. *tχṽa* 1.

PAT **rəqa* (cf. also Bzyb. *á-rχa*). Ub. def. *á-tχṽa*. Not quite clear is the

loss of labialisation in PAT; otherwise correspondences are regular (in Ub. **rəq:(ṽ)a* > **dəqṽa* > **tqṽa*, regularly fricativized to *tχṽa*).

[] Cf. also HU: Hurr. *k/χawr-* 'earth, land', Urart. *qəwr-ā*, *qīr-ā* id. (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 58). Except for the metathesis, all correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems quite plausible. See Abdokov 1983, 100.

***qwīṽti** Adam's apple; uvula: Lak. *qilṽ*; Lezg. **χuṽ*.

| Lak. *qṽilṽ* Adam's apple; beak.

Lak. *qṽilṽ* (Khaidakov); cf. also Khosr. *qiluṽ*.

| Lezg. **χuṽ* 1 Adam's apple 2 larynx 3 navel: Tab. *χuṽ* 3; Ag. (*funin*) *χuṽ* 3; Tsakh. *χirṽam* 1; Kryz. *χuluṽ* 2; Bud. *qultuχum* 1,2; Ud. *χirtāj* 1.

The root is rather difficult to reconstruct (because of its expressive nature). The most archaic variant is probably preserved in Tab. and Ag. (in the latter it contaminated with PL **χu(m)ṽ* 'sting' q.v. which is a different root). Other languages reflect a suffixed stem **χuṽ-Vr* or **χuṽ-Vl*, often with a double suffixation **χuṽ-Vr-Vm* or **χuṽ-Vl-Vm* (in Kryz., besides *χuluṽ* 'larynx' < **χuṽ-ul* there exists also *χultum* 'Adam's apple' = (with metathesis) Bud. *qultuχum* < *golū* 'throat' + **χultum*). A Lezghian (Shakhdagha) loan is Khin. *χurṽum* 'throat, larynx'.

The word belongs to the 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. The original meaning was probably 'Adam's apple' (cf. also the external evidence) with a later metaphorical shift in Tab. and Ag. ('Adam's apple of the belly' > 'navel').

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss. Pharyngealization in Lak. is probably expressive.

***qwōrnV** (~ -i-) egg: Av.-And. **qonu*; Darg. **duqV*; Lezg. **χor* (~ -u-).

| Av.-And. **qonu* egg: Av. *χonó*; Chad. *honó*; And. *qonu* (*Gudava*); Akhv. *qanu*; Cham. *χan* (*Gudava*); Kar. *hanu* (*Tok.*); Botl. *χanu*.

Av. paradigm B (*χaní-l*, *χaná-l*, Chad. *hini-l*, *haná-l*).

| Darg. **duqV* egg: Chir. *duqu*.

Cf. also Kub. *duqe*, Tsud. *duqa* 'egg'.

| Lezg. **χor* (~ -u-) testicle: Ag. *χur* (*Tp.*).

The root is attested only in Ag., but has reliable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In PD we have to assume a metathesis: **duqV* < **ruqV* < **qurV*.

***qwVcV** a k. of grass: Lezg. **qač(a)*; W.-Cauc. **qIṽaca* (~ -c:-).

| Lezg. **qač(a)* 1 grass 2 feather-grass: Lezg. *qač* 1; Tab. *qač* 1; Rut. *qač* 2; Kryz. *qač* 1 (*Al.*).

Cf. Lezg. erg. *qč-qdi*. 4th class in Rut. and Kryz. Obl. stem unclear.

| W.-Cauc. **qIṽaca* (~ -c:-) nettle: Abkh. *á-χṽac*; Abaz. *qṽaca*; Ub. *ca(n)cáχṽa*.

PAT **qṽacV* (cf. also Bzyb. *á-χṽac*). The Ubykh form is metathesized and partially reduplicated. Abdokov (1983, 106) cites also a dialectal Kab. form

handər-qʷasa 'burdock', which may be actually borrowed from Abaz.

□ A Lezg.-WC isogloss. See Starostin 1982, 206, Abdokov 1983, 106.

***qwVɪVqV** (/ ***qwVqVɪV**) egg; grain: Tsez. *qōq-IV; Darg. *q:ulqɪ; Lezg. *q:VIVqɪ.

| Tsez. *qōq-IV egg: Gunz. *qōqla*.

Attested only in Gunzib. If, however, we take into account the meaning 'grain' of some related forms (cf., e.g., Dargwa), we could also relate here Gin. *qeqe* 'porridge; gruel' - with a possible reconstruction PTs *qʷɪqV B (~ -ē-).

| Darg. *q:ulqɪ roasted grain: Chir. *q:ulqe*.

| Lezg. *q:VIVqɪ egg: Ag. *ɕɪaraɕal*; Rut. *ɕiliɕ*; Ud. *qoqla*.

Pharyngealization in Ag. is secondary (cf. dial. *ɕuraɕal*), but a precise reconstruction of vowels is hardly possible (because of the disyllabic root structure and expressive semantics). In Ud. *qoqla* is Gukasyan's transcription; the MSU recording is *qok:la* (either a dissimilation, or a misspelling).

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. The semantic shift 'grain' < 'seed, egg' is rather frequent, and the etymology seems reliable both phonetically and semantically. The most archaic phonetic shape (with two different consonants) is preserved in Darg.; in Lezg. and PTs the first consonant was assimilated to the second one. There is not enough evidence to reconstruct vowels in this root.

***qwVrē** fallow: Av.-And. *rV-k:ʷVrV; Lak. q:ur.

| Av.-And. *rV-k:ʷVrV fallow: Av. *rak:uri*.

| Lak. q:ur 1 arable field 2 fallow.

In the Khosr. recordings the word q:ur is characterized as 'poetic' (as opposed to *qu* 'field' < *qʷɪʷrV). The literary form q:uru-qu 'fallow' is actually a compound of the two roots.

□ An interesting Avar-Lak. isogloss. Its EC antiquity is proved by the presence of the root in HU: Hurr. *k/χara-fχə* 'fallow' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 59).

***qwVrtV** some part of leg: Nakh. *ɕārt; Tsez. *χ:ʷite-r.

| Nakh. *ɕārt thigh, hip: Chech. *ɕart*.

Obl. base *ɕārta-* (pointing to length in PN).

| Tsez. *χ:ʷite-r knee-cap: Gunz. *χuder*.

Attested only in Gunzib, thus several PTs reconstructions are possible (*χ:ʷ- ~ *ɕʷ-, -u- ~ -i-, -t- ~ -d-).

□ A Nakh-Tsez. isogloss; not very secure, because the root is attested only in two languages and the original meaning is not quite clear.

q

***qacwV** (~ -ə-, -ō-) shelf: Darg. *qas:i; Lezg. *qas.

| Darg. *qas:i shelf: Ak. *qasi*.

| Lezg. *qas 1 shelf (for dishes) 2 wooden bed: Tab. *qas* 2; Ag. *qas* 1; Tsakh. *qas* 1 (*Mishl.*); Arch. *qas* 1.

Obl. base *qasa- (cf. Ag. *qasa-*, Tsakh. *Mishl. qasi-*). 3d class in Tsakh. and Arch.

□ A Darg-Lezg. isogloss. Unless we suppose borrowing (in Darg. from Lezg.) we have to postulate labialised *-cw- (in order to explain strong PD *-s:- corresponding to weak PL *-s-).

***qāčɪ** (~ -ū) piece; bite, incision: Tsez. *qēce; Lak. qaç; Darg. *qāç;

Lezg. *qāç.

| Tsez. *qēce A piece: Tsez. *qīci*; Gin. *qīci*.

PTsKh *qēce. Rather strange is Khvarsh. *qāça* 'slice of bread', listed in Leksika 1971; with -a- cf. perhaps also Gin. *qāç-ā* 'to chew' (?).

| Lak. qaç bite; mouth.

3d class. The word is used in *qāça tun/učɪn* 'to bite'. Cf. Khosr. *qāç* id.

| Darg. *qāç a bite; (piece of bread) > bread: Ak. *qāç*; Chir. *qāç*.

Used independently with the meaning 'bread', but preserving the meaning 'bite' in a compound verb (Ak. *qāç-bilkes*, Chir. *qāci -u(r)k-* etc.).

| Lezg. *qāç 1 bit/slice 2 notch, nick 3(biting part) > chin: Lezg. *qāç* 2; Tab. *qāç* 1; Ag. *qāç* 1; Rut. *qāç* 3; Tsakh. *qāç* 3.

Obl. base *qāci-, cf. Tab. *qācu-*, Lezg. erg. *qācu*. The Ag. form for 'to bite' (*qāciqas*) goes back to this root. 4th class in Rut. and Tsakh.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

***qāhwV** (~ q-) a k. of tuber: Tsez. *qijV; Lak. qaja; Darg. *qēha;

Lezg. *qāʔIʷ(a).

| Tsez. *qijV 1 weed 2 straw: Inkh. *qija* 1; Bezht. *qi* (*Khosh.*) 2.

Cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *qi* (< PGB *qij) id.

| Lak. qaja horse radish.

| Darg. *qēha radish, beetroot: Ak. *qēhe*.

Cf. also Kub. *qā*, Ur. *qāha* 'turnip', Tsud. *qēhe* 'beetroot'.

| Lezg. *qāʔIʷ(a) 1 turnip 2 horse radish 3 a plant with edible leaves: Tab. *qāʔ* 1; Rut. *qāʔ* 2; Kryz. *qōw* 3.

Obl. base unclear. Kryz. *qōw* (< *qāw) points to labialization of the laryngeal in PL (*qāʔIʷ).

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

***qām̐q(w)ā** (~ -ā) knee, leg-bone: Tsez. *qāqu; Darg. *qʷaqʷa; Lezg.

*qām̐q; W.-Cauc. *qʷaqʷa.

| Tsez. *q̣̌āq̣̌u tubular bone: Tsez. q̣̌aInq̣̌u; Gin. q̣̌aḡu.

PTsKh *q̣̌āq̣̌u. Some Tsez. dialects have lost the nasalisation, cf. Kid. q̣̌aIq̣̌u.

| Darg. *q̣̌āq̣̌a knee: Ak. q̣̌uḡa; Chir. q̣̌uḡa.

Cf. also Ur., Kub. q̣̌uḡa, Kait. q̣̌āq̣̌, Tsud. q̣̌āq̣̌a. Interesting is the Kad. form q̣̌unq̣̌a, probably preserving the archaic nasal resonant.

| Lezg. *q̣̌amq̣̌ knee: Tab. q̣̌amq̣̌; Ag. q̣̌āq̣̌; Rut. q̣̌waq̣̌.

Obl. base *q̣̌amq̣̌a- (cf. Ag. Fit. q̣̌āq̣̌a-, Rut. q̣̌āq̣̌a-). 3d class in Rut.

See Leksika 1971, 114.

| W.-Cauc. *q̣̌āq̣̌a hip-bones: Abkh. a-q̣̌āq̣̌a; Abaz. q̣̌āq̣̌a.

PAT *q̣̌āq̣̌a.

[] Correspondences are regular. The comparison seems quite reliable.

*q̣̌ām[s]V cartilage, gristle: Tsez. *q̣̌ps:-q̣̌ps:u; Lak. q̣̌anslu; Darg. *q̣̌ams; Lezg. *q̣̌amq̣̌aš.

| Tsez. *q̣̌ps:-q̣̌ps:u 1 cartilage, gristle 2 throat, trachea: Bezht. q̣̌asq̣̌aḡo 2; Gunz. q̣̌asq̣̌asu 1.

PGB *q̣̌asq̣̌asu. In Bezht. the reduplication was irregularly changed (the final syllable -su was replaced by a frequent expressive suffix *-tu > -to).

| Lak. q̣̌anslu cartilage, gristle.

Gen. q̣̌ansul-lul points to a weak s; however, this is secondary (a levelling after neutralisation in Nom.) - cf. Khosr. q̣̌ans:i 'cartilage'.

| Darg. *q̣̌ams: cartilage, gristle: Ak. q̣̌amsik; Chir. q̣̌ams:.

The Ak. form has an expressive suffix -ik.

| Lezg. *q̣̌amq̣̌aš cartilage, gristle: Tab. q̣̌asq̣̌aš; Ag. q̣̌alq̣̌amaš.

An expressive reduplicated stem. The most archaic form is preserved in Agul dialects: Bursh., Fit., Burk. q̣̌amq̣̌aš.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive stem (often reduplicated) with some irregularities: PL *š cannot correspond to PTs *s:, PD *s:, Lak. s(:).

*q̣̌anṭa dock-tailed; short: Av.-And. *q̣̌:VndV; Darg. *q̣̌:anṭa; Lezg. *q̣̌anṭa-j.

| Av.-And. *q̣̌:VndV 1 dock-tailed 2 narrow, small: Av. q̣̌:andá 1; And. q̣̌:inṭi 2.

Different phonetic interaction: deglottalisation (q̣̌:- > q̣̌:-) in Av., and assimilative glottalisation (-d- > -ṭ-) in Andian. Av. > Tsez. q̣̌anda 'dock-tailed', Darg. dialectal (Tsud.) q̣̌anda-se 'short'.

| Darg. *q̣̌:anṭa short: Ak. q̣̌:anṭa.

Cf. also Sirg. q̣̌:anṭa 'dock-tailed'. Darg. is the probable source of Lak. q̣̌:anṭa-'short'.

| Lezg. *q̣̌anṭa-j dock-tailed: Lezg. q̣̌anṭa; Tab. q̣̌anṭa; Arch. q̣̌anṭa.

The forms with q̣̌- are confined to Lezghian languages, thus the word can not possibly be a recent loanword from Av., Darg. or Lak.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Actively borrowed from one language into another (probably because of the root's usage in cattle-breeding terminology).

there are, however, reasons to think that the Av.-Andian, PD and PL forms are genuinely related to each other. Except for some assimilative / dissimilative processes (usual for roots with two stops), correspondences are regular.

*q̣̌āq̣̌ari / *q̣̌āraqi throat: Tsez. *q̣̌āq̣̌ (~i-,i-); Lak. q̣̌aḡari; Darg. *q̣̌aḡa(ri); Lezg. *q̣̌arq̣̌ / *q̣̌arq̣̌ar; W.-Cauc. *q̣̌arəḡə / *q̣̌arəḡə.

| Tsez. *q̣̌āq̣̌ (~i-,i-) throat, larynx: Gin. q̣̌eIq̣̌.

An expressive root, attested only in Gin. (but cf. also PTs *q̣̌iḡ and also Gunz. q̣̌arq̣̌a 'throat' - it is often difficult to cut a clear line between reflexes of expressive roots).

| Lak. q̣̌aḡari throat.

| Darg. *q̣̌aḡa(ri) throat: Ak. sus-q̣̌aḡa; Chir. q̣̌aḡare.

Cf. also Ur. q̣̌aḡari id. [Kub. q̣̌ax:a 'throat', although similar, is perhaps a result of contamination with another root, reflected in PL as *q̣̌:uḡ (cf. Lezg. Akht. q̣̌:uḡ 'top (of boot)', Tab. Düb. q̣̌:uḡ 'throat', Ag. Bursh. buḡ 'Adam's apple', buḡ-ar 'throat' - if only all these forms are not assimilated from *ḳ̌:uḡ, cf. variants with an initial velar: Lezg. lit. ḳ̌:uḡ 'top (of boot)', Ag. Fit. guḡ 'throat'.]

| Lezg. *q̣̌arq̣̌ / *q̣̌arq̣̌ar throat: Lezg. barbar; Tab. q̣̌arq̣̌ar; Ag. q̣̌urq̣̌; Rut. q̣̌aḡar-ak; Arch. q̣̌aḡara; Ud. q̣̌:oq̣̌:.

An expressive reduplicated root with some violations of regular correspondences. [Cf. also some other expressive forms which may be ultimately variations of the same root: Tab. q̣̌aḡnaḡ 'crawl, crop'; Arch. gurq̣̌li 'Adam's apple'.]

| W.-Cauc. *q̣̌arəḡə / *q̣̌arəḡə 1 throat, gullet 2 cervical vertebrae: Abkh. a-q̣̌arəḡə 1; Abaz. q̣̌arəḡə; Ad. p̣̌sa-ǧ̣arq̣̌: 2; Kab. p̣̌sa-ḳ̌arq̣̌:.

PAT *q̣̌arəḡə; PAK *ḳ̌arq̣̌:ə / *ǧ̣arq̣̌:ə (in compound with *p̣̌sa 'neck'). The Kab. word has a specific meaning 'part of neck between the first cervical vertebra and the skull'.

Despite some phonetic irregularities (expectable in expressive stems of this type) it is hard to separate the PAT and PAK forms.

[] An expressive root, common in many linguistic families (cf., e.g., PK *q̣̌orq̣̌- 'throat', Klimov 1964), but sufficiently well reconstructable for PNC. See Abdokov 1983, 76.

*q̣̌ar[H]V cousin, first cousin: Av.-And. *oc:i-ḡa- (~-ḡo-); Lak. s:u-ra-qu; Darg. *uc:i-ḡar; Lezg. *č̣̌i-ḡa[r].

| Av.-And. *oc:i-ḡa- (~-ḡo-) (first) cousin: Av. =ac:-ḡal; Chad. =ac-hāl; Akhv. =ac:i-ḡa; Cham. =ac-ā-; Tind. =ac-a-.

Cf. also Akhv. Tlan., Ratl. =ac:i-ḡa-. The first part of the compound is *oc:i- 'brother/sister'. In Avar there also exists another compound: im-ḡal 'uncle' (with im- 'father'), but the corresponding Andian forms are not attested.

The Avar forms (wac:ḡal, jac:ḡal) were widely borrowed into neighbouring languages: cf. And. wacḡal, jacḡal, Kar. wacḡal, jacḡal, God. wac:ḡal, jac:ḡal, Tsez., Gin., Bezht., Gunz. wacḡal, jacḡal. Old Tind. > Inkh.

waccahaw, jaccahaj.

| Lak. *s:u-ra-qu* (first) cousin.

Cf. Khosr. *s:uraqu* / *s:araq* id. The form is a compound with the old obl. base of *us:u* (see **=iči*) 'brother'.

| Darg. **=uc:i-ḡar* (first) cousin: Ak. *=uzi-ḡar*; Chir. *=uc:i-ḡar*.

Cf. also Kait. *uc:i-ḡar*. The word is a compound with *uc:i* / *ruc:i* 'brother / sister'.

| Lezg. **čw-i-χ[a]r* 1 (first) cousin 2 step-father: Ag. *čum-ḡar* 1; Rut. *čuxud-did* 2; Arch. *še-ker-t:u* 1.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *čaxar* 'first cousin'. The Rut. (Shinaz) form is cited from Ibragimov, who has recorded there: *čuxu-d-did* 'stepfather', *čurxu-d-nin* 'stepmother' - historically 'father (did) or mother (nin) of the first cousin (**čw-i-χ[a]r*)'. The first component of this kinship term (Rut. Shin. *ču-*, Ag. *ču-*, Arch. *še-*) can be easily identified with **čw-ij* 'brother', and the word as a whole - with forms like Darg. *uzi-ḡar*, Av. *wac:-^sal* etc.

The Archi form (*šeker-*) very likely belongs here to, but the irregular change **-χ-* (< **-q-*) to *-k-* is baffling.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root occurs only in compounds (primarily with **=iči* 'brother / sister', but in Avaro-Andian languages also with some other kinship terms), which has made the correspondences not quite regular. The major irregularity is loss of glottalisation in Lak. (*-qu*) and PL (**-χ[a]r*). Still, the complete parallelism of the components and the exact semantic match of reflexes make the etymology quite probable.

**ḡarḡala* body: Av.-And. **ḡ:arḡ:ala*; Lak. *ḡarḡala*; Darg. **ḡarḡala*.

| Av.-And. **ḡ:arḡ:ala* 1 body, stature 2 carcass: Av. *ḡ:arḡ:ála* 1; Chad. *ḡ:arḡ:ála* 2; And. *ḡ:arḡ:ala* 1; Akhv. *ḡ:aḡ:ala* 1; Cham. *ḡ:arḡ:ala* (*Gig*); Tind. *ḡ:arḡ:ala* 1; Kar. *ḡ:arḡ:ala* 1; God. *ḡ:arḡ:ala* 1.

All Andian forms may be borrowed from Avar.

| Lak. *ḡarḡala* corpse.

| Darg. **ḡarḡala* body: Ak. *ḡarḡala*; Chir. *ḡarḡala*.

Cf. also Kub., Kharb., Tsud. *ḡarḡala*.

□ It is most probable that the word was borrowed from some single source into many EC languages; but the source is not clear (it could be Avar or Dargwa; certainly borrowed are Arch. and Gunz. *ḡarḡala* 'body'; a strange form is Gin. *ḡarḡala* 'carcass' with unclear labialisation). In any case, correspondences are regular, and some of the listed forms may be genuinely related, thus we deem it possible to reconstruct a PEC protoform.

**ḡā(w)ḡā* dirt: Av.-And. **ḡaḡa* / **ḡ^waḡ^wa*; Tsez. **ḡiḡV* (~ *-i-*, *-^w-*);

Lezg. **ḡaḡ*.

| Av.-And. **ḡaḡa* / **ḡ^waḡ^wa* 1 dung, manure, faeces 2 dry dung 3 pus, matter: Av. *ḡ^sá* 1; Akhv. *ḡ^waḡ^wa* 2; Cham. *ā* 3.

The source of Akhv. labialisation is not clear.

| Tsez. **ḡiḡV* (~ *-i-*, *-^w-*) mould: Gin. *ḡeḡo*.

Attested only in Gin., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **ḡa(w)ḡ* 1 snivel 2 dried snivel in the nose 3 dirty: Lezg. *ḡaḡ* 2; Tab. *ḡaḡ-niš* 1 (*Khiv.*); Arch. *ḡIabḡI-du* 3.

Cf. Arch. predic. *ḡIabḡI*. The Tab. form has an expressive suffix *-(n)iš*; Archi has expressive pharyngealization.

□ An expressive reduplicated root, partially contaminating with **GHilGi* q.v. Correspondences are regular, and the root should be reconstructed for PEC.

**ḡān^v* louse, nit; worm: Nakh. **ḡōn-*; Lak. *ḡlunuḡlaj-šat:a*; Darg.

**ḡi*.

| Nakh. **ḡōn-* louse: Chech. *ḡēn-ig*; Ing. *ḡon-g*.

The Chech. and Ing. forms both contain a diminutive suffix *-g* (< **-Vḡ*), but the Ing. form is derived from the old direct stem **ḡōn(V)*, while the Chech. form - from the old oblique stem **ḡān(V)*. 3d class in both languages.

| Lak. *ḡlunuḡlaj-šat:a* worm.

In lit. Lak the stem is only present within a compound; cf., however, Khosr. *ḡlunuḡli* 'worm'.

| Darg. **ḡi* nit: Ak. *ḡi*.

Cf. also Kharb., Tsud. *ḡi*.

□ Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Lak. form is reduplicated and contains expressive pharyngealization.

**ḡāre* earth; dirt: Nakh. **ḡā-ḡarV*; Av.-And. **ḡVrV*; Lak. *ḡiri*; Darg. **raḡI-*; Lezg. **ḡāra*; W.-Cauc. **ḡā*.

| Nakh. **ḡā-ḡarV* somewhat elevated plain: Chech. *āḡari*.

The stem is attested only in Chech. and is probably an old compound (for the first part, *ḡā-*, cf. PN **ḡārV* 'plain, field'; thus *āḡari* < **ḡār-ḡarV*).

| Av.-And. **ḡVrV* turf, peat: Av. *ḡeri*.

Av. paradigm C ~ B (gen. *ḡerú-l*).

| Lak. *ḡiri* earth, land.

| Darg. **raḡI-* sheep's dung: Chir. *raḡIraḡI-an*.

| Lezg. **ḡāra* 1 dirt 2 river-bed 3 swamp, marsh 3 diarrhoea: Lezg. *ḡer* 2, *ḡurus* 1; Tab. *ḡir* 2,3, *ḡurus* 1; Ag. *ḡlir* 3, *ḡlaruš* 1; Rut. *ḡiriš* 1 (*Khniukh.*); Kryz. *ḡiriš* 2, *ḡiriḡ* 3; Bud. *ḡiriḡ* 3.

The original paradigm can be reconstructed as **ḡāra*, obl. **ḡirā-* (cf. Lezg. *ḡere-*, Ag. *ḡlira-*, Bursh. *ḡir*, *ḡiri-*). The root is frequently accompanied by the expressive suffix **-uš* (**ḡāruš*), or reduplicated. The Lezg. (or some Shakhdagh dialectal) form was borrowed in Khin. *ḡariš* 'swamp, marsh'.

| W.-Cauc. **ḡā* 1 dung, faeces 2 bad 3 to get dirty: Abkh. *a-ḡā* 1; Abaz. *ḡā* 1; Ad. *ḡā-ja* 2; Kab. *ḡe-j* 2; Ub. *ḡā-ḡ^wā* 3.

PAT **ḡā*; PAK **ḡa-j^v*. Ub. has a compound with **ḡ^wV* 'dirt' q.v. Unacceptable is Dumézil's (Dumézil 1963) etymology of the PAK form as 'hand' + 'bad'. The PAK form is rather a compound analogous to Ub., and the component *ḡa* here has nothing to do either with PAK **ḡa-ḡ^wā* 'sweet' or with PAK **ḡa* 'hand'. PAK **ḡ* regularly goes back to PWC **ḡ*.

□ The Darg. form is metathesized (and it is a recent metathesis, because old **r-* > Darg. *d-*); otherwise correspondences are regular, and it seems safe to reconstruct the root for PNC.

*qāwq(w) moth; worm: Av.-And. *q:wika; Lak. qači; Darg. *qik^w;
 Lezg. *qawq.
 | Av.-And. *q:wika worm (in meat): Av. q:wek; And. q:ika (Khaidakov).
 Av. paradigm B or C (gen. q:okó-l).
 | Lak. qači fly maggot; worm.
 | Darg. *qik^w moth: Chir. qik^w.
 Cf. also Kharb. qik (probably, an incorrect recording instead of *qik) id.
 | Lezg. *qawq (~ -ä-) moth: Ag. qabq.
 Cf. also Ag. Burk. qawq id. Isolated in Ag., but having reliable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Most languages reflect an intermediate form *qāqwi (with metathesized labialization); Av.-And. languages also reflect a shift of tenseness (*q:wika < *q^wik:a which would be normally expected). We should note also a form, aberrant phonetically, but possibly also belonging here: Bezht. (Khosh.) qimaqo 'spider' (or is it = Lak. qlunuqli, see under PEC *qān[?]V?).

*qēhIV (~ -t-) bitter: Nakh. *qahe-n; Tsez. *-ĩqV-; Darg. *qu-d-qu-;
 Lezg. *qāl; Khin. qā; W.-Cauc. *qāla / *qālaIV.

| Nakh. *qahe-n bitter: Chech. qāha; Ing. qāha; Bacb. qāhē.
 The pure stem *qāh- is reflected in Chech. qāh-dan, Bacb. qāh-dar 'to make smth. bitter'.

| Tsez. *-ĩqV- bitter: Tsez. meqaw; Gin. meqaju; Khvarsh. meqqu; Inkh. miqa-gu; Bezht. n-iqaro (Tlad.); Gunz. naqaru.

PTsKh *miqa-; PGB *-ĩqa-ru (with vowel assimilation in Gunz.). The initial nasal in PTsKh and Gunz. is a reflex of original class markers nasalised under the influence of the nasalised vowel (the changing nasalised class prefixes are still preserved in Bezht.).

| Darg. *qu-d-qu- bitter: Ak. qudqu-si.
 Cf. also Ur. qutqu, Kharb. qudqu-se id.
 | Lezg. *qāl 1 salt 2 bitter: Lezg. qel 1; Tab. qil 1; Ag. qīal 1; Rut. qāl 1; Tsakh. qew 1; Kryz. qel 1; Bud. qel 1; Arch. qala 2; Ud. el 1.

Obl. base *qila-, cf. Tab. qila-, Rut. qili-, (with vowel levelling) Ag. qīala, Tsakh. qeva-. 3d class in most languages (but 4th class in Kryz.). The root had originally meant 'bitter', and this meaning is retained in Archi; in most other languages the adjective 'bitter' is still derived from the same root, but with different affixation: PL *qā-qVl- (with infixed class markers and various modifications of *-ā- in unaccented syllables): Lezg. tuqul, Tab. qutli, Düb. qurquli, Ag. qulqul-f, Rut. dāqāli-d, Kryz. qātqul.

Cf. Talibov 1960a, 301; 1980, 307; Leksika 1971, 219; Giginayshvili 1977, 103.
 | Khin. qā salt.

Cf. also qilez 'salty'. Khin. has also preserved the adjective root qal 'bitter' (< *qalV-).

| W.-Cauc. *qāla / *qālaIV sweet: Abkh. á-χā; Abaz. qa^sa; Ad. ʔā-s^wə;

Kab. ʔa-f; Ub. qaqā.

PAT *qa^sa (cf. also Bzyb. á-χā); PAK *ʔa-c^wə. The RAT and Ub. forms are reduplicated (note that PAT *qa^sa reflects an early dissimilation *qālaqIV- > *qālaqIV-).

See Balkarov 1967, 115 (PAK - Ub.). The PAK form is a compound with *c^wə 'good' q.v.; the first part, however, (despite Dumézil 1963 and Shagirov 2, 158) has certainly nothing to do with *ʔa 'hand' (as well as qa- in Ub. qaqā).

[] A widely spread common NC root. The semantic correlation 'bitter' : 'sweet' is quite common (cf. the various meanings of *sal- and its derivatives in Indo-European), thus the WC-EC comparison seems quite satisfactory. Note the frequent appearance of reduplication in this root (in PD, PL, PWC); we can probably reconstruct a reduplicated variant *qēqēhIV already for PNC.

In PTs the stem obtained prefixed class markers (*-VqVIV) with further standard adjectival development > *-VqlV > *-VlqV > PTs *-ĩqV (nasalisation is a normal reflex of medial resonants).

*q[ē]rV felt cloak or boots: Av.-And. *q:oru (~ -a-); Tsez. *qir; Darg. *qīar(V); Lezg. *qVrV-j.

| Av.-And. *q:oru (~ -a-) top of (felt) boot: Tind. q:aru.
 Attested only in Tind., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *qir felt cloak: Bezht. qī; Gunz. qir.
 PGB *qir; cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. qir id.

| Darg. *qīar(V) top of boot: Ak. qalrmi.
 Cf. also Sirg. qalduri id. Both forms are former plurals (*qalr(V)-mi, *qalr(V)-t:i).

| Lezg. *qVrV-j 1 felt cloak 2 top of (felt) boot: Rut. qara (Khnov.) 1; Tsakh. qiri (Gelm.) 2.

The vocalism is hard to reconstruct (because of vowel assimilations or Ablaut).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Despite some problems with the vocalism (it was certainly a front vowel - cf. also the Darg. pharyngealization, which is an additional proof of it - but its precise quality is hard to guess), the reconstruction seems secure enough. The semantic variation ('top of boot' vs. 'cloak') is explained by the fact that these two objects were preferably made of felt.

*qāt[?]V (~ -s-) a k. of weed: Av.-And. *qVIV; Darg. *qalli; Lezg. *qal(a) (~ -l:-).

| Av.-And. *qVIV a k. of weed: Akhv. quli.
 Attested only in Akhvakh; the exact meaning is unknown.
 | Darg. *qīali branch: Ak. qalli.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. qalli, Kub. qalla id. Darg. > Lak. Bartkh. (cited from Khaidakov 1966) qalli 'branch'.

| Lezg. *qal(a) (~ -l:-) 1 stalk, blade of grass 2 wormwood, absinth: Lezg. qal 1; Tab. qal 1,2.

Obl. stem unknown.

[] Basically a Darg.-Lezg. isogloss; although the Akhvakh word may belong here too, it is still necessary to determine its precise meaning.

*qam^o trough, wooden vessel: Av.-And. *qomi; Lak. almu; Darg. *qalm; Lezg. *qlam: (~ -p:); Khin. qam.

| Av.-And. *qomi 1 trough 2 a round wooden trough: And. *qom* 1 (*Khaidakov*); God. *ami* 2.

| Lak. *almu* wooden tub, trough.

| Darg. *qalm dish, basin: Ak. *qalm*.

| Lezg. *qlam: (~ -p:) 1 cradle 2 trough (for dough): Lezg. *qeb* 1; Tab. *qlab* 1,2; Ag. *qlab* 1,2; Rut. *qlab* 1; Kryz. *qu-su* 1; Bud. *qab-su* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. erg. *qepini*, Khl. *qlab*, *qlape-ni*. Obl. base *qlam:a- (*qlap:a-), cf. Tab. *qlaba-*, Ag. *qlaba-*, Rut. *qlabi-*. 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. Bud. and Kryz. reflect a compound with a not quite clear second component. Since there are no Arch., Ud. and Tsakh. reflexes (Tsakh. *qlab*, attested only in the Mishlesh dialect, is most probably borrowed from Rutul), one can reconstruct both *-p: and *-m:; the latter seems preferable because of external evidence.

See Магомедов 1966, 340.

| Khin. *qam* spoon.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*qaqā (~ -a) ravine, canyon; street: Tsez. *qoqo; Lak. qaqā; Darg. *daqā.

| Tsez. *qoqo house: Gunz. *qoqo*.

Attested only in Gunz., but having possible external parallels.

| Lak. *daqā* crevice; ravine.

Cf. Khosr. *daqā* 'pit'.

| Darg. *daqā 1 ravine 2 street: Ak. *daqā* 1,2; Chir. *daqā* 2.

Cf. also Kait., Kub. *daqā* 'street'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The comparison is possible if in Gunz. there occurred a semantic shift *'ravine' > *'street' (cf. the meanings in Darg.) > 'house'.

*qarəqwV crane: Nakh. *barVburV / *-IV; Av.-And. *q:iriq:wara / *-ma; Tsez. *qōq(V) A; Lak. quruq; Darg. *q'anq / *q'arq; Lezg. *qurq(a); W.-Cauc. *q:arawə.

| Nakh. *barVburV / *-IV crane: Chech. *barbuli*; Ing. *baraḡura*.

4th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *q:iriq:wara / *-ma crane: Av. *q:unq:ra*; Chad. *qunqra*; Akhv. *q:uq:ura*; Cham. *q:uriq:ara*; Kar. *q:orq:ama* (*Tok*); Bagv. *q:iriq:ara*; God. *q:urq:ama*.

An expressive reduplicated stem. Tind., And. *q:unq:ra*, Kar. *q:uq:ra* are secondary loans from Avar. On the other hand, Andian languages were the source of Inkh. *qirq'a*, Khvarsh. *qirqo* 'crane'.

| Tsez. *qōq(V) A crane: Tsez. *qoq*; Gin. *qoq*; Bezht. *qaqa*; Gunz. *qōqi*.

PTsKh *qoq (~ -ō-); PGB *qōqV.

| Lak. *quruq* crane.

| Darg. *q'anq / *q'arq 1 heron, bustard 2 crane: Ak. *qanq* 1; Chir. *qarq* 2.

Cf. also Tsud. *q'anq* 'heron', Ur. *qunq* 'crane'. The literary (Ak.) word for 'crane' is *q:urḡ*, which may be an expressive variant of the same root.

| Lezg. *qurq(a) 1 bustard 2 crane: Lezg. *quq* 1; Ag. *qurq* 2.

| W.-Cauc. *q:arawə 1 crane 2 swan: Ad. *q:araw* 1; Kab. *q:əruw* 1; Ub. *qaraw* 2.

PAK *q:arawə / *q:ərawə. The Ub. form may be an Ad. loan (although nothing contradicts its genuineness, too). Dumézil (1963,18) is correct in assuming that the Abaz. forms (Ashkh. *qru* etc.) are borrowed from Kabardian.

[] An onomatopoeic reduplicated root; despite some natural irregularities, its reconstruction for PNC seems reliable enough. Occasional Inlaut nasalisation (in PTs, PD) may have been caused by old nasal suffixes (cf. some Andian forms).

Several languages may have preserved the root in a non-reduplicated shape: cf. And. *q:urru*, Kar. *q:uru-n*, Rach. *q:uru-nṭa* 'crane' (= God. *q:waranṭa* 'a small jug'); Arch. *q'ər-ti*, Tab. *qar-ni*, Lezg. Nüt. *q:ar-ni* (with an irregular q-); Abkh. *a-pqā*. These forms, although few, seem to indicate a PNC form *qwVrV, which may have served as a basis for the more widely spread reduplication *qarəqwV.

*q[ə]rV a k. of weed, (wild) cereal: Nakh. *ʔarV (~ -ē-); Tsez. *qorV (~ -u-, -l-); Darg. *qar; Lezg. *qVr.

| Nakh. *ʔarV (~ -ē-) wild hemp: Ing. *eri*.

Attested only in Ing., but having possible external parallels.

| Tsez. *qorV (~ -u-, -l-) dry weeds: Khvarsh. *quri*; Inkh. *quri*.

PTsKh *quri.

| Darg. *qar grass: Ak. *qar*; Chir. *qar*.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. *qar*, Kub. *qaj* id.

| Lezg. *qVr 1 grain 2 winter wheat 3 wheat: Ag. *qir* (*Bursh.*) 1; Rut. *qir* 2; Ud. *ar-um* 3.

Cf. also Ag. Rich., Burk., Fit. *qur* 'grain'. Vocalism is not clear. 3d class in Rut. Obl. stem unknown.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The vocalism in PL is somewhat aberrant; otherwise the correspondences are regular. A semantic development 'wild cereal' > 'grain, wheat (domestic)' occurred in PL.

*qətwV stump, board, chopped piece: Av.-And. *q:atwV (~ -o-); Tsez. *qot(u); Lezg. *qat.

| Av.-And. *q:atwV (~ -o-) 1 lid, cover 2 to cut, chop: Av. *qot-* 2; Chad. *qut-* 2; Cham. *q:atw* 1; Kar. *q:wata* (*Leksika*) 1.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *q:atu* 'lid, cover'. The original meaning is 'chopped block' - cf. the external evidence and the Avar verb (obviously denominative - cf. the similar usage of *qat in Lezghian languages).

| Tsez. *qotu board 1 splinter: Gin. *qot* 1; Khvarsh. *qot*; Inkh. *qlotu*.

PTsKh *qot(u).

| Lezg. *qat 1 piece, chopped block 2 small beam 3 remnant: Lezg. qat 1; Tab. qat 1; Ag. qat 1 (Bursh.); Rut. qat 1 (Shin.); Tsakh. qat 2; Kryz. qat 3; Bud. qat 1.

Obl. base *qati- (cf. Tsakh. qati-). In Lezg. cf. also the verb qatu-z 'to guess, to reason' (*to put pieces together'). The stem is widely used in compound verbs: cf. Rut. qat ha'as 'to break', Tab. qat apuz 'to cut, chop', Ag. qat aqas 'to cut, chop, break'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In PL we have to assume an assimilation (*-t- > *-t-), which is usual in roots containing two stops. With secondary semantic development 'piece' > 'piece of bread' cf. perhaps also Darg. Chir. qutur 'piece of bread, cake' (cf. a similar process under PEC *qacit).

*qhworV (~ -s-) dirt, turf: Av.-And. *qirV; Tsez. *qorV (~ -u-, -l-); Lezg. *qar.

| Av.-And. *qirV turf: Av. quru; Akhv. qoro (Tlan.).

Av. paradigm A (qur-dul, qura-bi). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. oro id.

| Tsez. *qorV (~ -u-, -l-) dirt: Gin. qolri (Lomtadze).

Attested only in Gin., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *qar 1 dirt 2 snivel: Lezg. qar 1; Tab. qar 1; Rut. qir 2 (Khniukh.).

4th class in Rut. The PL paradigm can be reconstructed as *qar, *qorV- (cf. Rut. qira-) with a usual Ablaut type and further vowel levelling (direct base retained in Lezg. and Tab., obl. base - in Rut.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PL vocalism can be explained as a back-building from *qor, based on the frequent PL *a/*o Ablaut.

*qfiwati ravine, mountain pass: Av.-And. *q:VtV; Tsez. *qat; Lak. uInja; Darg. *qunja; Lezg. *qlwat.

| Av.-And. *q:VtV 1 ravine 2 deep: Av. q:at (Ants.); Cham. q:otu= 2; Tind. q:otu= 2.

| Tsez. *qat mountain pass: Gunz. qat (Gunz.).

Attested only in Gunzib, but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. uInja hollow.

Cf. Khosr. uInja 'hollow (in ground)'.

| Darg. *qunja grofio: Ak. qunja.

| Lezg. *qlwat 1 cave 2 vagina: Lezg. qwet 1; Ag. qlwat 1; Arch. qlut 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Akht. qwet 'cave'. 4th class in Arch. Obl. base *qlwoti- (the -o-grade is probably reflected in the Archi direct base qlut), cf. Lezg. qwet.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The medial nasal in Lak. and Darg. is secondary (probably under the influence of synonymous forms like Lak. kulnja 'hole, hollow'), because other subgroups do not show any sign of a resonant. See also the discussion under PEC *GwatV 'street'.

In WC cf. perhaps (with metathesis) Abkh. a-3a-tqwa 'water' pool'.

*qfiwētV (~ *qwētfiV) large fem. domestic animal (cow, mare): Av.-And. *q(=)VIV; Lak. ull; Darg. *qlwal.

| Av.-And. *q(=)VIV mare: Av. qala.

Av. paradigm B (qala-dul, qulu-l, qul-bi).

| Lak. ull cow.

| Darg. *qlwal cow: Ak. qalal; Chir. qlwal.

Cf. also Ur. qlwal, Kub. qlul.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Since there are only Av., Lak. and Darg. reflexes, we can also reconstruct *-t-, -ō- or -ā- in Inlaut.

*qfiwiqa crowd, group: Av.-And. *q:wiq:a (~ -o); Tsez. *q:itqV-l (~ *qo-); Lak. qulqa; Darg. *quqla.

| Av.-And. *q:wiq:a (~ -o) 1 group (of people), company 2 to crowd, gather: Av. q:oa: 1; Cham. q:oa:-id- 2; God. q:uq:a 1.

The Andian forms may be borrowed from Avar (but may be also genuinely related). Av. (or an unattested Tindi form) > Inkh. quqa 'group, company'.

| Tsez. *q:itqV-l (~ *qo-) crowd: Gunz. qoqol.

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. qulqa group (of people), company.

Cf. Khosr. qluqla id.

| Darg. *quqla group: Ak. quqal.

Cf. also Ur., Muir., Tsud., Kait., Kub. quqal, Sirg. quqal id.

[] The Lak. form may be borrowed from Darg. (or vice versa); still there is no doubt in the PEC antiquity of the root.

*qHamVŁwV one of several wives: Nakh. *amgi-r (~ -k-); Av.-And. *qanaλ:a; Tsez. *qemaku; Lezg. *qlamλ.

| Nakh. *amgi-r (~ -k-) one of several wives: Chech. emgar; Ing. engar.

The Nakh word has a quite solid EC etymology; that is why the Osset. amigir / amigir must be certainly regarded as a loan from Nakh (despite Abayev 1958, 147-148).

| Av.-And. *qanaλ:a relative, kinsman: Cham. unaλ: (Gig.); Tind. qanaλ:a.

The term can be analyzed as a genitive case form from *qoni 'head' (q.v.) - this probably influenced the retention of the Inlaut lateral (otherwise PA *-k- would be expected), but is obviously a folk etymology.

| Tsez. *qemaku 1 girl 2 girl (17-18 y. old): Gin. qimaku 1; Bezht. qemako 2.

| Lezg. *qlamλ: one of several wives: Lezg. qew; Tab. qlamλ; Ag. qams (Burk.); Rut. qlij; Kryz. qew / qow; Bud. qo(w).

The root demonstrates the typical behaviour of PL *-λ: in the Auslaut position (the labial reflex -w in Lezg., Kryz. and Bud. < *-γ < *-λ: < *-mλ:).

[] An interesting common EC kinship term. In PL and PN it means 'one of two or several wives (relative to each other)', and this may well be the original meaning (changed to 'girl' in general in PTs). The meaning 'relative' in general

observed in PA, however, may suggest another possibility: the stem may contain (in a shortened form) the numeral *qHwā 'two' and may have originally meant generally 'one of two relatives', with later development > 'one of two wives'. The meaning of the component *-mVŁwV is not clear.

*qHankV hedgehog; hare: Av.-And. *qVnkv; Lak. aInklu; Lezg. *qIang-Vr; Khin. kunku-ta.

| Av.-And. *qVnkv hare: Av. ʕank; Chad. ʕank.

Av. paradigm A (ʕánki-l, ʕánka-l). The Av. form should be kept apart from PA *λ:ankal (q.v.).

| Lak. aInklu hedgehog.

| Lezg. *qIang-Vr hedgehog: Lezg. qūngūr (Khl.); Rut. qIangir (Shin.).

| Khin. kunku-ta weasel, martin.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root must have meant 'hedgehog', and changed its meaning in Av. under the influence of Av.-And. *λ:ankal 'hare' q.v. Except the dissimilation (*qIang- < *qIank-) in PL, correspondences are regular.

*qHapE hat, cap: Av.-And. *q:ʷapa (~o-, -o); Tsez. *ʕebV- (~o-, -ʔ); Lak. qalpa; Darg. *qapa; Lezg. *qIapaj; W.-Cauc. *pIVqIV (~-qI:-).

| Av.-And. *q:ʷapa (~o-, -o) hat, cap: Tind. q:ʷapa; Kar. q:ʷapa.

Since there are no And. data, both *a and *o are possible in PA.

| Tsez. *ʕebV- (~o-, -ʔ) hat, cap: Khvarsh. ʕobola (Radzhibov); Inkh. ʕelbila.

PTsKh *ʕ[e]bV-; -la is a frequent nominal suffix.

| Lak. qalpa hat, cap.

| Darg. *qapa hat, cap: Ak. qapa; Chir. qapa.

Cf. also Ur., Kub. qapa (with secondary assimilative glottalisation of p).

| Lezg. *qIapaj 1 big sheepskin hat 2 night cap: Lezg. qepe 1; Tsakh. qIapa 2.

Lezg. qepe and Tsakh. gen. qIapaj-n point to PL *rj (which is a frequent nominal suffix). 4th class in Tsakh.

| W.-Cauc. pIVqIV (~-qI:-) hat, cap: Ad. pāʔa; Kab. pəʔa; Ub. blaqlā.

PAK *pVʔa (labialisation of ʔ in Ad. is secondary, due to the labialising influence of p-). Voiced bl- in Ub. is irregular (probably *pl- > *pl- (under influence of glottalisation) > *bl- (dissimilation)). The correspondence PAK *ʔ : Ub. q points either to PWC *qI or *qI:-.

[] The correspondences are basically regular, except for metathesis in PWC (*qHapE > *pHaqE > *pIVqIV), and some assimilative developments: secondary labialisation *q:- > *q:ʷ- in PA (under influence of -p-) and a complex development in PTs (probably *qHapE > *qHapE (assimilation) > *qebV- (the normal expected development in PTs) > *ʕebV- (assimilation in voicing)). Most languages, however, preserve the original structure with the first glottalized and the second voiceless stop. Comparison of WC and EC (Lak., Darg.) data see Shagirov 1977, 2, 41. Some EC languages have strange metathesized forms which seem to be later WC loans (?)

(Kryz. bakā 'a high cap', Bezht. baʔi 'hat, cap'). Immediate loans from Adygh languages are Svan. paqʷ 'hat, cap', Balk. bokka 'children's cap'.

Roots of the type *KAPV / *PAKV meaning 'cap' are widely spread in Eurasia, cf. forms quoted by Bouda (1960, 202) : Koryak penkel, Alyut. pankal, Shugn. pakōl 'cap, hat'; cf. also several late European forms: Lat. (late) cappa (whence Pol. kapa > Rus. kana), Slav. *čepьcb, Lit. kepūrē 'cap' (see Vasmer 2,183; 4,333). However, some phonetic features of the Caucasian material (glottalisation and pharyngealisation in the root, regular correspondences between languages) suggest that it still should be reconstructed for PNC.

*qHarčV variegated: Nakh. *qarčV-n; Tsez. *ʕ(ə)açV-; Lak. ulrči-; Lezg. *qIarčV-.

| Nakh. *qarčV-n variegated: Chech. qorza; Ing. qorza; Bacb. qarčē.

Chech. and Ing. point to PN *qarču- (cf. also Cheb. qārzō, Khild. qorzō, Lev. qōrzū etc.), Bacb. - to *qarči-n. Cf. also Bacb. qarč-dar 'to make variegated', Chech. qarz- (used as a verbal stem) 'to appear particoloured, variegated'.

| Tsez. *ʕ(ə)açV- 1 variegated 2 grey 3 blue: Tsez. ʕalču 1,3; Gin. ʕač-diju 2; Khvarsh. ʕaču (Radzhibov); Inkh. ʕaču 1 (Bokarev).

PTsKh *ʕalčV- (labialisation in Gin. is probably secondary).

| Lak. ulrči- variegated.

| Lezg. *qIarčV- variegated: Ag. ʕurče-f (Tp.); Rut. qIirč-di; Tsakh. qIarči-n; Bud. qachu.

Rut. and Ag. reflect the Ablaut grade *qIorčV-. See Maromero 1966, 340.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In PTs we would rather expect *-i- (*-a- points to a short vowel); this irregularity is perhaps the effect of pharyngealisation. PTs *ʕ- < *q- by dissimilation. Otherwise all correspondences are quite regular.

*qHardV step (of stairs), stairs: Darg. *q:at:a; Lezg. *qIarʔ / *q:I-.

| Darg. *q:at:a step (of stairs): Chir. q:at:a.

| Lezg. *qIarʔ / *q:I- 1 step (of stairs) 2 stairs 3 rolling-pin, beater: Ag. q:Iad-arar 2; Rut. qIiʔ 1; Tsakh. qIiʔ 1; Arch. qIarʔi 3.

Cf. also Ag. Fit., Burk. q:edarar (the Ag. form is a 'double' plural in -ar). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. The oblique base can be reconstructed as *qIorʔi-, cf. Tsakh. qIiʔi-; its vocalism has replaced the original -a- in Rut. and Tsakh.

The Ag. form is actually a contamination of two roots: PL *q:Iarʔ and PL *q:Ian: 'bridge, ladder' (cf. Tab. Kand. ʕIaʒrar 'ladder' which is very similar to Ag. q:Iadarar, but can not correspond to it phonetically); this explains the irregular voicing in Ag. (-ʔ > -d-).

[] A Darg-Lezg. isogloss. The root contains two stops, which results in usual assimilations/ dissimilations of laryngeal features. The relationship of this root to PTsKh *kədo 'ladder' (Bezht. kado, Gunz. kədo) is not clear (there exists a similarity, but correspondences are irregular).

*qHečwV a k. of vessel, jar: Lak. q:lači; Lezg. *q(I)eč (~ -ä-).

| Lak. q:lači a flat earthenware vessel (for filtering milk).

Cf. Khosr. q:I^wači 'jar, jug'.

| Lezg. *q(I)eč (~ -ä-) 1 earthenware pot 2 earthenware jug (e.g. for milk): Lezg. qeč 1; Kryz. qeč 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. qič 'churn'.

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss. As usual, in a root with two stops there occur assimilative processes: Lak. reflects a metathesis of labialisation (*qHečwV > *qHwečV), with a subsequent assimilation (*qHwečV > *qHwEčV > q:I^wači). Perhaps we should relate here also Khin. kuči 'small jug', although the initial velar is irregular (q- would be regularly expected).

*qHöcV kid, hornless goat: Tsez. *qos:V; Darg. *qlaca; Lezg. *x:laç.

| Tsez. *qos:V hornless animal: Gunz. qoso (Gunz., Nakh.).

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *qlaca he-goat: Ak. qlaca; Chir. qaca.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. qlaca etc. A probable Darg. loanword is Lak. qalca (Khosr. qlaca) 'he-goat' (if the Lak. word were genuine, we would rather expect an -u- vowel).

| Lezg. *x:laç young goat (less than 2 y. old): Lezg. beç; Kryz. hăç.

Cf. also Lezg. Nüt. ¹aç, Khl. ¹ăç id. 3d class in Kryz. Kryz. has an irregular hushing consonant (a contamination with hăç 'star'?). The word is not attested in Budukh (where it would have given *¹ăç), but, it is probable that an early Shakhdag (Budukh) form like *bIăç (before the change *x:I > *bI > ¹) was borrowed in Khin. băç 'young goat'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The PL root must belong here, but with a very specific metathesis (of friction): *x:laç < **qlas (which would be the normally expected PL form).

*qHönLV pitchfork; shovel: Tsez. *qeL(:)e A; Darg. *qlaga; Lezg. *qlonl; W.-Cauc. *χla(n)lā (~ -l-).

| Tsez. *qeL(:)e A 1 pitchfork, fork 2 sting 3 bayonet: Tsez. qili / qili 1; Gin. qili / qili 1,3; Khvarsh. qele 1; Inkh. qile 1,2.

PTsKh *qeLe.

| Darg. *qlaga pitchfork: Ak. qalga; Chir. qlaya.

Cf. also Gapsh. qlaya id.

| Lezg. *qIonl: 1 pitchfork 2 rake 3 two-pronged pitchfork: Lezg. quk 1; Tab. qIurš 1,2; Ag. qIuj 1,2; Rut. qIij 3 (Ikhr.).

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. quk, Ag. Burk. ²aj, Tp. ²uj. Tab. -r-, as well as a special development of *-l: in Lezg., point to a medial resonant in PL. This could only be *-n- (*-l- could not precede laterals, while *-r-l- yields other reflexes - Ag. -r(g)- and Lezg. -r-). Cf. a similar behaviour of *-n- in *menl:ä- 'eight' (with minor differences conditioned by different vocalism).

See Magometov 1966, 340.

| W.-Cauc. *χla(n)lā (~ -l-) 1 shovel 2 scoop: Kab. hanš / haš 2; Ub. χlaš 1.

Kab. haš is used in the compound pχa-haš 'wooden scoop' (Old Kab. > Abaz. pχahač). For PWC it is possible to reconstruct initial *χl- or *χl-, medial *l (if Kab. š < PAK *č) or *l (if Kab. š < PAK *č). See Shagirov 2, 23.

[] The PEC reconstruction is normal, but the PWC form raises some problems (irregular voicelessness of both occlusives).

*qHörV empty: Tsez. *qor-; Lezg. *qlarä-.

| Tsez. *qor- empty: Tsez. qloqloru; Gin. qoqoru; Khvarsh. qoqoru; Inkh. qloqloru.

PTsKh *qloqloru.

| Lezg. *qlarä- 1 empty 2 shallow, sparse 3 skin (without hair): Lezg. qeri 2; Tab. qlar 3; Ag. qlare-f 1; Rut. qlar-di 1; Tsakh. qlara-n 1.

The nominal stem *qlara 'skin (without hair)' (= 'empty skin'), is reflected, besides Tab., in Lezg. qer and Rut. (Khniukh) qlar id. Cf. also Ag. Bursh. qere-r, Burk., Tp. ²are-f 'empty'.

See Marometov 1966, 340.

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss. The PTs form is reduplicated (rather typical for adjectival stems).

*qHuntV (~ -o-, -m-) jar, pitcher: Tsez. *quV (~ -o-, -V-); Lak.

ulnta.

| Tsez. *quV (~ -o-, -V-) jar, pitcher: Tsez. qutu; Khvarsh. qutu (Radzhibov).

PTsKh *qutu.

| Lak. ulnta small earthenware vessel.

[] A Tsez-Lak isogloss.

*qHVrVqV a k. of bird (magpie; eagle-owl): Tsez. *qalqala; Lezg. *q:laraq:lal; W.-Cauc. *b^wVrəb^wV.

| Tsez. *qalqala magpie: Gunz. qalqala (Nakh.).

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *q:laraq:lal magpie: Tab. q:laraq:lar; Ag. q:laraq:lal; Rut. q:laraq:lal; Tsakh. q:laraq:lan.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. q:laraq:lal, Fit. q:laraq:il, Burk. q:araq:il, Tp. q:äräq:äl. 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh. Phonetically aberrant are: Lezg. kerekul (Khl. kerekel), Kryz. keräkel 'magpie'.

See Khaidakov 1973, 41.

| W.-Cauc. *b^wVrəb^wV eagle-owl: Abkh. a-tə^war^war; Ad. tə-b^wrəb^w; Kab. də-b^wrəb^w.

PAK *tə-b^wrəb^wə. Reflected in both subgroups is a compound; for the first component see PWC *tə / *t:ə, PNC *tīmHV.

[] A clearly onomatopoeic root (like several other birdnames), thus the PNC antiquity is dubious.

*qHwaçï hole, hollow: Av.-And. *q:uça (~q:~i-, -o); Tsez. *q̣ẉiçV (~q̣o-, q̣ə-); Darg. *q̣(ẉ)aça; Lezg. *q̣ḷẉaç.

| Av.-And. *q̣:uça (~q̣:~i-, -o) 1 vagina 2 vagina (of a girl): Cham. q̣:uça 1; Tind. q̣:uça 2.

| Tsez. *q̣ẉiçV (~q̣o-, q̣ə-) tree-hollow; den, lair: Bezht. q̣oç̣o.

Attested only in Bezht. (cf. also Khosh., Tlad. q̣əç̣ə 'hole'), but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *q̣(ẉ)aça holster: Ak. q̣aça.

| Lezg. *q̣ḷẉaç 1 armpit 2 opening, pass: Lezg. q̣ūç 1; Tab. βluç 1; Ag. ʔaç 1 (Burk.); Rut. q̣laç 2; Tsakh. q̣laç 2.

Cf. also Rut. Khnov q̣laç̣i-χl-dad 'armpit', Lezg. Khl. q̣ūç (q̣ūç̣ū-) 'armpit', q̣ḷẉaç (q̣ḷẉaç̣i-) 'nostril'; Tab. Düb. q̣luç̣u 'armpit' (in Kand. there occurred a dissimilation *q̣ḷ-> βḷ-); Rut. Khnov. xexid q̣laç 'nostril' ('hole of nose'), Khniukh. q̣liç 'cave'.

A rather complicated case. For PL we have to reconstruct a paradigm with Ablaut *q̣ḷẉaç, *q̣loç̣i- (preserved in Tab. βluç̣i-); further levelling led to a division into two nouns in Lezg. (Khl. q̣ūç < *q̣loç, q̣ḷẉaç < *q̣ḷẉaç) and in Rut. dialects (Khnov q̣laç < *q̣ḷẉaç vs. Khniukh q̣liç < *q̣loç).

In most Agul dialects (because of the change *q̣ḷ > ʔ in some dialects) this root merged with PL *hlaç 'hollow, pit' (q.v.); only in the Burkikhan dialect there persists an opposition ʔaç 'armpit' (*q̣ḷẉaç) : ʔaç 'ravine'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is well preserved in Lezg. languages and somewhat worse - elsewhere. In PA we would expect -ç̣-; this rare phoneme was probably weakened through dissimilation.

Cf. perhaps also WC data: PAT *q̣ẉaça preserved in Abkh. a-3-q̣ẉaça '(water) pool'.

*qHwāɣV raven, crow, jackdaw: Nakh. *q̣ag-ik; Av.-And. *q̣:~aha (~o); Lak. q̣:alβu; Darg. *q̣(ẉ)alβu; Lezg. *ḳẉaβḷ / *q̣:ḷẉaβḷ-; W.-Cauc. *q̣:~aβə (~-G-).

| Nakh. *q̣ag-ik crow: Chech. q̣ig; Ing. q̣ajg.

4th class in Chech. and Ing.; cf. also Chech. obl. q̣īga-. Note that Bacb. q̣oʔ (Desheriyev: q̣waʔ) is not related here, but obviously borrowed from Georg. q̣waw-i 'crow'.

| Av.-And. *q̣:~aha (~o) crow: Akhv. q̣:~aj-βandi; Cham. q̣:~aha.

The Akhv. (Tseg.) form reflects a compound with *βandi 'crow' q.v.; the same compound is also reflected in a parallel Cham. form q̣:~aβā.

| Lak. q̣:alβu jackdaw.

| Darg. *q̣(ẉ)alβu rook: Ak. q̣alβu (Ur.).

| Lezg. *ḳẉaβḷ / *q̣:ḷẉaβḷ- 1 raven 2 crow 3 rook 4 hawk: Lezg. ḳẉaβ 1; Tab. kaβḷ 3 (Khūr.); Ag. q̣:~aβana 2; Arch. ḳelhu 4.

An expressive root with some irregularities (loss of glottalisation in Tab.), assimilation (velar > uvular) and -Ṛ- instead of -βḷ- in Ag. (the Ag. form is attested in the Bursh. and Burk. dialects). 3d class in Arch.

| W.-Cauc. *q̣:~aβə (~-G-) crow: Kab. q̣:~aβ / q̣:~arβ; Ub. qaβ.

[] An expressive (onomatopoeic) root; however, its PNC antiquity

seems quite probable. In Lak., Darg., part of Lezg. languages (Agul) and PWC the second velar was assimilated to the first uvular; however, PN, PA and most Lezg. forms (with metathesis of velarity: *ḳẉaβḷ < *q̣:ḷẉaβ) clearly point to its original velar character.

The Kab. form was compared with PA and PN in Balkarov 1964, 102; 1969, 176.

*qHwançV young (of donkey): Av.-And. *[q̣ẉ]anç:al; Tsez. *ḳ[ə]çV; Lezg. *q̣ḷẉanç̣.

| Av.-And. *[q̣ẉ]anç:al young of donkey: Akhv. q̣āλ:a; Tind. λ:anç̣a; Kar. ḳan̄ka (Tok.); God. ḳẉanḳẉa.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. χaλ:an, Ratl. qeλ:i/querλ:i. An expressive root with very irregular dissimilative/assimilative changes. The original protoform can be approximately reconstructed as *q̣ẉanç:al; in Akhv. *q̣ẉanç:al > *q̣(ẉ)aλ:an > *qaλ:an (with metathesis of laterality and dissimilation *q̣ > q). Laterality (reflecting final *-ḷ) is still preserved (also with a metathesis) in Tind. (where λ:anç̣a < *λanç̣:a < *K̄anç:al), but is lost completely in Kar. and God. The velar (instead of uvular) initial in Kar. and God. may be due to the influence of PA *ḳẉanHi 'foal' q.v.

Forms like Tind. λ:anç̣a suggest that Av. tinç 'young (of animals)' may also belong to this root. Initial t- here goes back to *λ, as seen from dialectal evidence (cf. Keger. enç id.).

| Tsez. *ḳəçV (~-ç̣-) 1 young of donkey 2 foal: Tsez. keçoli 1,2; Khvarsh. konçi (Radzhibov); Inkh. konçi 1.

The Tsez. form reflects a merger of *ḳəçV and *ɣ̣içer q.v.

| Lezg. *q̣ḷẉanç̣:(A) young of donkey: Tab. q̣lanç̣; Ag. q̣:lanç̣; Rut. q̣ḷẉanç̣ / q̣:ḷẉanç̣.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. q̣:lanç̣, Ag. Bursh. q̣:lanç̣, Fit. q̣:ḷẉanç̣, Burk. q̣:~enç̣. The final consonant is more or less regularly reflecting PL *ç̣, but the initial suffered assimilations (*q̣ḷẉ > q̣:ḷẉ) or dissimilations (*q̣ḷẉ > q̣ḷẉ) almost in all dialects. Obl. base *q̣ḷẉanç̣a- or *q̣ḷẉanç̣ā- (cf. Ag. q̣:lanç̣:a-, Rut. q̣ḷẉanç̣a-). 3d class in Rut.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Despite various irregular changes (typical for an expressive root with two stops), the initial phonetic shape can be more or less securely rebuilt (semantically there are no problems). Initial velar in PTs may be explained by the influence of another root (reflected in Inkh. as kuçe 'puppy'); a possible explanation of the velar in some Andian languages see above.

*qHwartV belt; loop on belt, sheath: Av.-And. *q̣ẉVṭV-IV; Tsez. *q̣aɣa-RV; Darg. *q̣ḷẉarṭ; Lezg. *q̣ḷẉa[ṛ]ṭ-ol.

| Av.-And. *q̣ẉVṭV-IV skein, hank, clew: Kar. q̣:otulu (Tok.);

Isolated in Kar., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *q̣aɣa-RV reel, spool: Gin. q̣aɣali.

Attested only in Gin., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *q̣ḷẉarṭ 1 pod 2 sheath: Ak. q̣laṛṭ 1; Chir. q̣laṛtale 2.

Chir. q̣laṛtale goes back to PD *q̣ḷẉarṭa-IV 'sheath': cf. also Ak.

qIarʔala, Ur. *qIʷarʔala* id.

| Lezg. **qIʷa[r]t-ol* 1 belt 2 lace 3 braid: Lezg. *qʷetel* 2; Tab. *qIʷaʔal* 3; Ag. *qIatul* 1; Kryz. *qātil* 2; Bud. *qolʔal* 1.

4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. The medial resonant is not clear: Bud. seems to point to *-l- or *-r- (assimilated to the final -l), but other languages do not reflect any liquid. The stem is probably derived: cf. Arch. *qIeʔ* 'a pleat in the upper part of trousers for inserting the belt' - although the vocalism in this form is not quite clear.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Most languages reflect the derived form with a *-tV-suffix; the pure stem is preserved only in Darg. (and possibly in Archi).

**qHwārçV* (~-ō-, -l-, -č-) roasted grain, flour: Tsez. **qʷeçV*; Lezg. **qIʷerç(a)* (~o-, -l-).

| Tsez. **qʷeçV* oat flour: Gin. *qʷiça*.

Attested only in Gin. (Lomtadze gives the meaning 'roasted wheat flour'). Both Lomtadze and MSU record the variant *qʷiçça* with a not quite clear gemination of -ç-.

| Lezg. **qIʷerç(a)* (~o-, -l-) roasted grain: Ag. *qIurç* (Bursh.).

Attested only in Bursh., with a possible Tsez. parallel.

[] A Tsez-Lezg. parallel. The root is reflected only in two languages, thus not very secure.

**qHwā* two: Av.-And. **ki-*; Tsez. **qʷi-nV* A; Lak. *ki=a*; Darg. **kʷi*; Lezg. **qIʷā*; Khin. *ku*; W.-Cauc. **qIʷA*.

| Av.-And. **ki-* two: Av. *ki-go*; Chad. *ki-gu*; And. *çe-gu*; Akhv. *ke-da*; Cham. *eçi-da*; Tind. *ke-ja*; Kar. *ke-da*; Botl. *ke-da*; Bagv. *ke-ra*; God. *ke-da*.

Cf. also Cham. *Gig. çe-da*, Bagv. *Tlis. çe-da*.

| Tsez. **qʷi-nV* A two: Tsez. *qIano*; Gin. *qono*; Khvarsh. *qIʷene*; Inkh. *qIune*; Bezht. *qona*; Gunz. *qanu*.

PTsKh **qIʷinV*, PGB **q[o]nV*. The vowel reconstruction is not very secure (probably because of the joint effect of labialisation and pharyngealization).

| Lak. *ki=a* two.

| Darg. **kʷi* two: Ak. *ke-l*; Chir. *çʷa-l*.

Cf. also Ur. *kʷi*, Kub. *kʷe* etc.

| Lezg. **qIʷā* two: Lezg. *qʷe-d*; Tab. *qIu*; Ag. *qIu-d*; Rut. *qIʷad*; Tsakh. *qIlo-llā*; Kryz. *qʷad*; Bud. *qa-b*; Arch. *qIʷe*; Ud. *p:aI*.

Cf. also Ag. Burk. *ʔa-d*, Tp. *ʔu-d*.

See Talibov 1960a, 302; Leksika 1971, 232; Giginayshvili 1977, 137.

| Khin. *ku* two.

| W.-Cauc. **qIʷA* two: Abkh. *ʷ-bā*; Abaz. *ʷ-ba*; Ad. *ʔʷa*; Kab. *ʔʷa*; Ub. *ʔʷa*.

PAT **ʔʷa*; PAK **ʔʷa* (for the initial cluster cf. Ad. Khak. *ʔʷa*).

[] A good common NC etymon. The PWC form has a prefixed dental; this may be an innovation, but may also reflect the common NC state (**qHwā* with simplification of the initial cluster in PEC). See Abdokov 1983, 153.

**qHwāIçĖ* a k. of weed: Nakh. **bʔast* (~ -ʃ-, -a-); Lak. *qalʔa*; Khin. *q:uʒur* (?); W.-Cauc. **p-qaça*.

| Nakh. **bʔast* (~ -ʃ-, -a-) name of a mountain weed: Bacb. *bʔast* (Matsiyev).

Attested only in Batsb., but having possible external parallels.

| Lak. *qalʔa* goose-foot.

| Khin. *q:uʒur* caraway seed.

| W.-Cauc. **p-qaça* reed, cane: Ub. *pqáça*.

Attested only in Ub., but having possible external parallels.

[] The Khin. reflex is rather dubious (both semantically and phonetically); all other forms correspond to each other regularly and may well go back to a single PNC form (name of some weed - although it is difficult now to reconstruct the precise meaning). Medial *-l- is reconstructed to account for the voicing in Lak. (*-lç- > -ʒ-) and for the *st-reflex in PN.

**qHwçmçV* hook, curved: Av.-And. **qʷonçV-*; Lezg. **qIʷa(m)çV-* (~ ā).

| Av.-And. **qʷonçV-* crooked, curved: And. *Gʷonçi-l*.

Attested only in Andian, but having probable Lezghian parallels.

| Lezg. **qIʷa(m)çV-* (~ ā) 1 to bend 2 elbow 3 tip, point: Lezg. *qʷeçil-arun* 1; Tab. *qIuʒal apuz* 1; Ag. *qIuʒal-qas* 1; Kryz. *qāç* 3; Ud. *q:açI* 2 (Nidzh).

The original meaning can be postulated as 'hook, corner'. Lezg., Tab. and Ag. reflect the derivate **qIʷa(m)çV-l*, used in compound verbs.

[] An And.-Lezg. isogloss.

**qHwə[ɪ]Vçĭ* (~ -ī-, -ē) a k. of insect: Nakh. **bʔeçV* (~-ā-, -ʒ-); Lezg. **qIulç(a)* (~ -o-); W.-Cauc. **qanəçə*.

| Nakh. **bʔeçV* (~-ā-, -ʒ-) a k. of steppe spider: Chech. *bʔezū*.

Attested only in Chech., but with possible external parallels.

| Lezg. **qIulç(a)* (~ -o-) 1 moth 2 maggot in meat: Lezg. *ʒūç* 1; Ag. *Ruç* 2.

Both in Lezg. (lit.) and in Ag. the initial voiced consonant is a result of dissimilation (< PL **qI-*), cf. dialectal forms: Lezg. Khl. *qūç*, Ag. (Shaumyan) *qūrç* 'moth'. The latter form also reveals a medial liquid which can only go back to PL *-l- (*-r- would have disappeared completely).

| W.-Cauc. **qanəçə* silkworm: Abkh. *a-qānç*.

Attested only in Abkh., but with possible EC correlates.

[] The comparison seems possible, despite the rare representation; the root, however, is expressive and several phonetic correspondences are violated here. This is not unusual in words denoting insects, especially if they contain several stops (allowing for assimilations/dissimilations).

**qHwəntV* knee; elbow: Tsez. **qɔ(n)tV*; Lak. *alnt*; Lezg. **qIunt*.

| Tsez. **qɔ(n)tV* 1 knee 2 ankle: Tsez. *qIontu* 1; Gin. *qontu* 1;

Khvarsh. *qontu* 1; Bezht. *qata* 2 (Khosh.); Gunz. *qod* 2.

PTsKh **qontu*, PGB **qot(a)*. Cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *qot* 'ankle' which is a contamination of PGB **qot(a)* and **tuqa* q.v.

| Lak. *aInt* span (between the thumb and the small finger).

Gen. pl. *aInt-urdl*; cf. Khosr. *aInt*, *aInt-urdl* id. Originally had probably meant 'angle' (cf. the external evidence).

| Lezg. **qIunt* elbow: Lezg. *qunt*.

Obl. base *quntü-*. The word is isolated within Lezghian, but has reliable external correspondences.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

***qHwirdV** hedgehog: Darg. **qalt:-(mVk:a)*; Lezg. **qIurt: (~ -o-)*.

| Darg. **qalt:-(mVk:a)* hedgehog: Ak. *qaldga*; Chir. *qIabk:a*.

Cf. also Kub. *qintqa*. The Darg. dialectal forms represent an original compound **qalt:-mVk:a*; the meaning of the second part is obscure, but the whole compound is exactly parallel to Lezghian forms like Tab. (Düb.) *qIurdu-maga*, Ag. (Shaumyan) *qürdmag* 'hedgehog'.

| Lezg. **qIurt: (~ -o-)* hedgehog: Tab. *qIutra-him*; Ag. *qudu-bil* (Fit.).

An expressive root with many irregular changes. Cf. also Tab. Düb. *qIurdumaga*, Ag. Bursh. *qiribiri*, Burk. *qurubil*, Tp. (Shaumyan) *qidiban* 'hedgehog'.

[] An expressive Darg.-Lezg. isogloss with somewhat irregular correspondences (as in many other names for small wild animals); the PEC antiquity is dubious.

***qHwōšwV** heel, ankle: Tsez. **qoš:u (~š-)*; Lak. *qIuršlu*; Darg. **qI^waš:*; Lezg. **qI^waš/*šaql^w*.

| Tsez. **qoš:u (~š-)* 1 hoof 2 inch, foot: Gin. *quš* 2; Khvarsh. *qošo* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *qošo* 1.

PTsKh **qošu* (with secondary vowel narrowing in Gin.).

| Lak. *qIuršlu* ankle(-bone).

Cf. gen. *qIurš:ul-t:u-l*; 3d class.

| Darg. **qI^waš:* 1 foot, leg 2 fist; handful: Ak. *qalš* 1; Chir. *qIuš:* 2.

Cf. also Kad. *qas/quš*, Tsud. *qI^waš/qIuš* 'foot, leg'; the meaning 'fist' in Chir. is secondary.

| Lezg. **qI^waš/*šaql^w* heel: Tab. *š^waql*; Ag. *qI^waš*.

In Tab. *š^waql* < *šaql^w* with metathesis of labialisation; cf. also Tab. Khiv. *šaql^w*, Ag. Bursh. *qIuš*, Burk. *š^waš^w* etc. There is not enough information to establish the PL obl. stem.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except Lak. -r- which must be secondary; other languages have no trace of any medial resonant).

There are also several similar forms which are difficult to separate from this root (cf. the semantic correlation 'hoof' : 'inch' within PTs), but are rather obscure phonetically: Inkh. *bošo* 'handful', Darg. *qalš* in *qalš-çim* 'inch', Ud. *q:ošla-* in *q:ošla-maš* 'handful'. They are not enough to reconstruct a separate root (and do not correspond to each other well enough).

***qHwVIV (~-t-)** heel; ankle: Tsez. **q^wilV (~a,i,u,-r-)*; Lezg. **moqlol*.

| Tsez. **q^wilV (~a,i,u,-r-)* ankle: Tsez. *q^walla*.

Isolated in Tsez., with probable Lezg. parallels.

| Lezg. **moqlol* 1 heel 2 foot, kick: Lezg. *qul* 2; Rut. *maqlli* 1 (Ikhr.); Tsakh. *miqlli*.

Cf. also Tsakh. Gelm. *muqille*, Tsakh. *muqlule* 'heel'. The Rut. and Tsakh. forms have a suffixed **-j* (cf. Tsakh. obl. *miqlli-ji-*); loss of **mo-* in Lezg. is regular. 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh.

[] A Tsez.-Lezg. isogloss, therefore not enough data for vocalic reconstruction. The comparison seems, nevertheless, quite probable; initial **mo-* in PL is secondary - probably under analogy with body part names like **morkol* 'finger/toe'.

***qHwVqV** hill; pillar, post: Nakh. **b²aβu-m*; Darg. **qI^(w)aq*.

| Nakh. **b²aβu-m* pillar, post: Chech. *b²ōβam*; Ing. *b²ōβa*.

6th class in both languages. Cf. also Cheb. *b²aβom*, Shar. *b²ōβō*, Ved. *b²aβam* etc.

| Darg. **qI^(w)aq* hill: Ak. *qalq*.

[] A Nakh-Darg. isogloss. Seems both semantically and phonetically plausible.

***qidV (~ -ä-)** dust, soot: Av.-And. **q:iṭa-n (~ -o-)*; Tsez. **χitV (~ b:-)*; Lak. *qit*.

| Av.-And. **q:iṭa-n (~ -o-)* soot: Akhv. *q:ēṭa*; Kar. *q:ēṭan*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *q:ēṭen*, Ratl. *q:atani*, Kar. Tok. *q:itān* id.

| Tsez. **χitV (~ b:-)* mould: Gunz. *ḡito* (Gunz.).

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *qit* soot; flour dust.

Gen. *qit:u-l*. Cf. Khosr. *qit* (*qit:u-l*) 'soot'. Lak. > Arch. *qit:i* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for usual (in a root containing two stops) assimilatory / dissimilatory processes, correspondences are regular.

***qōgV** burden; back: Tsez. **qōg*; Lak. *q:aq-la*; Darg. **q:aq*; Lezg. **q:aq*; Khin. *qaba*.

| Tsez. **qōg* armful: Tsez. *qlog*; Gin. *qog*; Khvarsh. *qog*.

PTsKh **qōg*.

| Lak. *q:aq-la* burden, load.

| Darg. **q:aq*: back: Ak. *baβ*.

Cf. also Ur. *baβ*, Tsud. *q:aq*, Kub. *q:aq* (pl. *q:uq:e*).

| Lezg. **q:aq*: 1 back 2 burden, load: Tab. *baβ* 2; Ag. *š^aa²* (Bursh.); Arch. *qoq* 1.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *q:aq:a* 'burden', Arch. *qaqa-n* id. Arch. *qoq* reflects PL **q:og*: (probably an original oblique base **q:og-V-* with Ablaut). Cf. also the

derivate adjective in Tab. and Ag.: Tab. *baši*, Ag. Bursh. *beše-r*, Burk. *q:eq:e-f*, Tp. *q:iq:e-f*, Fit. *q:iq:i-t* 'heavy'. The original meaning was 'back' > 'what is born on back, burden'.

| Khin. *qaba* shoulder-blade.

Cf. also a suffixed form: *qaba-l* 'back' (with secondary assimilation).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In the East Dagestan area there occurred a double assimilation (**qōgV* > **qōGV* > **GōGV*); the Tsezian languages obviously preserve the more archaic structure.

It is possible that both Khin. *qaba* and *qaba-l* are early loans from PL (before the assimilation **q-* > **q:-*); in Khin. there also exists a word *qāk* 'burden, load' which could be the genuine reflex of **qōgV* (however, the voiceless -k is not quite clear).

**qōmkā* calf: Av.-And. **qinko*; Lak. *qunča*; Darg. **qa(m)qa*; Lezg. **qo(m)ka*.

| Av.-And. **qinko* 1 bull-calf 2 cow: Av. *ʿakā* 2; Chad. *ʿakā* 2; And. *q:inko-m* 1.

Av. paradigm B (*ʿak-dā-l*; the plural is not quite clear: *ʿačī* < **ʿak-čī* ?). The And. form is quoted from Khaidakov, and is most probably a misspelling instead of **qinko-m*.

| Lak. *qunča* calf (1 y. old).

Gen. *qunk-lul*.

| Darg. **qa(m)qa* calf: Chir. *qāqa*.

| Lezg. **qo(m)ka* calf: Rut. *qīq*; Tsakh. *qika*.

In Rut. *qīq* < **qīk* through assimilation. Medial *-m- in clusters with velars is not preserved in Rut. and Tsakh.; it is postulated for PL only on the basis of external evidence. Obl. base **qo(m)kā-* (cf. Rut. *qīqa-*, Tsakh. *qika-*). 3d class in both languages.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**quni* (~ -e) corn-bin: Av.-And. **quni* (~ ?-); Darg. **quni*.

| Av.-And. **quni* (~ ?-) corn-bin: Cham. *un*; Tind. *uni*.

Cf. also Cham. Gad. *unu* id.

| Darg. **quni* corn-bin: Chir. *qune*.

[] An And-Darg. isogloss.

**qurV* (~ G-) horn (for powder or drinking): Nakh. **ḡoru*; Lak. *quru*.

| Nakh. **ḡoru* powder-flask, horn for storing powder: Chech. *ḡura*.

| Lak. *quru* drinking-horn.

[] A Nakh-Lak. isogloss.

**qVhwVrV* grey, brown: Tsez. **qajre*; Lak. *ulru-*; Darg. **qerhe*.

| Tsez. **qajre* grey: Khvarsh. *qajre*; Inkh. *qajre*.

PTsKh **qajre*.

| Lak. *ulru-* brown.

Cf. Khosr. *ulru-* 'grey'.

| Darg. **qerhe* brown: Ak. *qerhe*;

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of the rather rare trisyllabic root structures (originally *-rV is probably a suffix, but the derivation is unclear).

**qVle* (~ q-, -i) child, young one: Tsez. **q[ə]ra*; Lak. *quli*.

| Tsez. **q[ə]ra* child: Khvarsh. *qale*; Inkh. *qala*; Bezht. *qowa*; Gunz. *qara*.

PTsKh **qarV*; PGB **qara* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *qora*). The vowel correspondence is irregular (one would expect -o- in Inkh.).

| Lak. *quli* puppy.

[] A Tsez-Lak. isogloss.

**qVmčV* balcony, veranda: Nakh. **ibčV* (~h-); Av.-And. **qanča* (~*?-o); Lak. *qančlu*.

| Nakh. **ibčV* (~h-) 1 corridor, gallery 2 veranda: Chech. *ūčē* 1; Ing. *ujče* 2. Chech. -ē, Ing. -e is a suffix.

| Av.-And. **qanča* (~*?-o) 1 balcony 2 a division in a granary: Cham. *ača* 1; Tind. *anča* 2.

| Lak. *qančlu* a niche above the roof.

Gen. *qančul-lu-l*.

[] Although vowel correspondences are irregular (PN *i does not correspond to Lak. -a-, PA *-a-(*-o-)), the etymology seems secure.

**qVrčĀ* peach: Av.-And. **qurčV*; Darg. **qurč*; W.-Cauc. **qəča*.

| Av.-And. **qurčV* 1 peach 2 apricot: And. *Gurči* 2; Akhv. *qurče* 1; Cham. *urči* (*Gig.*) 1; Tind. *urča* 1; God. *q:urči* 1.

Cf. also Cham. L.-Gakv. *ʿurč*, Akhv. Tlan. *qorčo*. The God. form (with a tense q:-) is irregular.

| Darg. **qurč* peach: Ak. *qurč*.

Cf. also Ur. *qurč* id.

| W.-Cauc. **qəča* peach: Ad. *q:əca*; Kab. *q:əca* (*dial.*).

PAK **q:əcā*. The PAK *q: can go back to PWC *q, *q:, *qI or *q:I; the PAK *-c- - to *c, *č or *č. Shagirov's etymology (**q:ə* 'plum' + **cə* 'hair', see Shagirov 1, 229-230) is hardly acceptable, especially in view of the EC evidence.

In the Adygh languages there is a constant interaction of two roots: **q:əca* 'peach' and **pχʷə* 'plum' (see **pəqʷV*). The Shaps. dialect has always *pχʷə* (*pχʷəca* 'peach', *pχʷəsʷta* 'plum'); other dialects tend to have *q:ə* (cf. Ad. *q:əca* 'peach', *q:əpča* 'plum').

[] Not quite clear is the loss of labialisation in PAK; otherwise correspondences between PEC and PWC are regular, and the reconstruction seems generally plausible (of course, if we dismiss secondary contaminations and mergers in the WC area).

**qVžV(rV)* hedgehog: Darg. **qalrč:a* (~ -ž-); Lezg. **qVžVr*.

| Darg. **qalrč:a* (~ -ž-) hedgehog: Ur. *qalrža*.

Cited from Khaidakov 1973.,

| Lezg. *qV3Vr hedgehog: Lezg. qūzur (Akht.).

Attested only in Lezg., with a probable Darg. parallel.

[] A Darg-Lezg. isogloss; the PEC reconstruction is rather questionable.

*qwāje (~ -ě-) thing(s), possession(s), household: Av.-And. *q:aʔi (~ -o-); Tsez. *qaj; Lak. qaj.

| Av.-And. *q:aʔi (~ -o-) 1 thing(s), possession(s) 2 farmstead: Av. q:aji 1; Akhv. q:e 1,2; Cham. q:aj 1; Tind. q:ā 1; God. q:aji 1.

Av. paradigm B (pl. q:ajā-bi). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Ratl. q:aj 'things'. Some of the Andian forms may be borrowed from Av.; however, all correspondences are regular, and nothing is against genuine relationship.

| Tsez. *qaj 1 hut 2 pack, load: Gin. qaj 1; Khvarsh. qaj (Radzhibov); Inkh. qaj 2; Bezht. qaj (Khosh.) 1.

PTsKh *qaj (the difference of meanings is explained by the original meaning 'thing, possession(s)'). Cf. also Bezht. Tlad. qaj 'hut'.

| Lak. qaj thing(s), ware(s).

Cf. Khosr. qʷaj 'thing'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The word is attested also in Darg. (Chir. qaj 'thing'), where it is most probably borrowed from Lak. or Avar; however, the Lak., PTs and Av.-And. forms are probably genetically related and not borrowed from each other (Lak. - because of initial labialisation which would be inexplicable if it were an Av. loan; Tsez. forms - because of the semantic discrepancy).

If the original EC meaning was 'house, household', the word could be compared with PAK *ʷa (presupposing PWC *qʷa) 'yard, enclosure (for cattle)' (> Ad., Kab. ʷa). Abdokov (1983, 128) compares the AK root with *qʷində 'wall' (q.v.), which is very dubious for phonetic reasons.

*qwāɫV rope, saddle-girth: Av.-And. *q:ʷalV (~ -o-); Tsez. *ʰon-qʷelV B; Lezg. *qʷVIV (?).

| Av.-And. *q:ʷalV (~ -o-) 1 woollen or hemp rope; saddle-girth 2 belt, girdle: Av. q:ʷal 1; God. q:ʷali 2.

Av. > Arch. qʷal 'saddle-girth', Bezht. Khosh. qal id.

| Tsez. *ʰon-qʷelV B 1 saddle 2 saddle seat: Tsez. ʰiqur 2; Gin. ʰiqʷali muzi 1; Khvarsh. ʰeqel 1; Bezht. ʰajqena-1; Gunz. ʰorqena 1.

PTsKh *ʰəqʷeR(V) (cf. also Gin. in Lomtadze's notation ʰiqʷali(1), in Bokarev's notation - ʰiqʷalil); PGB *ʰorqena (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. ʰarqenə, Khosh. ʰarqena). In Tsez. the word for 'saddle' itself is ʰiliqaj which can be treated as a loan from Av. (ʰili+q:aji 'saddle' + 'thing, pack').

| Lezg. *qʷVIV (?) harness: Kryz. qiqer.

An isolated Kryz. word, with possible external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The pure root is attested only in Av. and God. The PTs form is a compound of *ʰon- (< *ʰVl- 'saddle', see *ʰwile) with *qʷelV 'saddle-girth'. It is possible that the Kryz. word qiqer reflects the same compound, with a subsequent distortion (qiqer < *ʰ:(ʷ)il-qʷ(al)).

In Archi, besides the obvious Avar loanword qʷal 'saddle-girth' there exists also a form qʷalur (plur. tant. in -ur) 'swaddling-bands' which may be genuinely related to the listed forms.

*qʷāɫV bark, crust: Av.-And. *qʷVli; Tsez. *qʷel A.

| Av.-And. *qʷVli crust, rind: Akhv. qoli.

Isolated within Andian, but having good Tsezian parallels.

| Tsez. *qʷel A 1 bark 2 birch bark: Tsez. qɪlul 1; Gin. qʷil 1; Khvarsh. qʷel (Radzhibov); Inkh. qɪʷel 1; Bezht. qeqel-ba 2.

PTsKh *qʷeR. The Bezht. form is reduplicated (and has a plural suffix -ba).

[] An And.-Tsez. isogloss. We could perhaps relate here the isolated (within Lezghian) Agul (Burk.) qʷali 'bush', but the semantic difference is still to be explained.

*q(w)āmʔə plait, mane; hair: Av.-And. *q:amha; Lak. q:unču; Darg. *qama, *qa-či; Lezg. *qam, *qam-çal; W.-Cauc. *qɪʷə.

| Av.-And. *q:amha, *q:am-čV 1 hairdo 2 cock's comb 3 mane: Av. q:ama 2; And. q:āw 1; Akhv. q:ama 2; Cham. q:ama 2; Tind. q:ama 2; Bagv. q:amča 3.

Cf. also And. dial. qamu 'cock's comb; beak'. Av. accent paradigm is unknown (the word is attested only in the Russian-Avar dictionary). All Andian forms (except And. itself and Bagv.) may be borrowed from Av. An obvious Av. loan is Inkh. qama 'plait; cock's comb'. The Bagv. form q:amča reflects an old derivate.

| Lak. q:unču lock, tuft (of hair).

Cf. also Khosr. q:unču 'forelock, fringe'.

| Darg. *qama 1 hairdo; fringe, forelock 2 plait: Ak. qama 1; Chir. qama 2.

Cf. also Ur. qama 'hairdo', Tsud. qama id., Kub., Tsud. ʰal-qama 'mane'. Lak. qama 'mane' is probably borrowed from Darg. The suffixed form *qam-či > *qaci is reflected in Kait., Kharb. qaci, Kub. qace 'braid, plait'.

| Lezg. *qam, *qam-çal 1 plait 2 forelock, mane 3 cap 4 parting (of hair): Lezg. qeqem 4; Rut. qamčal 1; Tsakh. qamčele 1; Bud. qemelči 3; Arch. qam 2.

The Lezg. form is a metathesis. The pure root is preserved only in Arch. (which also has an etymological doublet: qama-t:u 'women's hair' - probably borrowed from Lak. or Darg.); all other languages reflect a suffixed form. The word belongs to the 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages.

| W.-Cauc. *qɪʷə 1 hair 2 feather, wool 3 hairless, bald: Abkh. a-χʷə 1; Abaz. qwə 1,2; Ad. q:ʷəjə 3; Kab. q:ʷij 3; Ub. qɪʷə 1,2.

PAT *qʷə (cf. also Bz. a-χʷə; in Abaz. the meaning 'a hair' is expressed by a derivate form qʷə-c). PAK *q:ʷə-jə (where -jə is a privative suffix) - this comparison seems irreproachable to us, whereas the comparison of AA and Ub. forms with PAK *xʷə-ča- 'to wash (head)', proposed by Shagirov (2, 77) is worse semantically and impossible phonetically.

The old derivate *qɪʷə-cə (> Abaz. qʷəc) with some irregular processes (loss or metathesis of labialisation) is also reflected in PAT *qəcʷə > Abkh. a-χcʷə (Bzyb. a-χcʷə) 'braid, plait', Abaz. qəcʷ 'bird's comb', PAK *ʰa-q:əca (*ʰa 'foot') 'shaggy fetlocks'.

[] It is somewhat unclear whether labialisation had been lost in PEC or it appeared secondarily (after the loss of -m-) in PWC; the latter seems more probable. Pharyngealization in PWC obviously appeared under the influence of the lost laryngeal. The comparison seems plausible. Some of the languages (Bagv., Lak., Darg., PL) reflect also an old derivate **q(w)am-čV* - its derived character being proved by 'tense' **q* versa 'lax' **č* (violating the normal structure of 'tense' words). Another reflex of the same derivate (but already with 'tense' **č*, probably by assimilation) is Av. *q:ʷans:á* 'temple, hair on temples' (which was early borrowed in Lak. as *qanča* 'hairdo, hair; (Khosr.) forelock'. Cf. perhaps also Bezht. Khosh. *qāmāš* 'women's shawl, kerchief' (quite isolated within Tsezian and possibly reflecting some analogous compound).

**qwānʷū* flat surface: Av.-And. **qʷVnV*; Tsez. **qej(V)* A; Lak. *qan*; Lezg. **qʷan*; Khin. *qon*.

| Av.-And. **qʷVnV* 1 cheek 2 palm of hand: Av. *ʿonó 1*; Tind. *uni-rela 2*.

Av. paradigm B (*ʿonó-dul*, *ʿaná-l/ʿaná-bi*). There is too little information to establish precisely the PA vocalism.

| Tsez. **qej(V)* A 1 palm of hand 2 handful (two cupped hands): Tsez. *qijju 1*; Gin. *qiju 1*; Bezht. *qi 2 (Tlad.)*; Gunz. *qi 2*.

PTsKh **qejju*; PGB **qi*.

| Lak. *qan* meadow; plain (in a valley).

| Lezg. **qʷan* palm of hand: Lezg. *k:apan qʷan*; Rut. *qʷanaq*; Tsakh. *qonek /qonak*; Arch. *qʷan*.

The Lezg. word is from the Khliut dialect (lit. 'hand's palm'). Rut. and Tsakh. have forms that are originally locative (but cf. also Rut. Kich. *kapa-qʷan* 'palm of hand' = Lezg. *k:apan qʷan*). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

| Khin. *qon* a flat open surface.

Cf. also *kute qon* 'palm of hand' (lit. 'hand's surface').

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are quite regular.

One feels tempted to compare with this root PAK **nákwə* 'cheek, face' (Ad., Kab. *nakʷ* - Shagirov's /1, 278/ analysis of **kwə* here as **gʷə* 'heart, middle' is not persuasive). However, there are at once two irregularities: one which is rather common (metathesis) and another - shift of **qʷ* to **kw* - which is more difficult to account for. We can not offer any final solution.

**qwaqʷV(-tV)* seed, grain, egg: Av.-And. **qʷaqʷal*; Tsez. **quqV-LV*; Darg. **qIʷaqI*; Lezg. **qoloq*.

| Av.-And. **qʷaqʷal* nut, walnut: And. *GʷaGʷal*.

Attested only in And., but having good external parallels.

| Tsez. **quqV-LV* (~ -r-) 1 nut, walnut 2 small stone: Gin. *qaqali 2*; Inkh. *qluqlle 1*.

PTsKh **q[u]qa-Re* (with vowel assimilation in Gin.).

| Darg. **qIʷaqI* grain: Ak. *qalq*.

Cf. also Ur. *qalq*, Mek. *qʷalq*.

| Lezg. **qoloq* 1 egg 2 testiculus 3 fried eggs: Tab. *qurqur 2 (Düb.)*; Rut. *qiliq 2 (Khniukh)*; Tsakh. *quq 1*; Bud. *qaluq 2*; Ud. *qI:aqI:apun 3*.

In Bud. cf. perhaps also the adjective *quqal* 'spheric, round' (which would make it possible to compare also Arch. *qʷerqə-bos* 'to roll' < **qʷelqV-*). 3d class in Rut., Tsakh. and Bud. In Udi there is an unclear suffixed -pun.

[] An expressive reduplicated root (its expressive nature probably explains pharyngealisation in PD). The common morphological formation (reflexes of **-tV* in And., Inkh. and PL, where **qoloq* < **qʷaq-ol* with metathesis), however, makes the PEC reconstruction rather probable.

**qwarHV* narrow: Nakh. **=aqi-na*; Av.-And. **q:ʷara-*; Tsez. **q(ʷ)aq(ʷ)a-*; Darg. **qaqa-*; Lezg. **qI:ʷarV-*.

| Nakh. **=aqi-na* thin, emaciated: Chech. *=eqana*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **q:ʷara-* (~ o) narrow, cramped: Av. *q:ʷari-da-b*; Chad. *qāqāra-b*; Akhv. *q:ʷara-da-*; Cham. *q:ora-* (Gig.); Tind. *q:ʷara-*; Kar. *q:ora-*.

The Av. Chad. form is reduplicated; we can probably relate here (with loss of -r-) also Av. *q:ōq:a-b*, Chad. *quqa-b* 'short'.

| Tsez. **q(ʷ)aq(ʷ)a-* thin, emaciated: Bezht. *qāqalo*, *qāqāço*.

The Bezht. forms are cited from Khaidakov 1973.

| Darg. **qaqa-* narrow: Ak. *qaqa-si*; Chir. *qaqa-ze*.

Cf. also Ak. *qaqa-bires* 'to press' ('make narrow').

| Lezg. **qI:ʷarV-* 1 thin, emaciated 2 narrow: Ag. *q:Iure-f 1*; Arch. *qIʷaqIʷar-t:u-2*.

The Archi form is reduplicated. The Agul form is cited from Khaidakov 1973.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Most forms are prefixless, thus the prefixed paradigm in Chech. is probably secondary. A reduplicated variant **qwaqwarHV* (reflected in Av., Bezht., PD, Arch.) can also be reconstructed.

**qwa[ā]tʷ* arm; bosom, armpit: Nakh. **phō*; Av.-And. **q:ʷalV*; Tsez. **qe*; Lezg. **qʷVI(-)*; W.-Cauc. **qIa* (~ q:īa).

| Nakh. **phō* sleeve: Chech. *pho-s*; Ing. *pho-s*; Bacb. *pho*.

Chech. and Ing. reflect a suffixed form **phō-s* (obl. base **phōsi-*, cf. Chech. *phūša-*); 3d class in Chech. and Ing., 6th class in Bacb. The Ablaut variant **phā-* is reflected in the compound **phā-bat* 'distance between stretched hands' (Chech. *phā-bat*, Ing. *pha-bat*), where **bat* goes back to PEC **qemV* q.v.

| Av.-And. **q:ʷalV* 1 arm; sleeve 2 armpit 3 armful: Av. *q:ʷal 1*; Chad. *q:ʷal 3*; And. *q:ʷa-λ:u 2*; Akhv. *q:ʷa-λ:i 2*; Cham. *q:ʷaj-λ:*; Tind. *q:ʷar-λ:i 2*; Kar. *ʮʷa-λ:e 2*; God. *q:ʷa-zu-λ:i 2*.

Av. paradigm C (loc. *q:ʷalá-λ:* 'under the arm, in the arm-pit'; Chad. *qʷalí-l*, *qʷála-l*). Andian forms reflect a subessive **q:ʷar-λ:i* < **q:ʷal-λ:i* (with dissimilation) = Av. *q:ʷaláλ:*, Chad. *qʷa-λ* ('armpit'). The suffixless form, besides Avar, is preserved only in Akhv. *q:ʷari* 'sleeve of a fur-coat; armful' - but the -r- here raises

some problems (it has, perhaps, developed by analogy with the dissimilated form *q̣:ʷar-λ:i). The Kar. form demonstrates a dissimilative voicing of the initial affricate; Cham. (Gig. q̣:o-du-λ:i) and God. forms also reflect a former subessive case, but from different oblique bases (*q̣:ʷa(l)-dV- and *q̣:ʷa(l)-zV-). A loanword from Andian languages is Inkh. q̣ʷaλi 'armpit'.

| Tsez. *qe 1 shoulder 2 shoulder-blade: Gin. q̣ilu 1; Khvarsh. qe 1; Bezht. qejo 1; Gunz. qe 2, qeru 1.

PTsKh *qe, *qe-Ru; PGB *qe, *qeru- (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. qero, Tlad. qerò 'shoulder') < PTs *qe, obl. base *qe-ru- (cf. Gunz. qe, qero-). The oblique base became direct in Gin. and Bezht. (partially also in Gunz., where qe and qeru coexist).

| Lezg. *q̣ʷVl(:)- in one's bosom: Lezg. qula-k.

Isolated in Lezg., but obviously archaic. Cf. also the derivate of the same root: qulas 'compass (of both arms)'.

| W.-Cauc. *q̣Ia (~*q̣:Ia) hand: Ad. ʔa; Kab. ʔa; Ub. q̣ā-pā.

PAK *ʔa; Ub. def. á-qāpā. For the etymology of -pā see *pA; the root qā- is discoverable in many compounds (qā-(n)cʷá 'finger' etc.).

External correspondences suggest that this root must have been labialised, but labialisation was for some reason lost in PWC. Indeed, we find the labialised form *q̣Iʷa (~*q̣:Iʷa) within the compound *q̣Iʷa-(p)λa (~*q̣:Iʷ-) 'arms, embrace; to embrace' q.v.

AT parallels for this root suggested by several authors are not persuasive (see Шарипов 2, 154 - 155 with literature).

[] Correspondences are regular, except for some vocalic problems: not clear is the *-a-vowel in PA (*-i- would be expected regularly; perhaps we deal with a case of Ablaut here).

Trubetzkoy (1930, 277) proposed a different comparison (WC *q̣Ia ~ EC *kwilʔi 'hand'), which seems improbable for phonetic reasons.

*q̣wĀçĀ / *çĀq̣wĀ tail: Lezg. *q̣ʷVç-; Khin. qaz; W.-Cauc. *çəq:ʷa.

| Lezg. *q̣ʷVç- goat's tail: Tab. q̣uq̣uq̣.

An isolated (within Lezghian) and expressive stem (quoted from Khaidakov 1973.), but with possible external parallels.

| Khin. qaz tail.

Erg. qaç-i.

| W.-Cauc. *çəq:ʷa tail: Abkh. a-çəχwa; Abaz. çəqwa.

PAT *çəqʷa (cf. also Bz. a-çəχʷ).

[] Although the root is not widely spread in EC, the comparison seems phonetically plausible (metathesis is usual in roots of this type). See also PNC *kwV/c/V 'tail': the mutual relationship of these two roots is not quite clear, and we prefer to keep them distinct (unlike Abdokov 1983, 85).

*q̣weçV (~ -ç-) wineskin, leathern sack: Tsez. *q̣oçV- (~ -a-); Lak. qaça; Lezg. *q̣ʷāç(Vj); Khin. qalçeg.

| Tsez. *q̣oçV- (~ -a-) leather sack: Bezht. qaçi-cco (Khosh.).

Cf. also Bezht. Tlad. q̣ājçō id. Attested only in Bezht. (with different suffixes in dialects), but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. qaça wineskin.

Cf. Khosr. q̣ʷaça id. The Lak. form is a probable source of Av. q̣:ʷačá, Chad. q̣uçá id. (not genuinely related because of irregular correspondence) and Andian forms (borrowed from Av.): Akhv. q̣:āça, Tind. q̣:ʷaça 'wineskin', Cham. (Leksika) q̣:oçe.

| Lezg. *q̣ʷāç(Vj) wineskin: Ag. keç; Tsakh. q̣oçe; Arch. q̣ʷaçi.

3d class in Tsakh., 4th class in Arch. Initial velar in Ag. (cf. also Fit. keç, Burk. with metathesis çek) is irregular: it was perhaps influenced by another PL root, reflected in Ud. k:āz 'trough'.

| Khin. qalçeg leathern sack.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. A cultural word, easily borrowed from one language into another; the listed forms, however, seem to be genuinely related.

*q̣welʳə (~ -ʳ-, -ō-) mouse: Lak. kulu; Lezg. *q̣Iʷel.

| Lak. kulu mouse.

Cf. Khosr. kulu id. The two roots - *hñəq̣wə and *q̣welʳə have influenced one another in Lak.: one of them obtained a lateral "suffix" (ul̥kulu), the other one - a velar initial (kulu; regularly from *q̣welʳə qulu or ulu would be expected).

| Lezg. *q̣Iʷel mouse: Tab. q̣Iul; Ag. q̣Iul; Rut. q̣Iul; Tsakh. q̣Iow; Kryz. qal; Bud. q̣al.

Obl. stem *q̣Iʷele- (cf. Tab. q̣Iula-, Ag. q̣Iulu-/q̣Iula-, Rut. q̣Iuli-, Tsakh. q̣Iowa-). 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. On the Arch. (noq̣Ion) and Ud. (mell) forms see under *nVq̣Iʷe-l.

Cf. Leksika 1971, 157; Giginayshvili 1977, 137; Talibov 1980, 306.

[] A Lak.-Lezg. isogloss; for phonetic reasons this root must be kept separate from PNC *hñəq̣wə 'mouse' q.v. If we assume a suffix in PD *q̣ur-k:V 'rat' (Ak. q̣urga, Ur. q̣urgu etc.), this form could also belong here (*q̣ur-k:V < *q̣ul-k:V).

*q̣wərçV (~ -ī-, -ǝ-) stick: Nakh. *boç; Av.-And. *q̣urçV (~ *q̣ʷi-); Tsez. *q̣ʷVç(a); Lak. ul̥rçi-lu; Lezg. *q̣ʷerç (~ q̣o-ḡu-).

| Nakh. *boç stick: Chech. ɓaʒ; Ing. ɓaʒ / ɓaʒ; Bacb. ɓoç.

The PN paradigm can be reconstructed as *boç, *ɓaçu- (in Chech. and Ing. the oblique base superseded the direct one); for the obl. *ɓaçu- cf. Chech. ɓoza-. Cf. also Chech. Lev. ɓaʒ, Ing. (Imnaishvili) ɓač: 'stick'. 4th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *q̣urçV (~ *q̣ʷi-) 1 small stick, stalk 2 fork: Av. ʳuç 1,2; Chad. ʳuç 1; Bagv. ʳurç (Gudava) 1.

Av. paradigm B (ʳuçó-l, ʳuçá-l, Chad. ʳoçó-l, ʳačá-l).

| Tsez. *q̣ʷVç(a) 1 small stick 2 prop (of a balcony) 3 beam: Tsez. q̣Iʷaça 2; Gin. ɓuç 1; Bezht. q̣äçä (Khosh.) 3; Gunz. qaça 3.

PTsKh *q̣ʷVç(a); PGB *qaça. In Gin. there occurred a dissimilation (b- < q-); the vowel is hard to reconstruct because of Tsez pharyngealisation.

Perhaps we should relate here also PGB *qāča-l 'knitting needle' (Bezht. Khosh., Tlad. qāčal, Gunz. qāčal): cf. a similar development in PEC *čhwiṭu 'beam' > PD *čala 'stick, fork; knitting needle'.

| Lak. ulrči-lu rolling-pin; corn-cob.

| Lezg. *q̣werč (~ qo-,qu-) bough; cudgel, log: Tab. qurč.

Attested only in Tab. (therefore, the vocalic reconstruction is rather uncertain), but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root reveals a typical variation of laryngeal features (because of its structure with two stops). A reconstruction *q̣werčV is also possible (in this case we have to assume assimilation -č- > -č- in PN, PA and PTs with subsequent dissimilations in some languages).

*q̣werqV (~ -i-) knot: Lak. q:urq; Lezg. *q̣werq (~ -i,-l-).

| Lak. q:urq tight knot.

Old Lak. > Arch. qerq 'knot'.

| Lezg. *q̣werq (~ -i,-l-) knot: Tab. q̣lurq̣l; Ag. q̣urq (Khud.).

The Agul form is cited from Shaumyan. Pharyngealisation in Tab. is secondary and points to an original front vowel in the root (*-e- or *-i-).

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss. As usual in a root with two stops, there occurred assimilations (in Lak. *q̣werqV > *q̣werq:V > q:urq(:); in PL *q̣werq: > *q̣werq̣).

*q̣wəlʔa board: Nakh. *ʔu; Av.-And. *q̣irV; Tsez. *q̣orV; Lak. ula; Darg. *ʔur-q̣uli; Lezg. *q̣ula; W.-Cauc. *G̣wə.

| Nakh. *ʔu 1 board 2 wooden floor: Chech. u 1; Ing. uj 2.

The Ing. form is actually a former plural (*ʔu-bi 'boards'). The original oblique stem *ʔulV- is seen in the Ing. derivate ul-g 'small board, plank' (both in Ing. and Chech. it was superseded by a more recent *ʔu-ne-, cf. Chech. ūna-, Ing. ujno). 3d class in Chech. and Ing.

| Av.-And. *q̣irV 1 board 2 pole: Av. ʔer 2; Chad. ʔir 2; Akhv. q̣ori 1.

Av. paradigm C (ʔoró-l, ʔúr-dul; Chad. ʔoró-l, ʔír-dal). Cf. also Akhv. Tlan. q̣oro, Tseg. oro 'board'. Av. > Akhv. ʔeri 'pole'.

| Tsez. *q̣orV bench, stool: Tsez. q̣luri / q̣uri; Gin. q̣ure; Khvarsh. q̣ule; Ink. q̣lule; Bezht. q̣ō; Gunz. q̣oro.

PTsKh *q̣uRe; PGB *q̣oro (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. q̣oro).

| Lak. ula board; shelf.

| Darg. *ʔur-q̣uli board: Ak. urq̣uli; Chir. urq̣ule.

Cf. also Ur. urq̣uli, Kub. uq̣ul, Tsud. urq̣ula, Kait. urq̣ul.

| Lezg. *q̣ula 1 board 2 shelf 3 lid, cover 4 small plank: Lezg. q̣ul 1; Tab. q̣ul 1,2; Ag. q̣ul 3; Rut. q̣ul 1; Tsakh. q̣uwa 1; Kryz. q̣ul 4; Bud. q̣ul 4; Arch. q̣ul 1.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. q̣ul 'board, lid', Rut. q̣ula-di 'shelf for dishes'. The precise meaning in Kryz is 'small plank for darning'; in Bud. - 'last (for stretching woolen socks)'. The obl. stem *q̣ulā-, besides Tsakh., is revealed in the Rut. form q̣ula-di (quoted above).

See Bokarev 1961, 64; Leksika 1971, 171; Giginayshvili 1977, 69, 103.

| W.-Cauc. *G̣wə 1 board 2 post, pole 3 stake: Abkh. a-ḅwə 1; Abaz. ḅwə 1; Ad. p̣ča-ḅwə 3; Kab. ḅza-ḅwə 3; Ub. ḅwə 2.

PAT *ʔwə; PAK *p:č:a-ḅwə (where the first part is probably the same as PAK *p:č:a 'lance', see Bagov 1968). Abdokov (1983, 127) compares the AK and Ub. forms not with AA *ʔwə, but with AA *-ʔwə in *ʔwə-ʔwə 'stake' - which, in our opinion, should be rather derived from PWC *q̣wəV 'peg, stake' (q.v.).

[] Correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems quite plausible. The PD form *ʔurq̣uli is probably shaped after *ʔurculi 'wood, firewood' q.v. See Abdokov 1983, 127 (Av. : WC; the author, however, attracts also some obviously unrelated Tsez. and Nakh forms).

*q̣wəV grain, fruit stone: Tsez. *qama (~ ɔ); Lak. q:ama; Darg.

*q̣um.

| Tsez. *qama (~ ɔ) straw: Bezht. qāmā.

Cf. also Bezht. Khosh. qāmā 'stalk'. Isolated in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. q:ama grain, corn.

Cf. Khosr. q:ama id. Lak. > Darg. Ak. q:ama 'hemp', Chir. q:ama 'seed'.

| Darg. *q̣um fruit stone: Ak. q̣um.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*q̣wətV tops of plants, bush: Av.-And. *q̣:otV (~ -a-); Tsez. *q̣otu; Darg. *q̣at:a; Lezg. *q̣uṭ(a).

| Av.-And. *q̣:otV (~ -a-) woman's long hair: Tind. q̣:ẉati.

Attested only in Tind., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *q̣otu tops of plants: Bezht. q̣atus-hak.

The Bezht. compound (with hak 'bush') is isolated within Tsez., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *q̣at:a bush, shrub: Ak. q̣ada.

Cf. also Ur. q̣ada id. The root should be distinguished from *ḅwəṭa q.v.

| Lezg. *q̣uṭ(a) carrot: Tab. q̣uṭ; Ag. q̣ut:.

The Ag. form (also Tp. q̣ut:) is recorded by Shaumyan and thus may be a misspelling for q̣uṭ; if it is not, -t: must be considered a result of dissimilation. There is not enough evidence to establish the obl. stem.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences between PA, PTs and PL are regular (the semantic shift 'bush' > 'woman's hair' is observed in other cases, too). The Darg. form, however, is not quite regular (-t:- may be a result of dissimilation, but the loss of labialisation is not clear).

*q̣wičV / *čiqwV (~ -ä-) spleen; small intestine: Av.-And. *q̣:(ẉ)ič:i / č:iq̣:(ẉ)i; Tsez. *čiq̣V; Lak. q̣uč; Khin. čiq̣ild.

| Av.-And. *q̣:(ẉ)ič:i / č:iq̣:(ẉ)i 1 spleen 2 small intestine: Av. q̣:eč: 1; Chad. q̣:eč 1; And. q̣:eč: (Khaidakov) 1; Akhv. čeq̣:i 1; Cham. bošun-čiq̣: 1; Tind. čiq̣:i 1; Kar. q̣:erč:e 1; God. č:ak:ẉa 2.

Av. paradigm C (q̣:očó-l, q̣:uč-dul; Chad. q̣:očó-l, q̣:uč-dul). Labialisation is suggested by the archaic God. form (č:ak:ẉa < *č:Vk:ẉV < *č:Vq̣:ẉV with a regular

shift *-q:ʷ- > -k:ʷ- in PA), as well as by the correspondence PA *-i- : Av. -e- (usual after originally labialised consonants). However, most languages have lost the labialisation, and already in PA we have no reason to reconstruct it; moreover, the God. form may just have been influenced by another PA root, *ç:ik:ʷa 'small intestine' q.v. (with which it has obviously contaminated, at least semantically). Kar. -r- is probably secondary (no other languages have any trace of it).

In general, this is a very hard case for reconstruction, because of contaminations (with PA *ç:ik:ʷa), metatheses and dissimilations (in Akhv., Tind. and Cham.), usual for this root structure.

| Tsez. *çiðV* small intestine: Tsez. *çeberiyo*; Bezht. *çiçiχ*; Gunz. *çiçiχ*.

PGB *çiçiχ* (with reduplication).

| Lak. *quç* spleen.

| Khin. *çikild* intestine.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. A 'tense' root with two stops, liable to metatheses and as-/dissimilations, which makes reconstruction somewhat difficult. [Note that PTs *çiðV* is a result of dissimilation < *çiðV - the PTs phoneme *-b- is very rare and can only occur as a result of secondary processes. However, Inkh. *çiçi* 'spleen' - which could be a remnant of the original non-dissimilated root - should better be considered a loan from Tind. *çiç:i*.] The situation is further complicated by the fact that there exists another PNC root, *kwicĒ / *cikwĒ (q.v.) with a similar meaning which certainly favours contaminations. Since within reflexes of both roots there is a variation of two basic meanings - 'spleen' and 'small intestine' - it is most probable that one of the roots meant originally 'spleen', and the other - 'small intestine', but now the meanings are hardly possible to attribute.

*q̣wīlçomV mule: Nakh. *b²arçon; Av.-And. *q̣wirçim / *b²irçim; Lak. *wilçun*.

| Nakh. *b²arçon* mule: Chech. *b²arza*; Ing. *b²arza*; Bacb. *b²arçō*.

Cf. also Shar. *b²orçō*, Itumk. *b²arçā* (pointing to a long vowel in PN). 4th class in Chech., Ing., 5th class in Bacb. In Ing. we would expect *b²orza; the form *b²arza* is probably a result of vowel levelling (on analogy with the obl. base *b²arçana-).

| Av.-And. *q̣wirçim / *b²irçim mule: Av. *ʾorçén*; Chad. *ʾurçén*; And. *Gurçim*; Cham. *boçū*; Tind. *borçin*; Bagv. *burçum*.

Av. paradigm B (*ʾorçá-dul*, *ʾorçá-bi*; Chad. *ʾurçní-l*, *ʾurçéna-l* / *ʾurç-bi*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *χuzin* (with a late dissimilation: *χuzin* < **ɓuzin* < **ɓwirçim*). Several Andian forms are not inherited, but borrowed from Av. (as seen from the initial reflex ʾ-): Akhv. *ʾoçino*, Ratl. *ʾorçini*, Kar. *ʾurçina*, Archo. *ʾorçimo*, Rats. *ʾurçim*, Tok. *horçin*, God. *ʾorçin*.

The root is also spread in Tsezian languages, but only as a loan (as is clearly seen from the preservation of medial -r-). Recent loans from Av. are Gin. *hurçum*, Bezht. Tlad. *ʾurçen*, Khosh. *xorçon* (this form may also have an Andian origin), Gunz. *horçom*. A more ancient loan from Andian (or Avaro-Andian) is PTsKh *q̣wirç(u)ne reflected in Tsez. *q̣wer(e)çni*, Inkh. *q̣urçune*.

| Lak. *wilçun* mule.

Cf. also Khosr. *wirçun* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The listed forms are most probably genuine (old interlingual borrowings are not excluded, but phonetically the PN, Av.-And. and Lak. forms correspond well to each other). A loan from Old Av. or Old Lak. is probably Arch. *q̣urçem* 'mule' (since it is isolated within Lezghian).

*q̣wīlç rock, cliff, stone: Nakh. *²alV-j; Av.-And. *q̣ili; Darg. *q̣ala (~ *q̣ʷ-); Lezg. *q̣ʷil; W.-Cauc. *q̣ʷa.

| Nakh. *²alV-j ravine: Ing. *āli*.

Attested only in Ing., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *q̣ili 1 ditch, obstacle (ravine,pit) 2 tomb-stone 3 trap: Av. *ʾelēʿ* 1; Akhv. *q̣ili* 2,3; Cham. *ila-be* 3; Tind. *ili* 3.

The Av. form is reduplicated; the Cham. form is plur. tantum. Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *ilu*, Tlan. *q̣ilu* 'tomb-stone'.

| Darg. *q̣ala (~ *q̣ʷ-) precipice: Ak. *q̣ala-la balh*.

Lit. 'side, edge (*balh*) of precipice'.

| Lezg. *q̣ʷil rock, cliff: Lezg. *q̣ʷal*; Tab. *q̣al*; Rut. *q̣ul*; Tsakh. *q̣ul*; Bud. *q̣ol*; Arch. *q̣ʷil*.

Obl. base *q̣ʷila- (cf. Lezg. *q̣ʷala-*, Tab. *q̣ʷāli-*, Rut. *q̣ulā-*, Tsakh. *q̣ule-*). 4th class in most class-distinguishing languages, but 3d class in Bud. Some languages have specific meanings: Lezg. 'precipice; a hollow in the wall of the precipice', Tsakh. (prop.) 'mountain slope; gorge, ravine', Arch. 'a jut in the mountain slope resulting from digging a hollow'.

| W.-Cauc. *q̣ʷa 1 rocky river bank 2 hill: Abkh. *a-q̣ʷa-rā* 1; Ad. *ʷāsh* 2; Kab. *ʷāsha* 2.

PAK *ʷa-*śha* (a compound with **śha* 'head, top'). The correspondence Abkh. q̣ʷ : PAK *ʷ points to PWC *q̣ʷ.

[] An interesting common NC etymon. To judge from the variety of meanings in modern languages, the original meaning was something like 'rock near a precipice' or 'a hollow in the mountain slope'. Except for the PN length (all other data point rather to a short *i), all correspondences are regular. See Abdokov 1983, 95 (Arch. : Abkh.; all other EC forms listed belong to different roots).

*q̣wimtV trap: Av.-And. *q̣urtinV (~ q̣ʷi-); Lak. *q̣aṭa*; Darg. *ṭimq̣.

| Av.-And. *q̣ʷirtVnV 1 trap, pitfall 2 snare, noose: Av. *q̣:otén* 1; Akhv. *q̣ʷāta* 2; God. *q̣:urtina* 1.

Av. paradigm B (*q̣:otá-dul*, *q̣:otá-bi*). The Akhv. form (MSU recording) is probably a misspelling instead of *q̣:ʷāta* (< *q̣:ʷV(r)tan).

| Lak. *q̣aṭa* trap.

Cf. Khosr. *q̣ʷaṭa* id.

| Darg. *ṭimq̣ trap: Ak. *ṭimq̣*; Chir. *ṭanq̣*.

Cf. also Mek. *ṭimq̣*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. As often in roots containing

two stops, one may observe metathesis (PD **timq* < **qimɬ*) and assimilation of laryngeal features (**ɬ* instead of **t* by assimilation to **q* in PD and Lak.).

***qwində** wall, fence: Av.-And. **q:windV*; Tsez. **qid* (~ -e-, -ə-); Lak. *q:at:a*; W.-Cauc. **ɬI^wV(n)da*.

| Av.-And. **q:windV* wall: Av. *q:ed*; Chad. *qe*; And. *q:en*; Akhv. *q:ēda*; Cham. *q:unna*; Tind. *q:ena*; Kar. *q:ĩ*; Botl. *q:inda*; Bagv. *q:in*; God. *q:ũji*.

Av. paradigm C (*q:adā-l*, *q:ada-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tlan., Ratl. *q:enda*, Tseg. *q:inda*, Cham. Gig. *q:unna*, God. Zib. *q:wāji*, Kar. Tok. *q:in*.

| Tsez. **qid* (~ -e-, -ə-) wall: Tsez. *qido*; Khvarsh. *qad*; Inkh. *qod*. PTsKh **qəd(o)*.

| Lak. *q:at:a* house, room.

Cf. Khosr. *q:at:a* id. The Lak. derivative *q:at:alalu* 'verandah' > Darg. *q:adaula*.

| W.-Cauc. **ɬI^wV(n)da* fence: Abkh. *ānda*; Ub. *wəd^wā*.

Abkh. *ānda* goes back to PAT **ʕanəda* < **ɬIanəda* with delabialisation; Ub. *wəd^wā* presupposes PWC **ɬI^wə(n)d^wa*. We should probably reconstruct a compromising **ɬI^wV(n)da* with labialising/delabialising assimilations in Ub. and Abkh.

[] Correspondences are regular (except for some metatheses of labialisation), and the reconstruction seems satisfactory. Cf., perhaps, also Darg. Murg. (Musayev) *q:inda-la lag* 'a steep rise' (*lag* 'rise'), if it can mean 'a rise, (steep like) a wall'. In this case we would have a PD form **q:int:a* or **q:inda*, which could reflect the same root if we suppose an assimilation **q:int:a* < **qint:a*.

***qwinV** (~ -i-, -e-, -ə-) goitre; Adam's apple: Av.-And. **q:winV*; Tsez. **qin* (~ -u-, -i-, -ə-); Darg. **qun*.

| Av.-And. **q:winV* goitre; crop, craw: Av. *q:ene-ro*; Kar. *kono* (Anch.).

Kar. *kono* instead of **q:ono* (< PA **q:winV* which would be regularly expected) probably because of contamination with the root PA **k^wirV* 'crop, craw' q.v. (all other Kar. dialects have *koro*).

| Tsez. **qin* (~ -u-, -i-, -ə-) crop, craw: Tsez. *qen*.

Attested only in Tsez., but having possible external parallels.

| Darg. **qun* Adam's apple: Chir. *qun*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Attested only in three languages, and partially contaminating with PEC **kwVrV* q.v., thus not very certain.

***qwir²V** (~ -ʕ-) net: Tsez. **qi* (~ *qej*, *qij*); Lak. *q:ilri*.

| Tsez. **qi* (~ *qej*, *qij*) 1 net 2 cobweb 3 snare: Bezht. *qi* 1,2; Gunz. *qi* 3.

Cf. also Gunz. Nakh. *qi* 'cobweb'. PGB **qi*.

| Lak. *q:ilri* net.

Cf. Khosr. *q:ilri* id.

[] A Tsez-Lak. isogloss. We can possibly find reflexes of this

root in Av.-Andian (cf., e.g., Av. *q:or* 'trap'), but there they have very profoundly merged together with reflexes of PEC **Gwəl²i* 'hole' (q.v.).

***qwicVrV** (~ -ə-) leather bag, wineskin: Lak. *qucuru*; Lezg. **qucur*.

| Lak. *qucuru* a small sack made of sheepskin.

Cf. Khosr. *qucuru* id.

| Lezg. **qucur* leather sack (for carrying things): Rut. *qucur*; Tsakh. *qusur* (Gelm.).

3d class in both languages. The -s- reflex in Tsakh. is somewhat strange (non-initial **c* is usually preserved in Tsakh.), but **c* is generally a rather rare phoneme, and its exact reflexes in Tsakhur are still to be determined.

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss.

***qwiswa** (~ -ə-, -e) wooden shovel; spoon: Av.-And. **q^wVs:V*; Lak. *q:usa*; Darg. **qus:a*; Lezg. **qasuj* / **qusVj* (~ -s:).

| Av.-And. **q^wVs:V* shovel: Chad. *ʕes* / *ʕers*.

Paradigm B (*ʕorsó-l*, *ʕus-bí*).

| Lak. *q:usa* spoon.

Cf. Khosr. *q:usa* id.

| Darg. **qus:a* spoon: Ak. *qulsa*.

The Ak. form *qulsa* probably goes back to a suffixed **qus:V-la*; the suffixless form is preserved in Gapsh., Tsud. *qus:a* 'spoon'. The secondary form with -l- penetrated some Lezghian languages: cf. Rut. Ikhr. *qilse*, Kryz. *χolsä* 'wooden shovel'.

| Lezg. **qasuj* / **qusVj* (~ -s:) 1 shovel 2 paddle 3 scythe: Lezg. *qusu* 1,2; Tab. *qasu* 1; Kryz. *qasu* 3; Bud. *qasu* 3.

3d class in Kryz. and Bud. The final **-j* is clearly seen, e.g., in the Tab. plur. *qasu-jir*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. There exists a similar form in WC: PAK **hāncā* 'wooden shovel' (Ad. *hānc*, Kab. *hāncā*), but phonetic problems here are significant (the word could have been influenced by another root, PAK **ha(n)čə* 'wooden scoop' - see under **qHōnLV*).

***qwišV** scoop, vessel: Av.-And. **q^wišV* (~ -s-); Darg. **qI^waš(a)*; Lezg.

**quš(a)*.

| Av.-And. **q^wišV* (~ -s-) spade, shovel: Akhv. *qoš:i*.

Strong -š:- in Akhvakh is rather strange, because normally both **š:* and **s:* > Akhv. *s:*; therefore, it may be a misspelling (although both Magomedbekova and the MSU recordings spell -š:-).

| Darg. **qI^waš(a)* scoop: Ak. *qalš-ma²u*; Chir. *qIuša*.

The component -ma²u in Ak. is unclear.

| Lezg. **quš(a)* 1 scoop 2 a cone-shaped basket for filtering milk: Ag. *quš* 1; Arch. *quši* 2.

3d class in Archi. Cf. also Ag. Bursh., Fit., Burk. *quš* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for the irregularity of the Akhv. recording, correspondences are regular. Not quite clear is Tsez.

koši 'wooden spoon': perhaps it can be regarded as a modification of the same root under the influence of *kowzi* 'spoon' (< Georg.), or else as a back-loan from Osset. (cf. Osset. *kūs* / *kos* 'scoop, dipper'; on its Caucasian origin see Abayev 1958, 642).

*q^wVHmV roasted grain: Av.-And. *q^wam(H)a (~q,?,o); Darg. *q^lwa.

| Av.-And. *q^wam(H)a (~q,?,o) roasted grain: Cham. *ama* (Gig.).

Attested only in Cham., with a possible Darg. parallel.

| Darg. *q^lwa 1 grain 2 roasted grain: Ak. *q^wal* (Tsud.) 2; Chir. *q^lwa* 1.

Cf. also Kait. *q^wal* 'roasted grain'.

[] An And-Darg. isogloss. The reconstruction is rather insecure, because within Andian the root is present only in Cham.

*q^wVr^qV a k. of vessel: Nakh. *phābi; Lak. q:uq:u.

| Nakh. *phābi vessel, pot: Chech. *pheba*.

| Lak. q:uq:u jug, pitcher.

[] A Nakh-Lak. isogloss. A probable HU parallel is Urt. *aqarqə* 'a measure of capacity', which allows to reconstruct the medial resonant (lost both in Chech. and in Lak.). See Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 58.

*q^wVrVqV frog: Av.-And. *q^wir^q:wV; Tsez. *qurq-ač (~ -o-); Lak. ulrwaṭi; Lezg. *qaraq^wVI; Khin. qurqor; W.-Cauc. *q^waq:w a (~ *q^w).

| Av.-And. *q^wir^q:wV frog: Av. *q^werq[;]*; Chad. *q^weq[;]*; And. *q[;]urru*; Akhv. *koq[;]o*; Cham. *q[;]uq[;]*; Tind. *q[;]orq[;]u* / *q[;]oq[;]u*; Kar. *q[;]orq[;]o*; Bagv. *q[;]urq[;]*; God. *q[;]urq[;]u*.

Av. paradigm B (*q[;]orq[;]o-l*, *q[;]urq[;]bi*; Chad. *qoqo-l*, *quq-bi*). Although the root is onomatopoeic, the correspondences are basically regular, except for dissimilation *q[;]- > k- in Northern Akhv. (cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *korq[;]o*; but Tseg. *q[;]uq[;]u*, Tlan. *q[;]urq[;]u*), and expressive nasalisation in Cham. (cf. also Gig. *q[;]unq[;]u*).

| Tsez. *qurq-ač (~ -o-) lizard: Khvarsh. *qurqač* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *qurqač*.

PTsKh *qurq-ač/-ač (with an expressive suffix).

| Lak. ulrwaṭi frog.

Cf. also Khosr. ulrbaṭi. Lak. > Arch. ulrbati 'frog'.

| Lezg. *qaraq^wVI tortoise: Tab. *q[;]lawarq[;]lul* (Düb.); Arch. *qalaq-ulrbati*.

Arch. has a compound, lit. 'tortoise-frog'. The relationship to this root of a Tsakh. form recorded in Khaidakov 1973 (*qlirqlimiṭ* 'frog') is not quite clear.

| Khin. qurqor frog.

| W.-Cauc. *q^waq:w a (~ *q^w) frog: Ad. *hanṭar-q^w*; Kab. *handar-q^waq^wa*.

PAK *hanṭVr-q^waq:w a (with reduction of the second part in Ad.). Etymology of the first part of the compound is not quite clear (cf. PAT *ada 'frog' > Abkh. *ada-b*, Abaz. *ada* (?); or Chech. *unṭa-* in *unṭa-phid* 'tortoise' (?)).

[] An expressive onomatopoeic root, revealing, however, regular phonetic correspondences, and thus satisfactorily reconstructed for PNC. Lak. ulrwaṭi < *qulr^wa-ti with expressive pharyngealization and a frequent expressive dental suffix.

Г

*r[?]ečwV / *čwVr[?]V string, bow-string: Av.-And. *č^wVHV; Tsez.

*rācu (~ -i-); Lezg. *reč^w; W.-Cauc. *b-za.

| Av.-And. *č^wVHV string; stripe: Av. *č^wa*.

Av. paradigm B (*č^wa-jūl*, *č^wa-bi*).

| Tsez. *rācu (~ -i-) flat leather stripe, string: Tsez. *ricu*; Gin. *reču*.

PTsKh *rācu.

| Lezg. *reč^w 1 bow-string 2 balance: Lezg. *rič* 1; Tab. *riči-qular* 2; Bud. *ruč* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *rič* 'bow-string'. 3d class in Bud. In Bud. the word means 'bow-string' and 'a string made of sheep's intestines'. To judge from Tab. *riči-* (the whole compound means literally 'bow-string'+boards'), the PL oblique base was *reč^wi-.

| W.-Cauc. *b-za bow-string: Ad. *bza*; Kab. *bza-ps*.

PAK *bza (Kab. *bza-ps* is a compound with *-psə* 'string, rope'). The PWC reconstruction is tentative (because PAK *z can go back to several prototypes: PWC *z, *ẓ, *z̥, *z̧, *z̨, *z̩).

[] The Av. form may belong here if it is a result of metathesis; semantically it fits well, and the affricate correspondence is good, so we consider it rather probable. The PWC form has a frequent labial prefix, after which there occurred (as in very many cases) a dissimilatory delabialisation. Otherwise correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems rather probable.

*r[?]enqwi lock: Nakh. *d[?]aḅu; Av.-And. *riḅV; Lak. qunqula; Lezg.

*reḅ^w.

| Nakh. *d[?]aḅu 1 key 2 lock: Chech. *dōḅa* 1,2; Ing. *d[?]ōḅa* 1.

3d class in both languages. Cf. also Shar. *dōḅu*, Cheb. *dāḅu*, Akk. *d[?]ōḅō* etc. Cf. also Osset. *dāyāl* 'key' (from some early derivative, not preserved in modern languages), see Abayev 1958, 351.

| Av.-And. *riḅV 1 key 2 lock: And. *reḅul* 1,2; Akhv. *riḅa-ḷi* 1,2; Cham. *jikul* 1,2; Tind. *riḅa* 1; Kar. *reḅul* 1; Botl. *reḅul*; Bagv. *reḅul*; God. *reḅul*.

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. *riḅan-ḷi*, Cham. Gig. *riḅan*, Kar. Arch. *reḅun*. All Andian languages (except Tindi) reflect either a form with an *-n-suffix, or a compound *riḅV-kul (with contraction); for its second part cf. Av. *kul* 'key' (q.v.). Tind. > Inkh. *riḅa* 'key'.

| Lak. qunqula lock.

Cf. Khosr. qunqula id.

| Lezg. *reḅ^w iron: Lezg. *raḅ*; Tab. *ruḅ*; Ag. *ruḅ*.

Obl. base *reḅ^wi-, cf. Lezg. *raḅu-*, Tab. *ruḅa-*, Ag. *ruḅ^wa-*. The plural form of this noun is used to denote a lock or a trap: cf. Lezg. *raḅar* 'trap; fetters',

Tab. *ruqar*, Ag. *ruq^war* 'lock, trap'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular, but the Lak. form can belong here only if we suppose a reduplication: *qunqula* < **qu-nuqu-la*.

**raχwV* / **w-ārχwV* (~ -q-) bridle: Av.-And. **barχon* (~ -q-); Tsez. **roχV* (~ -b:-).

[] Av.-And. **barχon* (~ -q-) bridle: And. *barχon*; Cham. *bāχā*; Tind. *bexan*; Botl. *berχ:in*.

-χ:- in the Botlikh form is strange (probably a misspelling).

[] Tsez. **roχV* (~ -b:-) bridle: Bezht. *joho*; Gunz. *robo*.

PGB **robo* (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *robo* 'bridle', Tlad. *robo* 'horse-bit'). Av. Chad. *robo* 'horse-bit' has no literary or Andian parallels and is most probably borrowed from a Tsezian source.

[] An And-Tsez. isogloss. Judging from its structure, may be deverbal, but the original verbal root is unknown.

**rāχ^wV* measure, measuring vessel (4-5 kg): Av.-And. **raχ:^wV* (~ -o-); Tsez. **raχ:*.

[] Av.-And. **raχ:^wV* (~ -o-) a measure, measuring vessel (4-5 kg): Chad. *raχ*; Akhv. *raχ:^wa*; Cham. *jaχ:^w*; Kar. *raχ:u* (Tok.); God. *raχ:u*.

Av. paradigm B (*raχildul* / *roχó-l*, *raχá-l*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *raχ:u*.

[] Tsez. **raχ:* a measure, measuring vessel (4-5 kg): Tsez. *raχ*; Gin. *raχ*; Khvarsh. *raχ-we* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *jaχ*; Gunz. *raχ*.

PTsKh **raχ*; PGB **raχ* (cf. also Bezht. Khosh., Tlad. *rāχ*).

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss. For most Tsezian forms a loan from Avar is not excluded.

**rā^wV* (/ **^wärV*) season: Nakh. **doħa*; Av.-And. **riHV*; Lezg. **er* (~ **hl-*).

[] Nakh. **doħa* spring: Bacb. *doħa*.

[] Av.-And. **riHV* summer: Av. *ri[?]i*.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *ro[?]ó-l*; Chad. *ri[?]i-dul*, *ri[?]i-jal*). PA reflects this root in the compound **ri-[?]ibV* 'spring' (< **riHV-[?]ibV*) q.v.

[] Lezg. **er* (~ **hl-*) 1 season 2 period of 15 days (from March 21 on): Lezg. *jar* 2; Tab. *ir* 1; Rut. *er* 1 (*Khniukh*).

Obl. base **era-* (Lezg. *jara-*, Tab. *ira-*, Rut. *ere-*). 3d class in Rut.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root must have originally denoted some span of time in spring or summer (cf. the specific meaning preserved in Lezg.). It can probably be discovered also in Hurr. compounds like *šin-arBu/o* 'two years old' (HU **-arwV*, see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 64).

**rāk^wi* axe: Nakh. **dik*; Lak. *rik*; Lezg. **jak^w*; W.-Cauc. **k^wa-*.

[] Nakh. **dik* axe: Chech. *dig*; Ing. *dig*; Bacb. *dik*.

3d class in all languages. Obl. stem **dakor-* (Chech. *dagara-*, Ing. *dogaro*, Bacb. *dakri*, pl. *dakujr*). Cf. also Cheb., Khild. *dig* (*dogor-*), Lev. *dig* (*dagar-*).

[] Lak. *rik* axe.

Cf. Khosr. *rik^w* id.

[] Lezg. **jak^w* axe: Lezg. *jak^w*; Tab. *jek^w*; Ag. *jak^w*; Rut. *jok* (*Khnov.*); Tsakh. *jak^w*; Kryz. *jok*; Bud. *jok*.

Cf. also Tab. Kand. *juk*, Düb. *jaka*, Ag. Fit. *jik^w*. 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. Obl. base **jak^wi-* (cf. Lezg. *jaku-*, Tab. *jeku-*, Ag. Fit. *jiku*, Tsakh. *jaku-*).

See Giginayshvili 1977, 82; Talibov 1980, 289.

[] W.-Cauc. **k^wa-* axe: Abkh. *a-j-k^wáða*; Abaz. *k^wáða*.

PAT **k^waya*. The word is probably a compound; the first part of it, **k^wa-*, corresponds well to PEC **rāk^wi*, but the origin of the second part is not clear.

[] The Nakh-Lezg-WC correspondence is exact, and the etymology seems quite plausible. In Lak., however, we should expect d-, not r-; reasons for this exceptional preservation of r- are not clear.

**rā^li* meat, flesh: Nakh. **dilχu*; Av.-And. **ri^li*; Tsez. **ri^l A* (~ **l-*); Lak. *dik*; Darg. **di^l*; Lezg. **ja^l*; Khin. *lik:a*; W.-Cauc. **LA*.

[] Nakh. **dilχu* 1 meat 2 fleshy part of body: Chech. *dilχa* 2; Ing. *dulχ* 1; Bacb. *ditχi* 1.

3d class in all languages.

[] Av.-And. **ri^li* meat: And. *ri^li*; Akhv. *ri^li*; Cham. *ji^l*; Tind. *ri^li*; Kar. *ri^li*; Botl. *ri^li*; Bagv. *ri^l*; God. *ri^li*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *re^li*.

[] Tsez. **ri^l A* (~ **l-*) meat: Tsez. *re^l*; Khvarsh. *li^l*; Inkh. *li^l*.

PTsKh **Ri^l*.

[] Lak. *dik* meat.

4th class, obl. base *diku-*. Cf. Khosr. *dik*.

[] Darg. **di^l* meat: Ak. *di[?]*; Chir. *dig*.

Cf. also Ur. *di[?]*, Kub. *dig*, Tsud. *di^l* etc.

[] Lezg. **ja^l*: meat: Lezg. *jak*; Tab. *jik*; Ag. *jak*; Rut. *jak*; Kryz. *jek*; Bud. *jək*; Arch. *a^l*; Ud. *eq*.

Obl. base **jo^li-* (cf. Rut. *jigⁱ*, with first vowel levelling Lezg. *jaku*, Tab. *jik:u-*). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Leksika 1971, 204; Giginayshvili 1977, 109.

[] Khin. *lik:a* meat.

[] W.-Cauc. **LA* 1 meat 2 entrails, intestines: Abkh. *a-žə* 1; Abaz. *žə* 1; Ad. *Lə* 1; Kab. *Lə* 1; Ub. *La* 2.

PAT **žə* (the Abkh. word is now rarely used and only in the meaning 'flesh, (animal's) carcass'); PAK **Lə*. Ub. *žə* 'meat' (compared by Lafon 1966, 24) can not be related for phonetic reasons.

[] One of the best preserved common NC roots. Correspondences are completely regular (in PWC palatalized **L̥* because of a late WC shift **L > *L̥*; a hard **L* is absent in PWC).

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 240, 243; 1930, 278; Lafon 1964; Abdokov 1983, 82.

**rās^we* tree, wood: Nakh. **dos*; Av.-And. **riš^wa*; Tsez. **riša* (~ *-ž(:)-*); W.-Cauc. **raš:^wə*.

| Nakh. *dos 1 wood, firewood 2 place for chopping wood: Chech. *dos-bux* 2; Ing. *dos* 1; Bacb. *dos* 1.

Obl. base *dasi- (cf. Ing. *deso*). 3d class in Ing. and Bacb.

| Av.-And. *riš^wa 1 tree 2 roof timber 3 squared beam: Av. *rixí* 2; And. *reša* 1; Akhv. *ruša* 1; Cham. *woha* 1; Tind. *roha* 1; Kar. *roša* 1; Botl. *ruša* 1; Bagv. *roša* 1; God. *ruša* 1,3.

Av. paradigm B (*rixí-dul*). Cf. also Kar. Tok. *ruxa*, Cham. Gig. *ruša*, U.-Gakv., Gad. *woha*.

| Tsez. *riša (~ -ž(:)-) roof timber, roof poles: Bezht. *riza* (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *riža*. PGB *riža.

| W.-Cauc. *raš^wə a k. of elm (*Ulmus campestris*): Abkh. *á-raš*.

Isolated in Abkh., but having probable EC parallels.

[] Correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems reliable both phonetically and semantically.

*rē²wV ~ *²wērV (~ -ä-, -i-) door-fold, door: Av.-And. *rihV; Lezg. *²wer- (~i, o, ²u-).

| Av.-And. *rihV 1 door, door-pass 2 entrance: Av. *ráhu* 1; Akhv. *rihi* 2 (*Tseg.*); Cham. *jeh* 1,2; Tind. *riha* 1.

Av. paradigm A (*ráh-dul*, *ráha-bi*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *rehi* 'door, shed above the entrance'.

| Lezg. *²wer- (~i, o, ²u-) door- or gate-fold: Tab. *urin*;

Tab. -in is a rather productive suffix (cf. *rak:-in* 'door' etc.); without it cf. *ur-ar* (a former plural form) 'gate'. The root is attested only in Tab., but has rather probable Andian parallels.

[] An Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss. Despite the metathesis, the comparison seems rather likely.

*rēGV hill; bank: Av.-And. *riq^a; Tsez. *riqu (~i-, -ə-); Darg. *deḅ.

| Av.-And. *riq^a a hill, mountain: Cham. *jeq^a*; Botl. *req^a*; God. *req^a*.

| Tsez. *riqu (~i-, -ə-) mountain slope: Gin. *requ*.

Isolated in Gin., but with reliable external parallels.

| Darg. *deḅ bank, shore: Ak. *deḅ*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*rēGwV (~ l-) urinary bladder: Av.-And. *riq^wV; Tsez. *rəq^wV.

| Av.-And. *riq^wV urinary bladder: Akhv. *eq^o*; God. *req^w*.

Cf. also Akhv. *Tseg.* *ʿaq^w*, Tlan. *aq^w*, Ratl. *eq^w*. Loss of *r- in Akhv. is probably secondary: a result of merging two different Av.-And. roots (**hink^u* 'urine' and **riq^w* 'urinary bladder') - well opposed in God.

| Tsez. *rəq^wV urinary bladder: Tsez. *ʿaq^lu-roqu*; Gin. *aq^we-ruqos*.

PTsKh *Roqu / *Ruqo (used in a compound with **ʿaq^w* 'urine' q.v.)

[] An And.-Tsez. isogloss.

*rēmḷē (~ -ī) cubit: Nakh. *dol; Av.-And. *riḷu; Tsez. *roḷ A; Lak. *naḷ*; Darg. *dek^w; Lezg. *jimḷ; W.-Cauc. *IV.

| Nakh. *dol (~ -L) cubit: Chech. *dol*; Ing. *dol*; Bacb. *dol*.

3d class in all languages. The Bacb. word is attested only in Kadagidze's notation, thus both *-l and *-L are possible in PN.

| Av.-And. *riḷu cubit: Av. *naṭ*; Chad. *naṭ*; And. *relu*; Akhv. *reḷu*; Tind. *relu*; Kar. *reṽu*; Botl. *reṽu*; God. *lelu*.

Av. paradigm C (*naṭi-l*, *náṭa-l*; but Chad. A: *náṭu-l*, *náṭa-l*). Cf. also And. Mun. *reḷu*, Gag. *reṽu*, Zil. *reṽu* (Tsertsvadze).

| Tsez. *roḷ A cubit: Tsez. *ruḷḷ* (*Imnaishvili*); Khvarsh. *ruḷ* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *roḷ* (*Tlad.*).

PTsKh *ruḷ. Cf. also Bezht. *Khosh.* *roḷ* id.

| Lak. *naḷ* cubit.

| Darg. *dek^w cubit: Ak. *dek*.

Cf. also Ur., Kub. *dik^w*, Sirg. *dek^w* id.

| Lezg. *jimḷ cubit: Lezg. *juḷ*; Tab. *juḷ*; Ag. *juḷ* / *jik^w*; Rut. *juḷ* (*Khniukh.*); Kryz. *juḷ*; Bud. *juḷ*; Arch. *imk*.

4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. The obl. base is unclear (the only known vocalic obl. base for this root is Rut. *Khniukh.* *juḷa*).

| W.-Cauc. *IV cubit: Abkh. *ra-k*.

The Abkh. form contains a singulative suffix -k, thus the pure root is ra-. Unfortunately, no related forms are known in other WC languages, so the reconstruction is rather vague (*r-, *ṛ- or *l- possible - we have chosen *l, because it corresponds well to the EC data).

[] If the Abkh. form is really related to EC (which is semantically and phonetically quite possible - resonants regularly disappearing in PWC and *ḷ giving a palatalised reflex *l before a front vowel), this will be one of the few common NC names for measures of length. See Dumézil 1933, 15.

An interesting form is Georg. *adli* 'cubit' - it may reflect a loan from early PWC (*a-ḷə); Georg. > Osset. *adli* / *adili* (see Abayev 1958, 30).

*rēnḷwṽ (~ -ä-) cloud, fog: Nakh. *doḷk; Av.-And. *nVḷ:V; Darg. *yerṽ^a (?); Khin. unk.

| Nakh. *doḷk 1 fog 2 cloud: Chech. *doḷk* 1; Ing. *doḷk* 1; Bacb. *doḷk* 2.

Obl. base *daḷki-, cf. Chech. (Uslar) *deḷki*, Ing. *deḷko*. 3d class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *nVḷ:V cloud: Av. *naḷ*; Chad. *naḷ*.

Paradigm C (*naḷi-l*, *náḷa-l*).

| Darg. *yerṽ^a smoke: Chir. *jerg^w*.

Common to some Darg. dialects (with *ṽ- reflected as j- and ž-).

| Khin. *unk* cloud.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences between Av., PN and Khin. are regular; the PD form can belong here if we assume a partial reduplication (**yerṽ^a* < **yereṽ^a*). Some EC forms (Av., Nakh) are compared by Abdokov (1983, 99) with Abaz. *th^w* (probably taken from *ps-th^w* 'cloud'), which is phonetically impossible.

***rēnχwÄ** butter: Av.-And. ***nV(r)χV**; Lak. *nah*; Darg. ***nerχ**; Lezg. ***jimχ**; W.-Cauc. ***rəχ^wə** (~t-, d-).

| Av.-And. ***nV(r)χV** (~-q-) 1 butter, oil 2 fat: Av. *naχ* 1,2; Chad. *naħ* 1.

Av. paradigm C (*naχū-l*, *nāχa-l*, Chad. gen. *naħū-l/niħi-l*). Not clear is the relationship between this Av. form and Akhv. *īχ^wa*, Tseg. *iχ^wan*, Tlan. *iχ^wam*, Ratl. *iχ^wami* 'boiled butter'.

| Lak. *nah* butter.

4th class. Cf. Khosr. *naħ* id.

| Darg. ***nerχ**: melted butter: Ak. *nerχ*.

Cf. also Ur. *nirχ*, Kub. *nēχ*, Kharb. *nerχ*.

| Lezg. ***jimχ**: 1 butter 2 milk 3 fat (on meat) 4 boiled fat: Ag. *jaχ* 3; Tsakh. *jīχl* 4; Kryz. *juχ* 2; Bud. *juχ* 2; Arch. *inχ* 1.

Cf. also Ag. Burk. *jaχ^w* 'fat (on meat)'. For PL ***χ**: cf. Arch. erg. *inχ*:i. 4th class in all languages. -n- in Arch. is the regular reflex of *-m- (in this position -n- lacks in Arch.). Pharyngealization in Tsakh. is not clear (probably secondary, since none of other languages reflects it).

| W.-Cauc. ***rəχ^wə** (~t-, d-) 1 butter (melted) 2 fat: Ad. *tχ^wə* 1; Kab. *tχ^wə* 1; Ub. *tχ^wə* 2.

PAK ***tχ^wə**. Ub. *tχ^wə* is hardly a loan from AK because of semantic difference. Despite Abdokov 1973, 68 and Shagirov 1,78 PAT ***x^wə-sa** 'melted butter' can not be related (the correspondence PAT ***x^w** : PAK ***χ^w** does not exist).

Judging from PAK t- and Ub. t- in Anlaut ***r**-, ***t**- or ***d**- can be reconstructed; ***r**- is most probable because of external correspondences.

[] The etymology seems plausible phonetically and semantically. See Abdokov 1983, 134.

***rēšU** word: Nakh. ***doš**; Av.-And. ***rošo**; Tsez. ***rōže** A (~-ž:-) W.-Cauc. ***s^wa** (~s^w-).

| Nakh. ***doš** word: Chech. *doš*; Ing. *doš*; Bacb. *doš*.

3d class in all languages. Obl. stem ***daši**-, cf. Chech. *deša*-, Ing. *dešo*, Bacb. plur. *daš-ni* (= Chech. *deš-na-s*).

| Av.-And. ***rošo** word: And. *rošo*; God. *raša*.

| Tsez. ***rōže** A (~-ž:-) word: Tsez. *roži*; Gin. *roži*; Khvarsh. *loža*; Bezht. *jaže*; Gunz. *rōže*.

PTsKh ***Rož[e]**; PGB ***rōže** (cf. also Bezht. Khosh., Tlad. *räže*).

| W.-Cauc. ***s^wa** (~s^w-) language: Abkh. *a-bəz-s^wá*; Abaz. *bəz-s^wa*.

PAT ***bəzə-s^wa** (a compound with ***bəzə** 'tongue'; cf. also Bzyb. *a-bəz-s^wá*).

[] Correspondences are regular. See Abdokov 1983, 189.

***rēwcwi** (~-ī,-ä,-e) red copper; gold: Nakh. ***dašVb**; Darg. ***dabs:i**; Lezg. ***jis^wV-r**; W.-Cauc. ***rəš^wa** (~d-,s^w-).

| Nakh. ***dašVb** gold: Chech. *deši*; Ing. *došuw*.

3d class in both languages. Cf. also Chech. (Uslar) *deši*, (Imnaishvili) *dešij* id.

| Darg. ***dabs:i** copper, red copper: Ak. *dubsi*; Chir. *dabs:e*.

Cf. also Ur. *dubsi*, Kub. *dubse*, Tsud. *dubs:i*. Darg. > Lak. *duws:i* (Khosr. *dūs:i*) 'red copper'.

| Lezg. ***jis^wV-r** gold: Tab. *jis^wur* (Uslar).

Attested only in Uslar's Tab. records (in all modern languages replaced by a Turkic loanword), but no doubt archaic.

| W.-Cauc. ***rəš^wa** (~d-,s^w-) gold: Ad. *dəš*; Kab. *dəša*.

PAK ***dəša**. PAK *-š- can go back to PWC *-š^w- or *-š^w-. Despite Shagirov (1, 158) it is impossible - for phonetic reasons - to compare PAK ***dəša** with PAT ***xə** 'gold'.

[] The Nakh-WC comparison was proposed in Trubetzkoy 1930, 276; we think that the Darg. and Tab. parallels fit here very well. Alternative comparison, proposed by Rogava 1956,6 (with Av. *mesed* 'gold' etc., Georg. *bečedi* 'ring'), is unacceptable for phonetic reasons.

***rēxwV** stick, wood: Av.-And. ***rix^wV**; Darg. ***dex^w**; Khin. *lix*.

| Av.-And. ***rix^wV** wood, grove: Av. *rox*; Chad. *rox*; And. *rešu*; Akhv. *ruša*; Cham. *woha*; Tind. *roha*; Kar. *roxo*; Botl. *ruxu*; Bagv. *rox*; God. *ruš-ki*.

Av. paradigm C (*roxí-l*, *róxa-l*). Cf. also And. *reš^wa-ge* 'shady (woody) slope of a hill'. An interesting case: since in most Andian languages reflexes of ***x(ʷ)** and ***š(ʷ)** fell together, the words for 'wood' (PA ***rix^wV**) and 'tree' (PA ***riš^wV**) became homonymous in most cases. They coincided completely in And., Akhv., Tind., the Gakv. dialect of Cham., and most Kar. dialects. However, they are still distinguished in Cham. Gig. (*ruhu* 'wood' : *ruša* 'tree'); Kar. proper (*roxo* 'wood' : *roša* 'tree'), Botl. (*ruxu* 'wood' : *ruša* 'tree'). In Avar, where these phonemes also merged, the words are still different (*rox* 'wood' : *rixí* 'timber').

| Darg. ***dex^w** log, beam: Ak. *dex*.

Cf. also Tsud. *dex^w*, Ur. *dix* 'beam', Kub. *dix^w* 'cross-beam'.

| Khin. *lix* stick, staff.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

***rħālwV** milk: Av.-And. ***rVxwV**; Tsez. ***reλ**; B; Darg. ***daki** (~t:-); Lezg. ***jil^wa-l**; W.-Cauc. ***λə**.

| Av.-And. ***rVxwV** milk: Av. *rax*; Chad. *rax*.

Av. paradigm A (gen. *rāx-dal*) (but Chad. B-C: gen. *rax-dúl*).

| Tsez. ***reλ**: B butter: Tsez. *riλ*; Khvarsh. *laλ*; Inkh. *loλ*; Bezht. *jeλ*; Gunz. *reλ*.

PTsKh ***Rəλ**; PGB ***reλ**.

| Darg. ***daki** (~t:-) fat (n.): Ak. *daki*.

| Lezg. ***jil^wa-l** butter: Ag. *ifal*; Rut. *juxlad-χIarad*.

The Rut. form belongs to the Shinaz dialect (cited from Ibragimov 1978); it is a compound with *χIarad* 'butter'. Cf. also Rut. Ikhr. (ibid.) *jiflad-χIarad*, Ag. Bursh. *ifal* 'butter'.

| W.-Cauc. ***λə** milk: Abkh. *á-χ-s*; Abaz. *χšə*; Ad. *ša*; Kab. *sa*.

PAT ***xə** in several compounds: ***xə-sə** 'milk' (lit. 'white xə'; besides the

listed forms cf. also Bz. *á-xš*; **xə-zə* 'whey' (lit. 'strained *xə*') > Abkh. *á-χaz*, Bz. *á-xəz*, Abaz. *χzə*; cf. also Abkh. Bz. *a-x-ražá-ga* 'milk filter', Abaz. *χə-rčʷə* 'sour milk' etc.

PAK **éa* 'milk'.

See Shagirov 2, 137. The seemingly obvious relationship of PAK **éa* and Ub. *éa* 'milk' is actually somewhat more complicated. A regular Ubykh reflex of PWC **λa* would be *śa*; that is why the Ub. *éa* matches not this root, but rather PAT **é* 'udder' (q.v.). The meaning of Ub. *éa* could have been influenced by Adygh forms. Abdokov (1983, 134-135) prefers to reconstruct WC **éa* while comparing PAK **éa* 'milk' with Abaz. (Ashkh.) *éata*, Abkh. *a-χ-éát* 'sour cream, cream' (= PAK **éata* > Ad. *śata*, Kab. *śata* id.), cf. also Ub. *éatá* id. It is, however, most probable that all AT forms and the Ub. form are later loanwords from Adygh (see Shagirov 2, 136 with literature).

PAT **xə-śə* 'milk' is an exact match for PAK **éə-xʷə* (> Kab. *śxə*; also with metathesis **éxəwə* > Ad. *śxəwə*) 'sour milk', going back to a PWC compound **λə-λʷə* 'white milk' (see Shagirov 2, 140); which is why Abdokov's separate comparison of PAK **-xʷə* in this compound with Av. *rax* is unacceptable.

[] The correspondence between PEC **rĥāλwV* and PWC **λa* is quite plausible (except for the somewhat unclear loss of labialisation in PWC). Other attempts of comparison for the WC form (either with Georg. *rze*, Svan. *ləže* 'milk' - see Charaya 1912, 41, or with Chech. *śura*, And. *ś:iwu* 'milk', Cham. *ś:ara* 'sour milk' [let us note that these forms have also nothing to do with each other] etc. - see Trubetzkoy 1930, 85; Balkarov 1964, 99) are unacceptable. Abdokov compares the WC form with PEC **nĥēλV* 'milk' (q.v.), which seems less plausible than the comparison with **rĥāλwV* because of the unexplained loss of glottalisation in PWC.

**rĥəλV* ~ **λĥərV* (~ -ʃ-) a k. of cereal: Av.-And. **rVλ:V*; Lezg. **λ:arλ:ar*.

| Av.-And. **rVλ:V* wheat: Av. *roλ:*.

Av. paradigm A (*roλ:u-l*, *roλ:a-l*); cf. also Chad. *roλ* (*roλu-l*).

| Lezg. **λ:arλ:ar* oats: Lezg. *gerg*; Tab. *γarγar*; Ag. *jerg* (*Shaum.*); Rut. *γarγal*; Tsakh. *γarγar*.

The Lezg. and Ag. forms are reinterpreted as singulars from plurals: Lezg. *gerger*, Ag. *jergar*. Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *gerg* (pl. *gerger*). 3d class in Rut., but 4th class in Tsakh. A Lezg. loanword is Khin. *girgar* 'oats'. See Khaidakov 1973, 60.

[] An Av.-Lezg. isogloss. The PL stem is reduplicated (which is typical for names of cereals).

**rĤaxwVnV* (~ -ə-) mirror: Lak. *dahani*; Darg. **daχlim-čala*; Lezg. **raχʷan(Vj)*.

| Lak. *dahani* mirror.

Cf. Khosr. *dahani* id.

| Darg. **daχlim-čala* mirror: Ak. *dalĥimčala*.

Cf. also Ur. *dalĥumčala*, Kub. *lalĥalmčala*, Kait. *dalĥinčala* etc. Most dialects point to PD **χl* (e.g. Kub. -ĥ- only goes back to *χl*), thus the Chirag

form *daĥmičal* must be considered as a loan from some other Dargwa dialect. The PD component **-čala* in this word is not clear.

| Lezg. **raχʷan(Vj)* mirror: Tsakh. *naχʷari*; Arch. *daχon(i)*.

3d class in Tsakh., 4th class in Archi. In Tsakh. there occurred a metathesis (*naχʷari* < **raχʷan(Vj)*).

See Leksika 1971, 197.

[] A stem common for the Eastern area of Daghestan; it looks like a deverbative noun, but the producing stem is unknown. Phonetically correspondences are regular; the laryngeal in **rĤ-* is suggested by PD pharyngealisation and by the development **r-* > *r-* in PL (normally **r-* > *j-*).

**rĤoxV* liquid secretion: Av.-And. **raλa* (~ o, -λ-); Lak. *śalra*; Lezg.

**roλλ(ʷ)*.

| Av.-And. **raλa* (~ o, -λ-) urine: Tind. *raλa*.

Attested only in Tind., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *śalra* running nose.

| Lezg. **roλλ(ʷ)* spittle: Rut. *rix*; Tsakh. *rix* (*Tsakh.*).

Cf. also Tsakh. Gelm. *rix*, Mik. *riĥ* (having an irregular reflex of **λ*, probably due to pharyngealization). Obl. base **roλi-* (Rut., Tsakh. *rixi-*); 4th class in both languages.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is not widely spread, but phonetically and semantically reliable.

**riġwĤ* (~ -i-) weasel, mouse: Nakh. **daχka*; Av.-And. **riλ:u*; Tsez.

**madu-λa*; W.-Cauc. **rəγʷə*.

| Nakh. **daχka* mouse: Chech. *daχka*; Ing. *daχka*; Bacb. *daχkō*.

6th class in all languages. Obl. base **daχki-*, cf. Chech. *deχka-*, Ing. *deχko*, Bacb. *daχke-*.

| Av.-And. **riλ:u* 1 weasel 2 squirrel: Akhv. *reλ:u* 2; Cham. *jeλ: 1*; Tind. *reλ:u* 1.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan., Ratl. *reλ:u* 'squirrel, weasel', Cham. Gig. *reλ:u* id. The root is preserved also in Av., but only within an old compound **ondó-λ:* (< **ʃondo-riλ:*) 'weasel'; etymology of the first part see under PEC **ʃwamĥV*. The same is true for And. (*hana-roλ:i*) and God. (*ʃandi-ruλ:i*) (PA **handa-riλ:u*).

| Tsez. **madu-λa* weasel, squirrel: Tsez. *maduλi*; Gin. *maduλa*; Khvarsh. *maduλa* (*Radzhibov*); Ink. *maduλa*.

PTsKh **madu-λa* (with irregular -i in the final weak syllable in Tsez.). The word is historically a compound < **madu-rVλa*, corresponding exactly to PA **handa-riλ:u* 'weasel'.

| W.-Cauc. **rəγʷə* mouse: Ub. *dəbʷə*.

The word is isolated in Ub. (for phonetic reasons a comparison with PAK **c:əbʷə* 'mouse' and PAT **cəγə* 'marten' is not possible), but has very probable parallels in EC languages. The Ub. form may reflect PWC **d-*, **t-* or **r-*; **-bʷ-*, **-Gʷ-* or **-γʷ-*; the form **rəγʷə* is thus only one of the possible variants of the PWC reconstruction, being the best match for the EC data.

[] The Ub. form may be theoretically compared also with PEC **darq̄wV* q.v.; we prefer, however, to compare it with PEC **riŁwV* (thus arriving at the PNC reconstruction **riġwA*), because it matches exactly (both semantically and phonetically) PN **daχka* 'mouse'.

The comparison of PN and Ub. forms was first proposed by Trubetzkoy (1930, 277). See also Abdokov 1983, 120-121 (although with a great deal of confusion between several NC roots). The Kartvelian material (PK **(s)tagw-* 'mouse'), linked with this root by Bork (1907, 27) and Klimov (1963, 175) may belong here as a loan from some EC source (or else it may be compared with PEC **darq̄wV* q.v.).

**rihV* time, day: Nakh. **de*; Av.-And. **rVHV*.

| Nakh. **de* day: Chech. *de*; Ing. *di*; Bacb. *de*.

3d class in all languages. Obl. **de-ni-*, cf. Chech. *dīna-*, Ing. *deno*, Bacb. *din-a* 'every day'.

| Av.-And. **rVHV* time, period: Av. *rih*.

Av. > And. *rihi* id.

[] A Nakh-Avar isogloss (the comparison was suggested by Dumézil 1933, 15). The author also compared Lak. *daIχt:a* 'in the day-time', which is hardly acceptable for phonetic reasons.

**riŁcwī* (~ -ā-) girl, woman: Nakh. **dēcV* (~ -ā-); Av.-And. **ruč:V*; Lak. *duš*; Darg. **rurs:i*; Lezg. **jVčVj*.

| Nakh. **dēcV* (~ -ā-) paternal aunt: Chech. *dēca*.

Within Chech. *dēca* is opposed to *nēca* 'maternal aunt' (cf. *da* 'father' and *nana* 'mother'). Both terms, however, have different EC etymologies, and the analogy with 'father' and 'mother' (which influenced their meaning) must be secondary.

| Av.-And. **ruč:V* 1 women (pl. tant.) 2 wife: Av. *ruč:á-bi*; Chad. *rucába* 2.

| Lak. *duš* daughter.

| Darg. **rurs:i* girl: Ak. *rursi*; Chir. *rus:e*.

Cf. also Ur. *rursi*, Kait. *riřs:i*, Kub. *jūs:e*, Tsud. *rurs:i* id.

| Lezg. **jVčVj* 1 woman 2 girl: Tsakh. *iči* 2; Ud. *ču*, *ču-buχ* 1.

The -(b)uχ in Ud. (a form *ču-huχ* also exists) is an original plural suffix. Vocalism is hard to establish because of the root's rarity within Lezghian.

[] Medial **-l-* is suggested by the PD form (where **-l-* regularly > -r-). In PL we should expect **jVš:V-j*; the form **jVčVj* was probably influenced by PL **čij* / **rV-čij* 'sister' (see **-iči*).

Although all the forms point to PEC **r-*, this consonant may represent the old female class marker; in that case the root **-ilcwī* can be a result of usual adjectival metathesis < **(-i)ćwīlV*, and we could compare also HU forms: Hurr. *šali*, Urart. *sālā* 'daughter' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 42).

**riλ(w)e* brass; gold: Lak. *duk-ni*; Lezg. **jiλ:wā*; W.-Cauc. **λə* (~

| Lak. *duk-ni* brass.

Cf. Khosr. *dukni* id. Originally a plural form; without the suffix -ni the root is attested in the old Archi loanword: Arch. *duk* 'brass, copper'.

| Lezg. **jiλ:wā* brass, copper: Tab. *jif*; Ag. *if*; Tsakh. *jux:wā*.

4th class in Tsakh. Cf. also Tab. Düb. *jif:i*, Ulz. *jif:*, Ag. Fit., Burk. *if*, Bursh. *if:*. In Tab. *jif* is the literary form; the Kand. dialect has *jirf* with secondary -r- (probably under influence of the erg. stem *jif-ru* > *jirfru*). Note that in the printed version of the MSU recordings the Düb. form is also cited as *jirf* - which is obviously a mistake (the correct form is *jif:i*, plur. *jif:-ar*).

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 240.

| W.-Cauc. **λə* (~ λ:-) gold: Abkh. *a-χə*; Abaz. *χa-ps*.

PAT **χə* (in Abaz. a compound with -ps 'red'; cf. also Abaz. *χə-j* 'jeweller' = Abkh. *a-χij*, *χə-s* 'goldish').

[] The root is not very widely spread, but seems both phonetically and semantically quite reliable. It is interesting to note the Ossetian word for 'brass': Osset. *ārxxə* / *ārxi*, as well as its Fenno-Ugric names: Komi *yrgön*, Udm. *yrgon*, Mar. *vörgene*, Mans. *ārgin* (comparison of the Osset. and Fenno-Ugric forms see in Abayev 1958, 186; he does not, however, mention Caucasian forms).

**riġwA* mountain, rock; cave: Nakh. **duq*; Av.-And. **riķ:i-n*; Tsez. **ruqV* A; W.-Cauc. **qIwV*.

| Nakh. **duq* mountain ridge: Chech. *duq*.

Obl. base *duqa-*. A homonym with *duq* 'yoke' q.v., but most probably should be separated from it historically.

| Av.-And. **riķ:i-n* 1 gorge, ravine 2 valley: Tind. *rek:a* 1; Kar. *riķ:e* 1; God. *rek:in* 2.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. *rek:in* 'ravine'.

| Tsez. **ruqV* A 1 mountain slope 2 plain: Gin. *ruqe-s* 2; Bezht. *rūqero* 1 (Khosh.).

In Gin. -q- is probably due to contamination with another root (*requ* 'mountain slope' q.v.).

| W.-Cauc. **qIwV* 1 mountain 2 cavern: Ad. *q:wə-šha* 1; Kab. **q:wə-šha* 2; Ub. *qIwā* 2.

PAK **q:wə-šhā* (the second component is **šhā* 'head'); in Kab. the word is preserved only as an ethnonym ('Balkarian' or 'Ossetian') or in toponyms (see Шарипов 1, 236). Despite Shagirov (ibid.) and Gan 1909, 68 the first component *q:wə* should be kept apart from PAK **q:wā* 'gorge, ravine, valley' - the latter has a separate Ub. parallel, see **q:wā*.

[] One of the common NC landscape terms. Correspondences are regular.

**riswE* throat; neck: Av.-And. **ris:V*; Tsez. **ris:*; Lezg. **s:ir(a)*; W.-Cauc. **pə-sʷa* (~-šʷ-).

| Av.-And. **ris:V* 1 throat 2 gullet: Av. *ris:-ki* 2; And. *res:(i)* 1.

Av. has a suffixed -ki (a former diminutive?).

| Tsez. *ris: throat: Bezht. jis; Gunz. ris.

PGB *ris (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. ris).

| Lezg. *s:^wir(a) 1 throat 2 gullet: Lezg. *sur-lump* 1; Ag. *s:ür* 2 (*Bursh.*); Tsakh. *sur-tuli* 2.

Lezg. and Tsakh. have compounds with unclear second components.

| W.-Cauc. *pə-s^wa (~s^w-) neck: Ad. *pśa*; Kab. *pśa*.

PAK *pśa. There are no known WC parallels (comparison with the Ub. compound *bləša* 'top of a hill' proposed by Shagirov 2,32 is not satisfactory both semantically and phonetically).

[] Correspondences are quite regular (except for metathesis in PL which is a frequent phenomenon). PWC has a labial prefix (a former class exponent).

In HU this root, originally meaning 'gullet; intestines', shifted the meaning and yielded *tis- (Hurr. *tiša*, *tiž-na*, Urart. *tiš-nu*) 'heart' (after the basic word for 'heart', *jērkwī, changed its meaning to 'middle, inside'). See Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 53 (with erroneous attraction of Rut. *lis*).

*rikwV yoke stick: Av.-And. *rik^wV; Lak. *ruk*; Darg. *duk.

| Av.-And. *rik^wV yoke stick: Cham. *jik^w*; God. *rik^wa-s:i*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *riku* id.

| Lak. *ruk* yoke.

Cf. also Khosr., Bartkh. *duk* id. (the forms with d- may be actually borrowed from Dargwa).

| Darg. *duk yoke: Ak. *duk*; Chir. *duk*.

Cf. also Ur., Kub., Tsud. *duk* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Andian form shows that in Lak. and Darg. a merger of two roots (PEC *rikwV and PEC *rēgwĒ q.v.) had taken place (the latter root, originally meaning 'yoke', should be normally reflected in Lak. as *t:Vrk:^w- or *dVrk:^w-, and in PD - as *dVrk:^w-).

*rimswē (~ -ā) side, rib: Lak. *niws*; Lezg. *s:^wira.

| Lak. *niws* rib.

Gen. *niwsi-ral*. Cf. also the old loanword in Arch. (*nibzur* 'collar-bone, clavicle') and an interesting dialectal form: Khosr. *lins* 'rib' (< *rimš).

| Lezg. *s:^wira 1 half 2 part, side 3 part; mountain slope 4 rib: Lezg. *zur* 1; Tab. *s^wur* 1; Ag. *sur* 1; Rut. *sur* 2; Tsakh. *sura* 3; Arch. *bars:on* 4.

Cf. also Lezg. Nūt. *gūr*, Akht. *zur* 'half'; for the obl. stem cf. also Tab. *s^wuri*-, Rut. *sura*-. Several languages reflect also the PL derivate *s:^wira-n: cf. Tab. Kand. *z^wuran* 'half', Düb. *z^waran* 'side', Ag. *Bursh. zuran* id. (cf. characteristic voicing of the original strong fricative in dialectal forms.) The Arch. form also reflects an -n-derivate, but is phonetically and semantically very archaic: it goes back to *wars:^wi-n probably reflecting an original form *riws:^wa- (< *rimš:^wa- = Lak. *niws*), while in all other languages the metathesis went in another direction (*riws:^wa- > *s:^wira-).

[] A Lak.-PL isogloss.

*röl?i (~-t-, -fi-) dirt, mire, pus: Nakh. *d(h)o (~-f-); Lak. *lal*; Darg.

*duli; Lezg. *lar(a).

| Nakh. *d(h)o (~-f-) ear-wax: Chech. *do*.

Obl. base *do-na*-. Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *lal* pus.

| Darg. *duli pus: Ak. *dule* (*Kub.*); Chir. *dile*.

| Lezg. *lar(a) slush, mire (after rain): Rut. *lar*.

Attested only in Rut., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In Lak. there occurred an assimilation (*lal* < *ral), and in Rut. - a metathesis (*lar* < *ral), quite natural for a root with two different liquids. The original structure is very well preserved in PD (where *d- < *r-) and PN. In general the comparison seems quite plausible both phonetically and semantically. Perhaps we should also add (with metathesis): Akhv. *hara* 'faeces'.

*rVHVnλwV̄ (/ *HVrVnλwV̄) some internal organ: Nakh. *daHVχ; Av.-And. *riλ:V; Tsez. *λ:[a]rV (~ L:-, -l-); Lezg. *neλ:^w-.

| Nakh. *daHVχ liver: Chech. *do^oaχ*; Ing. *dijχk*; Bacb. *d^oe?*.

The PN reconstruction presents some difficulties. Chech. points to *-u- in the 2d syllable (*do^oaχ* < *daHuχ), Ing. - to *-i- (*dīχk* < *daHiχ-ik with a diminutive suffix) and Bacb. - to *-e-. Final -? in Bacb. is probably a result of assimilation (spirant -χ > laryngeal); anyway, it is impossible to separate the Bacb. form from Chech. and Ing. The word belongs to the 3d class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *riλ:V diaphragm: Tind. *reλ:a-λ:a riλ:i*.

The Tindi expression means literally 'flesh of the diaphragm'. The same root is probably reflected in the PA compound meaning 'liver', *riλa-jiλ:i < *riλa-riλ:i q.v.

| Tsez. *λ:arV (~ L:-, -l-) belly (exterior part): Tsez. *lara*; Khvarsh. *olore* (*Radzhibov*).

PTsKh *λ[a]RV. Because of its meaning, the word should be kept distant from *LVrV 'besom' q.v.

| Lezg. *neλ:^w- placenta: Lezg. *gen*; Rut. *nixrä*.

For labialisation cf. Lezg. Akht. *g^wen*. Since evidence is rather scanty, the root is difficult to reconstruct. The original form must have been something like *neλ^w; the Rutul form probably reflects an original plural (cf. Lezg. *gener*), while in Lezg. there occurred a metathesis.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The listed forms are very probably related, but precise reconstruction of the PEC root is rather difficult because of its complicated structure (trisyllabic - as clearly seen from the PN form) and metatheses.

*rVmλλ night, evening: Nakh. *-lχa-na; Av.-And. *nVλ:V; Darg.

*duk:i / *dak:; W.-Cauc. *L^wa.

| Nakh. *-lχa-na yesterday: Chech. *selχana*; Ing. *selχan*.

PN *(p)sa-lχEna is opposed to *si-psara 'yesterday night', so the

component **-lχEna* means either 'day' or 'yesterday' (in general). *-lχE-* here may be contracted from **dVlχE-*, which would be a regular correspondence for Av. *noλ:* and Darg. **duk:i* / **dak:*. The etymology of **(p)sa-* (< **(p)sarV-*) see under **šwĒrV*.

In PN there also exists a root **tχa* 'today' (Chech. *taχa-na*, Ing. *taχa-n* 'today' as a secondary development < **tχa-na*, Chech. *tχo-wsa*, Ing. *tχowsara* 'tonight', Bacb. *tχa* 'today', *tχa-bus* 'yesterday night' [= Chech. *tχowsa*], *tχujnō* 'in the daytime'). This may well be an early development < **lχa* (cf. an analogous phenomenon in the 1st p. pl. pronoun **tχo*).

| Av.-And. **nVλ:V* yesterday evening, yesterday night: Av. *noλ:*.

| Darg. **duk:i* night: Ak. *dugi*; Chir. *duč:e*.

Cf. also Ur. *dugi*, Tsud., Kait. *duč:i*, Kub. *duč:e* etc. With Ablaut cf. also Ak. *dag* < **dak:* 'yesterday (night)'.

| W.-Cauc. **šwə-Łwə* (~**šw-*) 1 night 2 evening: Ad. *-šh* 2; Kab. *-šha* 2; Ub. *šwəwá* 1.

The AK root is attested within the compound **pčəhā-šha* 'evening' (Ad. *pčəhā-šh*, Kab. *pšəha-šha*), where the first component by itself means probably 'dusk; sunset/sunrise' (see **bəcwə*). Despite Shagirov (2, 27) the component *šha* here means 'evening' by itself and has nothing to do with PAK **šha* 'head'.

The correspondence PAK **šha* = Ub. *šwəwá* is exact and points unambiguously to PWC **šwə-Łwə*. This stem itself is probably an old compound, with probable external parallels for both parts).

[] It seems interesting to compare directly PN **(p)sa-lχEna* and PWC **šwə-Łwə* which may reflect one and the same compound **šwĒrV-rVmŁĀ*. There are, however, some obscure points concerning both phonetic reconstruction and the semantic side here. The isogloss between Av. *noλ:* and PD **duk:i* is rather straightforward (although it does not allow to make a precise vocalic reconstruction); in WC and Nakh languages the root is used only in compounds, which of course obscures many phonetic details. [In fact, in PN there may have occurred a confusion of two EC roots: **rVmŁĀ* 'night, evening' and **łājV* 'day, day-time' q.v.].

**rVqww* (~ *-qww-*, *-Gw-*) body, dead body: Nakh. **daqa*; W.-Cauc. **b(ə)bwə* (~ *-Gw-*).

| Nakh. **daqa* dead body: Chech. *daqa*; Ing. *daqa*; Bacb. *daq(ō)*.

Obl. base **daqw-* (Chech. *doqa-*, Ing. with vowel levelling *daqo*). 3d class in all languages.

| W.-Cauc. **b(ə)bwə* (~ *-Gw-*) animal carcass: Ad. *bbwə*; Kab. *bbwə*.

PAK **bbwə*.

[] A Nakh-WC isogloss. The comparison is quite possible both phonetically and semantically, but the reconstruction is rather uncertain (allows for many alternative protoforms) without evidence from Daghestan languages.

**rVxwV* (~*-x-*) cattle: Nakh. **dāχo-ni*; Av.-And. **rVxwV*; W.-Cauc. **raxwə*.

| Nakh. **dāχo-ni* cattle: Chech. *dāχni*; Ing. *dəχan*; Bacb. *daχnē*.

3d class in all languages.

| Av.-And. **rVxwV* cattle, herd: Av. *rexē-d*.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. *roxdō-l*). The word is widely borrowed in Andian languages: Akhv. *rexeti*, God. *rexedi*, Kar. *rexet/rexed* etc.

| W.-Cauc. **raxwə* cattle: Abkh. *á-raxw*; Abaz. *raxwə*.

PAT **raxwə* (cf. also Bzyb. *á-raxw*).

[] Correspondences are regular (although there are not enough data to make a precise reconstruction of vocalism).

***saj** interrogative pronoun (what): Nakh. *sǝ-n-; Av.-And. *s:u-n-; Tsez. *s(:)V- (~z-); Lak. s:a-; Darg. *s(:)e; W.-Cauc. *sA (~ *š-).

| Nakh. *sǝ-n- what (interrogative pronoun): Chech. *stē(n)-*; Ing. *se*; Bacb. *stēn-*.

The basic form is ergative: Chech. *sten*, Ing. *se*, Bacb. *stē* (cf. also Cheb. *stjē*, Shar., Khild. *sfē* etc.). For the vowel length cf. also Chech. gen. *stēna-n*; *sten-ga* 'where' etc.

| Av.-And. *s:u-n- 1 what (obl. base) 2 who, what (obl. base): Av. *s:un-* 1; Chad. *sun-* 1; Akhv. *s:un-* 1,2.

| Tsez. *s:V- (~s,z-) an interrogative stem: Bezht. *suko*; Gunz. *suku*.

The root is present only in PGB (NB: Gin. *se* 'what' comes from *š:i). The direct base of it had been influenced by PGB **suku* 'man, person' and coincided with it phonetically. The pure stem is, however, preserved in the oblique base Gunz. *si-* ('what'), *se-* ('who') (cf. also *su-rba* 'why'). Cf. also the derived Bezht. pronoun *suko-nazu* 'all' ('whoever').

| Lak. s:a- what (obl. base).

Cf. gen./erg. *s:a-l*, dat. *s:a-n* etc.

| Darg. *s:e what: Ak. *se*; Chir. *ce*.

The Chir. form has a secondary affricate (either under influence of ča 'who', or under influence of Lak. ci 'what').

| W.-Cauc. *sA (~ *š-) what: Ad. *səd(ā)*; Kab. *sət*; Ub. *sa*.

PAK *sə- (the Bzhed. and Shaps. variant *śā-d* is still unexplained). The second part of the stem (Ad. -d, Kab. -t) raises some problems. In Kab. -t could have been obtained under influence of *xa-t* 'who' (q.v.); thus we should probably reconstruct *-dA for PAK. The precise nature of this *-dA is not clear (perhaps it reflects the PWC demonstrative *da).

[] The common NC inanimate interrogative pronoun. Its usage in most EC language shows that it was originally used only as the oblique base.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 274, Abdokov 1983, 139.

***sakwV** tomorrow: Tsez. *zekV B (~ -i-); Lezg. *sakwV (/c:akwV).

| Tsez. *zekV B (~ -i-) 1 tomorrow 2 day after tomorrow: Tsez. *ziko* 2 (*Kid.*); Gin. *zek* 1.

PTsKh *zak(o).

| Lezg. *sakwV (/c:akwV) tomorrow: Tab. *zaku-r*; Ag. *sakw-a-na*.

Reasons for voicing in Tab. (cf. also Düb. *zakur*) are unclear; external evidence clearly speaks in favour of PL voiceless *s- (cf. also Ag. Fit. *sakw-a-na*).

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss; not quite reliable because of the irregularity within the Lezghian subgroup. It is also worth noting Georg. *zeg* 'day after tomorrow' (borrowed in Tsez.?).

***santi** (~ -ũ) hammer: Darg. *s:ant; Lezg. *s(:)ant.

| Darg. *s:ant hammer: Chir. *s:ant*.

| Lezg. *s(:)ant 1 hammer 2 point-tool, chisel 3 mason's hammer: Lezg. *sunt* 2; Rut. *sant* 1; Tsakh. *sant* 3.

Obl. base *s(:)anti- (cf. Tsakh. *santi-*) - or *s(:)onti- with Ablaut (if Lezg. -u- reflects the vocalism of the obl. base, which is rather probable). 3d class in Tsakh., but 4th class in Rut.

Despite Vinogradova-Klimov 1979, 157 the root is hardly borrowed from Arm. *sand* (the Arm. word itself has no IE etymology and is very probably borrowed from a Caucasian source).

[] A Darg-Lezg. isogloss.

***sarasV** (~ ě, ĭ) nit; embryo (of an egg): Nakh. *sarsV-l; Av.-And.

*sarasa (~ o).

| Nakh. *sarsV-l embryo (of an egg): Chech. *sarsal*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable Andian parallels.

| Av.-And. *sarasa (~ o) 1 tick 2 nit: Akhv. *saraso* 1; Kar. *sarsa* 2; God. *sarsa* 2.

[] A Nakh-And. isogloss.

***samsV** moss: Av.-And. *šiši; Tsez. *zəsə / *zəsV; Darg. *š(:)imš(:)a.

| Av.-And. *šiši silt: Akhv. *š:š:i*; Kar. *šiši*.

Akhv. *š:š:i* is most probably a misspelling for *šiši (because tense *š: had changed into Akhv. s:).

| Tsez. *zəsə / *zəsV moss: Tsez. *zosi* (*Kid.*); Gin. *zoze*; Khvarsh. *zoza* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *zozo*; Bezht. *soso*; Gunz. *səsu* / *sūsu* (*Nakh.*).

PTsKh *zozə (with assimilation < *zosə); PGB *səsu (with assimilation < *səzu). The PTs reconstruction can be done only if we assume an assimilation (rather natural) in both subgroups.

| Darg. *š(:)imš(:)a moss, lichen: Ak. *šimša*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for assimilative / dissimilative processes (natural in a root like this), correspondences are regular. The semantic shift 'moss, lichen' > 'silt' seems also acceptable ('slimy surface').

***sehmV** / ***hemsV** muscle, vein; intestine: Nakh. *samV-k (~ -ā-);

Av.-And. *s:iV (~š:-); Darg. *šems:.

| Nakh. *samV-k (~ -ā-) sausage made of a large intestine: Chech. *samg*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *s:iV (~š:-) sinew, muscle: Akhv. *s:e*; Cham. *s:ē*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *s:ē* / *s:ej* id.

| Darg. *šems: muscle: Ak. *šems*.

Cf. also Tsud. *ims*, Kait. pl. *ims-ni*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for the metathesis, correspondences are quite regular. Cf. also HU: Urart. *u/ošm-ašə* 'force, strength' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 23).

**semsā* (~ -ā) a k. of insect: Nakh. **sāsi*; Av.-And. **sis:Vn* / **sins:V*; Lezg. **semsV* (~ **s:*).

| Nakh. **sāsi* 1 tadpole 2 water flea: Chech. *sēsa* 1; Ing. *sāsa* 2.

6th class in both languages. Cf. also Cheb. *sāse*, Lev. *sēsi*, Khild. *sēsē* etc.

| Av.-And. **sis:Vn* / **sins:V* 1 bug, bed-bug 2 beetle: Av. *s:ons:ó* 1; Cham. *susū* 2.

Cf. also Av. (Uslar) *s:ans:á* (acc. paradigm B: plur. *s:uns:-bí*) 'bug', Cham. Gig. *susū*, Gad. *susun* 'beetle'. We should probably assume that the two **s* consonants in Proto-Av.-And. differed in tenseness; Av. and Cham. must have experienced different types of assimilation.

| Lezg. **semsV* (~ **s:*) ant: Tsakh. *semsälä* (*Gelm.*).

The root is preserved only in Tsakh.; it obviously was modified semantically under the influence of PL **c:imc*: 'ant'. However, external data show that it is an independent root.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although this is an expressive reduplicated root, and not widely spread, the reconstruction seems reliable (we should at any rate distinguish it from several other phonetically close roots like **zimizē*, **cimcV* etc.).

**shwǎmkV* (~ -ǎ-) mushroom, tinder: Av.-And. **s:iku* / **siku*; Tsez. **zəkʷə* B; Lezg. **s:(ʷ)Vmk-*.

| Av.-And. **s:iku* / **siku* 1 mushroom 2 tinder: Av. *s:ak* 2; Chad. *sak* 2; And. *s:eku* 2; Akhv. *šekū* 1,2; Cham. *sekʷ* 2; Tind. *seku* / *s:eku* 1,2; Kar. *seku* 2; God. *seku* 1.

Av. Chad. paradigm A (gen. *s:áki-l*). The regular reflex of PEC **swVmkV* in Av.-And. would be **sik:u*: as usual in such cases we observe metatheses and assimilations of laryngeal features: a) **sik:u* > **s:iku*; b) **sik:u* > **siku*.

| Tsez. **zəkʷə* B 1 mushroom 2 tinder: Tsez. *ziku* 1; Bezht. *sako* 2 (*Tlad.*).

There are various aberrant forms: Bezht. (proper) *zako* 'mushroom', *Tlad.* (Bokarev) *zako*, Gunz. *zoko* id.; Tsez. *šoku* 'tinder' (opposed to *ziku* 'mushroom'), Khvarsh. *zoko* 'mushroom', Inkh. *zoko* 'tinder'. Most of them can be explained either as direct loans from Georgian (Georg. *soko* / *zoko* 'mushroom'), or as contaminations of the native root **zəkʷə* with the Georgian loanword. Variants with initial hushing *š-/ž-*, however, are not quite clear.

| Lezg. **s:(ʷ)Vmk-* mushrooms: Ud. *šalmk:al*.

An isolated Udi root, but having good external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An interesting root, attested in EC, Kartvelian and IE. The PK form is **soko-*, see Klimov 1964, 165 (with a variant *zoko-* in Georgian: the voiced *z-* shows that the original source of at least this variant in Kartvelian could have been Tsezian). From Georgian the word was

borrowed into some Caucasian languages: back into some Tsezian (e.g., Gunz. *zoko*; see above), Bacb. *zokō*, Osset. *zoko*. Despite Klimov (ibid.), however, Arm. *sunk*: can not be explained as a loan from Kartvelian, but has rather an Indo-European etymology (see below).

In Indo-European we have **spongo-* (see WP 2, 681-682) 'sponge, mushroom, tinder'; some authors (see ibid.) even try to reconstruct a complicated protoform **sphwongo-* (to explain, beside Greek *spōngo-s*, Arm. *sunk*: also forms like Germ. **swamba-* and Slav. **gōba*). We must note that however improbable it seems, the form **sphwongo-* lies very close to the reconstructed PEC **shwǎmkV*.

**shwinǎV* snuff, smell; snot: Av.-And. **s:inǎV*; Lezg. **s:inǎ*.

| Av.-And. **s:inǎV* 1 snuff 2 to smell: Av. *s:unǎ* 1; Chad. *sunǎ* 2.

Cf. also Av. *s:unǎ-ize* 'to smell'. Historically -ǎ may be an expressive suffix; cf. also *s:uns:u-di-ze* (a reduplicated form) 'to puff', *s:un-χ:i-ze* 'to blow one's nose'. Cf. also Kar., God. *s:unǎ-* 'to smell'.

Av. > Lak. *s:unǎ* 'snuff', *s:unǎ ućin* 'to smell' (if these forms were not borrowed, *s-* would be expected in Lak.), probably also > Arch. *s:unǎ-bos* 'to smell', Darg. Chir. *s:unǎ-i* id.

| Lezg. **s:inǎ* 1 snot 2 dried snot in nose: Tsakh. *suInǎ* 2; Ud. *filt:-p:un* 1.

In Kryz. and Bud. the root has merged with PL **qIomot* (q.v.), yielding Kryz., Bud. *šimiǎ* (although the initial *š-* is still not clear). 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

[] The word was widely borrowed from Av. into other languages of Daghestan - probably because in Av. it came to mean 'snuff' (an object of busy trade). However, in Av. and PL the forms are probably genuine (because of phonetic and semantic differences). It is possible that *-ǎV is originally a suffix here (see notes on the Av. form); in that case we can compare Hurr. *šūnā* 'breath, soul, self' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 32). [Cf. also Georg. *čwinǎli* 'snot' > Bacb. *sinǎr* id.?).

**siHwV* breath, to breathe: Nakh. **sa*; Av.-And. **s:uh-*; Lak. *s:iħ*; W.-Cauc. **pə-sʷA*.

| Nakh. **sa* soul: Chech. *sa*; Ing. *sa*; Bacb. *sa*.

Obl. base **si-* (Chech. *si-na-*, Ing. *si-no*, Bacb. pl. *sij-š*). 3d class in all languages.

| Av.-And. **s:uh-* to get tired: Kar. *s:uh-an-*.

Attested only in Kar., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *s:iħ* breath, vapour.

3d class.

| W.-Cauc. **pə-sʷA* 1 get tired 2 breathe 3 die: Abkh. *a-ps-rá* 3; Abaz. *ps-ra* 3; Ad. *pśā-n* 1; Kab. *pśā-n* 1; Ub. *pśā-χʷə* 2.

PAT **pśā-* 'to die', **ʷa-pśā-* 'to get tired' (Abkh. *āpsa-ra*, Abaz. *ʷapsa-rá*). PAK **pśā-*. In Ub. - a compound whose second component (-χʷə) is not quite clear.

The semantic developments 'to breathe' > 'get tired' and 'get tired' > 'die' are quite usual (cf. also the meanings of the corresponding root in EC).

[] Cf. also HU forms: Hurr. *še-iri* 'alive', *še-ori* 'fate' or 'life', Urart. *šu/oḫ-ori* / *šeḫ-eri* 'alive' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 36).

Both phonetically and semantically the EC-WC parallel seems quite plausible. PWC has a frequent labial prefix. In a position following a labial WC labialized consonants usually are delabialized, but not in this case (PAT *ś : PAK *ś point unambiguously to *śʷ; in Ubykh, in fact, delabialisation had occurred - otherwise we would have pśʷa- - but this is a regular later Ubykh process). Lack of delabialisation can be very well explained if we assume a form like *pə-səHwV > *pə-səwV (not *pə-sʷV) for the early period, when the after-labial delabialisation process was active. For phonetic reasons it seems better to keep apart WC *pəsV 'soul' (which is superficially closer to PN *sa), which has a quite different NC etymology (see under *²amsa).

*sikV (~ cw-, -e-, -i-, -o-) wineskin: Av.-And. *s:iku; Tsez. *s(:)ik B.

| Av.-And. *s:iku 1 leather bag (for milking sheep) 2 wineskin: Kar. *seku* 2; God. *s:eku* 1.

s- in Kar. is probably recorded incorrectly instead of s:- (cf. the God. form and the external evidence).

| Tsez. *s(:)ik B wineskin: Tsez. *sik*; Gin. *šek*; Bezht. *sik*; Gunz. *sig* (Nakh.).

PTsKh *sək; PGB *sik.

[] An And.-Tsez. isogloss (therefore several vocalic reconstructions are possible).

*simV (~ -i-, -ä-) lip; gum: Av.-And. *simV; Tsez. *ZimV-; Lak. *sina*.

| Av.-And. *simV lip: And. *sim*; Akhv. *šeme*; Tind. *simu*.

| Tsez. *ZimV- (~i-) gum (in mouth): Gin. *somore*; Inkh. *zimor*.

PTsKh *[zi]mor-. The unvoicing *z- > s- in Gin. is unclear. Even stranger are parallels in other languages: Tsez. *cemori*, Bezht. *çimaç* (Khosh.), *çimätö* (Tlad.), Gunz. *çemaç*. We probably deal with a result of some secondary contaminations.

| Lak. *sina* gum (in mouth).

Cf. also Khosr. *sina*. Lak. *sina* > Arch. *sana* id.

[] The comparison seems plausible despite some irregularities (mostly in PTs); -n- in Lak. may be due to the influence of the phonetically close *sina* 'gum, glue'.

*sindV (~ -ä-) a k. of insect: Av.-And. *sindV; Tsez. *zido A.

| Av.-And. *sindV 1 tick 2 spider: Akhv. *sideλ:u* 1; 'Cham. *sinaλ:u* 1; Kar. *sindarλ:u* 2 (Tok.).

Cf. North. Akhv. (MSU recording) *šideλ:u* 'tick', Tseg. *šinabaλ:*, Tlan. *šinajλ:o* id., Cham. Gig. *sinaλ:* 'bug, bed-bug'.

All forms have a second component with a lateral; its meaning is unknown.

The original suffixless form is probably reflected in an old loan-word from Andian languages: Gin. *sena* 'tick'.

| Tsez. *zido A moth: Tsez. *zedo*; Khvarsh. *zeda* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *zido*; Bezht. *sida*; Gunz. *sido*.

PTsKh *zido; PGB *sido. The PGB *-i- is not regular (*-i- would be expected).

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss. One is tempted to compare Ub. *šanta* 'bug', but the correspondences between *sindV and *šanta* are absolutely irregular; thus (unless this is a case of heavy irregular change in an expressive root), it should be better kept apart. Bouda (1960, 125) and Abdokov (1983, 125) compare the Ub. form with the reflexes of EC *čwVlV 'biting insect' (q.v.) - which, unfortunately, is as irregular as the other solution.

*silV (~ -l-) light (of weight): Lezg. *s:ilä-; W.-Cauc. *L^wasə.

| Lezg. *s:ilä- 1 light 2 small 3 transparent, pure; liquid: Lezg. *qe-zil* 1; Ag. *kisal-f* (?) 1; Rut. *sil-di* 1; Kryz. *siläd* 2; Bud. *sala-l* 3; Arch. *s:ala* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *qe-sil* (Lezg. qe- is an archaic adjective prefix; it can not, however, correspond to Ag. ki- - that is why the Ag. form still requires an explanation). Shakhdagh > Khin. *sulu* 'liquid' (with the same specific semantic change as in Bud.).

See Khaidakov 1973, 107.

| W.-Cauc. *L^wasə light (of weight): Abkh. *ā-las*; Abaz. *lasə*; Ub. *wasə*.

PAT *lasə. The correspondence PAT *l : Ub. w points only to PWC *L^w. If the root is *sə (see below), one can compare (following Abdokov 1983, 150) *psə- in PAK *psə-nčā 'light; swift' > Ad. *psənča*, Kab. *psənša*.

[] A Lezg.-WC isogloss. The PWC form can be analyzed as 'light inside' (with the common WC morpheme *L^wa- 'inner, inside; to enter'). In this case the correspondence is established between PL *s:ilä- and PWC *-sə. It is quite regular and seems probable, but must be approached with some caution because of the scarcity of reflexes in EC languages. See Abdokov 1983, 150.

*sinö (~ -ö) long bone: Nakh. *sān; Av.-And. *sVnV; Tsez. *s(:)inu (~ z-); Lak. *s:an*; Lezg. *s:in.

| Nakh. *sān corner, border, edge: Chech. *sa*; Ing. *sa*; Bacb. *-sā*.

Obl. base *sānV-, cf. Chech. *sōna*-, Ing. *sāno*. 6th class in both languages. In Bacb. the root is preserved within the compound *n¹aj²-sā* 'external door' (for the first part see *nhē? 'door').

| Av.-And. *sVnV organ, part of body: Av. *san*.

Av. paradigm A or C (pl. *sāna-l*).

| Tsez. *s(:)inu (~ z-) pitchfork, fork: Bezht. *sino*; Gunz. *sinu*.

PGB *sinu.

| Lak. *s:an* foreleg, paw, pad.

Cf. also Khosr. *s:an*. A related stem is Khosr. *s:ana* 'wedge' (for the

semantics cf. Cham. *s:unča* 'foot, hoof; wedge'.

| Lezg. **s:in* 1 front part of leg 2 spine 3 back 4 elbow 5 edge: Lezg. *sin* 5; Tab. *sn-ič:* (*Kand.*); Rut. *sin* 1; Tsakh. (*jiqIana*) *sini* 2; Kryz. *sini* 2; Arch. *s:on* 3; Ud. *sun* 4.

3d class in Tsakh., but 4th class in Rut., Arch. and Kryz. Obl. stem **s:ina-*, cf. Lezg. *sine-*, Rut. *sini-*. The Tab. word (< **sin-ič:*) contains an expressive suffix and means 'wedge' (for the meaning cf. Lak. *s:an* : *s:ana*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The original meaning was probably 'long (curved) bone', with later developments > 'long bone, spine'; 'curve, angle, corner' (cf. a combination of both trends in Lezghian languages). The Avar form is somewhat strange phonetically (**s:in* would be regularly expected), so it may be a borrowing from some unknown early source.

**sīrVsV* hoar-frost; icicle: Darg. **siris*; Lezg. **sirsul*.

| Darg. **siris* hoar-frost: Ak. *siris*; Chir. *siris*.

Ak. *siris* is a borrowing from some other dialect (preserving **s*, like Chirag) - otherwise **hirih* would be expected.

| Lezg. **sirsul* 1 hoar-frost 2 icicle: Rut. *sirsir* 1; Tsakh. *šursul* 2.

[] A Darg-Lezg. isogloss.

**siwirV* a k. of odorous grass: Nakh. **sVbVr*-(-g-, -d-, -w-); Lak. *sūra*; Lezg. **siwir*.

| Nakh. **sVbVr*-(-g-, -d-, -w-) a k. of marsh plant: Chech. *sōr-am*.

Attested only in Chech., thus a variety of PN reconstructions is possible.

| Lak. *sūra* mint.

Old Lak. (**subra* or **surba*) > Arch. *sarba* 'mint'.

| Lezg. **siwir* ramson: Lezg. *sur*; Ag. *sur*; Rut. *sur-kāš*; Tsakh. *suwī*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *sur*, Ag. Bursh., Fit. *sūr*, Tsakh. prop., Gelm. *siwij*. The most archaic form is preserved in Tsakh. Gelm., all other dialects and languages have contracted reflexes. 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh. [N.B.: the latest MSU recording of the Ag. Bursh. form is *s:ūr*, which is obviously faulty: the word is a member of the minimal pair *sūr* 'wild onion' : *s:ūr* 'throat'].

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although not very widely spread, the etymology seems reliable enough.

**sūli* / **sulsūli* a k. of cereal: Nakh. **sos*; Av.-And. **susur*; Tsez. **susV* B; Lak. *sus*; Darg. **s:u(l)s:ul*; Lezg. **s:ol* / **s:ols:ol*; Khin. *silg-li*.

| Nakh. **sōs* a sort of rye: Chech. *sos*.

Obl. base **sōsa-* (~ **sāsu-*), cf. Chech. *sōsa-*.

| Av.-And. **susur* 1 a k. of weed (обчий) 2 oats 3 bran: Av. *susūr* 1; And. *susur* 1 (*Khaidakov*); Akhv. *šišu* 2; Tind. *susur* 3.

Av. paradigm B ~ C (gen. *susrá-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *šušul* 'oats'.

| Tsez. **susV* B oats: Tsez. *sesru* (*Khaidakov*); Bezht. *suz* (*Khosh.*).

The reconstruction **susV* is tentative; historically we should expect a PTs

form like **zus:V*, which could have undergone different assimilations (a) > **s:us:V* > Tsez. *ses-*; b) > **zuzV* > Bezht. *suz*). Unless data from other Tsez. languages will be discovered, the reconstruction will remain somewhat uncertain.

| Lak. *sus* rye.

Gen. *susu-l*; cf. also Khosr. *sus*, *susu-l*.

| Darg. **s:u(l)s:ul* rye: Ak. *susul*; Chir. *s:us:ul*.

Cf. also Kait., Kharb. *s:us:ul*, Ur. *susul*, Kad. *sursur* 'rye'.

| Lezg. **s:ol* / **s:ols:ol* rye: Lezg. *sil*; Tab. *sursul*; Ag. *sul*; Rut. *sikil*; Tsakh. *sikil*; Kryz. *silsil*; Bud. *silsil*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *sil*, Ag. Bursh. *s:ul*. 3d class in Rut., Tsakh. and Bud., but 4th class in Kryz. As in the name of wheat (**q:ol*), there is a variation of pure and pharyngealized **ol* (the variant **s:oll* is reflected in Lezg. *sil*, Ag. *s:ul*, and also Kryz. and Bud.). Several forms reflect the reduplicated variant **s:ols:ol* (inherited from PEC). Finally, there must have existed a suffixed (diminutive) form **s:ol-Vk*, which was metathesized (> **s:okol*) and reflected in Rut. and Tsakh. (cf. in Rut. a parallel form from **s:ols:ol* : Ikhr. *sisel* 'millet').

For the simple stem **s:ol* an oblique base **s:ole-* can be reconstructed on basis of Lezg. *sili-* and Ag. (Rich.) *sūle-*, Fit. *suli-*, Bursh. *s:ūle-*, Burk. *sule-*.

| Khin. *silg-li* rye.

A compound: *silg* 'rye' + *li* 'grain, wheat'. The form *silg* contains an old diminutive suffix (**-Vk*) and is thus parallel to Rut. and Tsakh. (reflecting PL **s:ol-Vk*, see above). However, it can be hardly considered a loan (the Shakhdag languages do not reflect this structure).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In the reduplicated form (**sulsūli*), which is of course common EC, there occurred different assimilations (in PA: ***sus:ur* > **susur*; on PTs see above; in Lak. **sus:-* > *sus*; in PD **suls:ul* > **s:u(l)s:ul*, and likewise in PL - although we must say that in PL also **solsol* or **s:ols:ol* may be reconstructed; evidence for **s:* is present only in the non-reduplicated stem **s:ol*).

The root is also widely spread in Turkic, Mongolian, Fenno-Ugric and Kartvelian languages (see Abayev 1979, 194). Abayev (ibid.) suggests that its original source was somewhere in Central Asia. However, the time of its appearance in the Caucasus is not clear, and correspondences between languages strongly suggest its archaic character (of course if we exclude obvious late loans like the isolated Chech. *sula* 'oat' < Osset. *syl* or Georg. *svila*). It is interesting that only in EC languages (not in Turkic or any other mentioned above) there exists a reduplicated stem (which obviously was the source of Osset. *sysyly* 'a k. of weed'). Summing up, the root is obviously a "Wanderwort"; but it is evidently very ancient on Caucasian ground.

See Bokarev 1961, 60; Leksika 1971, 167.

**sVrdV* (~-t-) curse, to curse: Nakh. **serd-* (~-t-).

| Nakh. **serd-* (~-t-) 1 curse, malediction 2 to curse: Chech. *sard-am* 1;

Ing. *serd-* 2, *sard-am* 1.

[] The root is attested only in Nakh (therefore the PEC reconstruction is rather tentative), but seems to have a good HU parallel: cf. Hurr. *šed-* 'to curse, damn', *šid-arni* 'curse, malediction' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 26).

*sVrV grey: Nakh. *sire(-n); Tsez. *zerV (~ z:-, -l-).

| Nakh. *sire(-n) grey: Chech. *sira*; Ing. *sira*.

Cf. also Chech. (in Uslar's recording) *siri* id.

| Tsez. *zerV (~ z:-, -l-, -t-, -ə-) grey: Tsez. *zira*; Khvarsh. *zara* (Radzhibov).

PTsKh *zəRa.

[] A Nakh-Tsez. isogloss. Although similar colour names exist in other linguistic families (cf. Russ. *серый* < Slav. *xěrb, Mong. *sira* 'yellow'), the EC root seems to be genuine (neither the PN nor the Tsez. form can be explained by borrowing).

*swakV a k. of footwear: Av.-And. *s:akV-r; Lezg. *s(:)VrkV-j.

| Av.-And. *s:akV-r top of boot: And. *s:akur*.

Isolated in And., with a possible Rut. parallel.

| Lezg. *s(:)VrkV-j sock (knitted): Rut. *sukaj*.

Attested only in Rut., with a possible Andian parallel.

[] A rather dubious cultural term, known only in two EC languages. A reconstruction *cwākV is not excluded - in which case the root could be possibly compared with PAK *c:aq:á (Ad. *cāq:a*, Kab. *vāq:a*) 'shoes, footwear' - although the correspondence -k- : -q- is still quite irregular. See Shagirov 1, 218-219 and Knobloch 1958, 198 (about the Adygh form as the probable source of European: Gr. *sykkhos*, Lat. *soccus* etc.).

*swān?V (~-?-) lamb: Lak. *s:i*; Darg. *mas; Lezg. *s:ām (~s-); Khin. *somi*; W.-Cauc. *sʷə(na).

| Lak. *s:i* lamb (about 1 year old).

Cf. Khosr. *s:i* id.

| Darg. *mas: ram: Ak. *mas*.

| Lezg. *s:ām (~s-) 1 lamb (after 6 months) 2 milch sheep: Lezg. *sam-bal* 2; Tab. *sum-ag* 1; Ag. *sem*; Kryz. *sām* 2.

Cf. also Ag. Fit. *sim*. The Kryz. form has a more specific meaning: 'a sheep or goat having once born a young one'. The component -bal in Lezg. is not clear etymologically. In Tab. the form contains a diminutive -ag; the vowel in the 1st syllable is a result of reduction and assimilation to -m- already after suffixation (*sum-ag* < **sim-ag*). There is not enough evidence to choose between *s:- or *s- in initial position, or to reconstruct the vocalic obl. base (there are only the Ag. forms: Burk. *semu-*, Fit. *simu-*).

| Khin. *somi* heifer.

| W.-Cauc. *sʷə(na) lamb: Abkh. *a-sá-s*; Abaz. *sə-s*; Ad. *šəna*; Kab. *šəna*.

PAT *šə-šə (cf. also Bz. *a-šəs*), pl. *ša-ra (Abkh. *a-sá-ra*, Bz. *a-šá-ra*, Abaz.

sa-ra); -šə is the common suffix for names of young animals. PAK *šəná. External evidence suggests that -na is part of the root; reason for its loss in PAT is not quite clear. The correspondence PAT *š : PAK *š points unambiguously to PWC *šʷ.

[] The intermediate PEC form must be reconstructed as *sām?V (~-?-) with transfer of labialisation. In Darg. the form became metathesized (probably on analogy with *mac:a 'sheep' q.v.); otherwise the correspondences are quite regular. Relating the PAK root to Chech. *zij* 'sheep', *za* 'sheep-flock' (Dzhanashia 1959) is unacceptable.

*swÄHV cold: Av.-And. *so?V-; Lezg. *s:(ʷ)V-rV; W.-Cauc. *sʷə.

| Av.-And. *so?V- 1 hoar-frost 2 cold (adj.) 3 cold (n.): Av. *sawú* 1; Chad. *šʷi* 1; And. *so-do* 2; Cham. *saw* 2; Tind. *sā-b* 2; God. *saji-li* 3.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *sawú-dul*).

| Lezg. *s:(ʷ)V-rV cold (n.): Ud. *sori*.

The expedition materials on Rutul contain a word Rut. Luch. *jis-di*, Ikhr. *jiseji-d*, Shin. *jis-di* 'cold' which could be related to the Udi word (cf. an analogous relation between *jis:V- and *jis:V-rV- > *s:VrV- 'old, year' q.v.). But we strongly suspect that the meaning 'cold' here is a misspelling for 'old' and thus has nothing to do with the Udi form. This must be checked once more. Nevertheless, the Udi word seems to have reliable external parallels and thus must be considered an archaism.

| W.-Cauc. *sʷə 1 to get cold, freeze 2 heap of snow: Abkh. *a-sʷ-rá* 1; Abaz. *sʷ-ra* 1; Ub. *sʷə-blá*.

PAT *sʷə (cf. also Bzyb. *a-sʷ-rá*). The Ub. word is a compound (for the second part see PWC *bIa), and an exact parallel of PAT *sʷə-bə 'hoar-frost, caked snow' (Abkh. *a-sʷ-áb*, Abaz. *sʷ-áb*). Therefore Dumézil's (1969) analysis of Ub. *sʷə* as 'light, white' is certainly wrong. Despite Shagirov (1,194) PAT *sʷəba and Ub. *sʷə-blá* for phonetic reasons can not be related to PAK *č:ápə 'hoar-frost'.

[] Correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems reliable (despite its scarce representation in EC languages). Cf. perhaps also Lak. *sil* (Khosr. *sil*) (Lak. > Arch. *sel*) 'hoar-frost' (< *sʷ-il < *swVH-il?).

*swēIV stall, shed: Tsez. *zürV; Lezg. *s:el(a) (~ä-, -l-).

| Tsez. *zürV shed, cattle-shed: Gin. *zoro*; Bezht. *sijo*; Gunz. *sirə*.

PGB *sirə (cf. also Bezht. Khosh., Tlad. *siro*).

| Lezg. *s:el(a) (~ä-, -l-) stall, cattle-shed: Ag. *sal*.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *s:el* id. Attested only on Ag., but having probable external parallels.

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss; not very reliable because attested only in one Lezghian language.

*swēmV straw: Av.-And. *suma; Lak. *sun*; Darg. *s:uma; Lezg.

*sʷem.

| Av.-And. *suma 1 straw 2 stubble: Av. *sum* 1; Chad. *šum* 2; And. *suma* (*Leksika*) 1; Akhv. *šuma* 1; Tind. *sumi-λ:a* 2; God. *suma* 1.

| Lak. *sun* straw.

Gen. *suma-l*. Cf. Khosr. *sun* id.

| Darg. **s:uma* straw: Ak. *suma*; Chir. *ars:am*.

Cf. also Ur., Muir. *suma*, Tsud. *s:uma*, Asht. *us:im* id. The Chir. and Asht. forms go back to a form **ar-s:um(a)* (**ar-s:em(a)*) with a characteristic prefix **ʔVr-* (typical for collective nouns).

| Lezg. **s:em* 1 straw 2 ear and stalk of mown corn, bread: Lezg. *sam* 1; Tab. *šum* 1; Ag. *s:um* (*Bursh.*) 1; Rut. *sum* 1; Tsakh. *som* (*Mishl.*) 1; Kryz. *sum* 1; Bud. *sum* 1; Ud. *šIum* 2.

Obl. stem not clear. 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. See Bokapev 1961, 59; Leksika 1971, 176; Giginayshvili 1977, 71; Talibov 1980, 271.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**swēnV* southern slope of a hill: Av.-And. **s:VnV*; Lak. *sun*; Darg. **s:ana*.

| Av.-And. **s:VnV* a small slope covered with growth: Av. *s:an*.

Av. paradigm B ~ C (gen. *s:anú-l*). The word also means 'boundary between mountain pastures'.

| Lak. *sun* sunny side; sunny slope of a hill, mountain.

Cf. Khosr. *sun* id.

| Darg. **s:ana* sunny side, southern slope: Chir. *s:ana*.

Cf. also Kub., Sirg. *s:ana* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. The word is not attested in Lezghian languages, but cf. perhaps Arch. *s:o-* in *s:oxur* 'southern slope' (perhaps an old compound of the expected **s:an-* with some unclear second component?).

**swērho* (~ -fi-) old; year: Nakh. **šo*; Av.-And. **-asara-* (~ -o-); Darg. **dus:*; Lezg. **jis:V-*; Khin. *ūs*; W.-Cauc. **zʷə*.

| Nakh. **šo* year: Chech. *šo*; Ing. *šo*; Bacb. *šo*.

Obl. base **šari-*, cf. Chech. *šera-*, Ing. *šero*, Bacb. *šari-*. 3d class in all languages.

The same root (with Ablaut and old morphonological changes) is present in two PN derivatives:

1) **sir-i(n)* 'old (of age)' > Chech., Ing. *šira*, Bacb. *širĩ*;

2) **t-iš-i(n)* 'old (inanim.)' > Chech., Ing. *tiša*, Bacb. *tišĩ*.

| Av.-And. **-asara-* (~ -o-) old, worn out: Av. *-asrá-ja-b*; Akhv. *-aša-da-*.

Akhv. *-aša-da-* < **-asar-da-*, cf. Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *-ašara-λa-b* id.

| Darg. **dus:* year: Ak. *dus*; Chir. *dus:*.

Cf. also Ur., Kub. *dus* etc.

| Lezg. **jis:V-* 1 old 2 year: Lezg. *jis* 2, *sur* 1; Tab. *jis* 2, *jirsi* 1; Ag. *is* 2, *jarse-f* 1; Rut. *jis-di* 1; Tsakh. *jis:e-jin* 1; Ud. *b-isi* 1.

The nominal stem **jis*, **jis:a-* (cf. also Tab. Düb. *jizi*, Ag. Bursh. *is:*) means 'year'; its adjectival derivative (often in suffixed form: **jis:V-rV-*, sometimes metathesized as is usual with adjectives) means 'old' which is a common semantic shift (cf. also external evidence).

See Leksika 1971, 182; Khaidakov 1973, 110; Talibov 1980, 314.

| Khin. *ūs* year.

| W.-Cauc. **zʷə* old: Abkh. *á-zʷ*; Abaz. *a-zʷə*; Ad. *zá*; Kab. *zá*; Ub. *zʷə*.

PAT **zʷə* (cf. also Bzyb. *á-zʷ*); PAK **zá*.

[] The reflexes reveal a variation between **swērho* and a metathesized form, **r(h)ēswo* (PD, PL); the latter variant could also be promoted by the use of **swērho* in the adjectival function (with the class prefix **r-*: **r-eswērho-*). Despite this metathesis, the etymology seems quite reliable, both semantically and phonetically.

It is interesting to note that HU languages seem to reflect both **swērho* 'year' (> Hurr. *šawalā*, Urart. *šālā* id.) and the derivate **t-eswē(rho)-* (> PN **t-iši-*), reflected in Hurr. *tež-u/oḡa*, *tes:-oḡ:a* 'elder, overseer', Urart. *teš-* 'to ripen' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 25, 30).

**swēsə* bride: Nakh. **səsa-k*; Lak. *sus:*; Lezg. **s:es:*; W.-Cauc. **sʷasa* / **sasa*.

| Nakh. **səsa-k* wife: Chech. *səsag*; Ing. *sesag*.

Cf. also Ing. (in Imnaishvili's notation) *sjəsag*. In early PN **səs-* would be expected; **səs-* is a result of assimilation (regular).

| Lak. *sus:* bride.

Cited from Khaidakov 1966.

| Lezg. **s:es:* 1 bride 2 daughter-in-law: Lezg. *sʷas* 1,2; Tab. *šʷusʷ* 1; Ag. *sus* 1; Rut. *sus* 1; Tsakh. *sos* 1,2 (*Mishl.*); Kryz. *sis* 1,2; Bud. *suz* 1,2.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *sʷas*, Akht. *sʷas*, Nüt. *xʷex*, Tab. Düb. *sus:u*, Ag. Bursh. *s:us:*. Obl. stem **s:es:a-* (cf. Lezg. *susa-*, Khl. *sʷasa-*, Tab. *šʷusʷa-*, Ag. *susa-*, Rut. *súsi-*, Tsakh. *sos:a-*).

See Leksika 1971, 132; Talibov 1980, 314.

| W.-Cauc. **sʷasa* / **sasa* 1 bride 2 girl: Ad. *pšāša* 2; Kab. *pšāša* 2; Ub. *šasá* 1.

PAK **pšasá*. The available forms reflect various assimilations: PAK **pšasá* < **p-sasá* (< **sʷasa* with a labial prefix); in Ub., besides *šasá* there exists also a variant *sasá* (cf. also Ad. *sās* 'girl (as address)'). The basic variant was obviously **sʷasa* (PAK **š* can only go back to a labialized **šʷ*).

[] A common NC kinship term. Its original meaning can be reconstructed as 'bride'; the meaning 'daughter-in-law' in some Lezghian languages is a result of merger with the root **nūsA* which was lost there.

**swənʔV* yesterday: Av.-And. **suni*; Darg. **s:a*; Lezg. **s:an*; Khin.

san.

| Av.-And. **suni* yesterday: Av. *son*; Chad. *šún-qad*; And. *sun*; Akhv. *suni*; Cham. *sun*; Tind. *suni*; Kar. *suni*; Botl. *suni*; Bagv. *suni*; God. *suni*.

| Darg. **s:a* yesterday: Chir. *s:a*.

Cf. also Itsar., Kait. *s:a*.

| Lezg. **s:an* 1 yesterday 2 yesterday night: Lezg. *sen-fiz* 2; Tsakh. *san-xa* 1; Arch. *s:an-ši* 1.

The root is used only in compounds (with *²iš:ʷ 'night' > Lezg. *jif* /*sen-fiz* < **sen-jifi-z*/ or **jiq*: 'day' in Arch. /with exceptional development -q:- > -b- in cluster/; with *²eλ:a 'evening, late' in Tsakh., cf. also Gelm. *san-ixa*, Tsakh. prop. *sanixa* 'yesterday'.

See Leksika 1971, 194.

| Khin. *san* night.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**swāpV* ramson: Nakh. **šōpV*; Av.-And. **sVbV*; Tsez. **zobo* (~ *zʷi-*); Darg. **s:ap*; Lezg. **s:āp*.

| Nakh. **šōpV* a k. of ramson: Chech. *šebu* / *šōp*; Ing. *šūp*.

All forms are quoted from Алпироев 1975 (also listed there are Kist. *šūp* and Cheb. *šopu*) and their dialectal attribution is not quite clear (that is why there are problems with vocalic reconstruction). The precise meaning of the root is 'ramson with broad leaves and stronger smell and taste'.

| Av.-And. **sVbV* ramson: Av. *sob*; Chad. *šob*.

Av. Chad. paradigm B-C (gen. *šobó-l*).

| Tsez. **zobo* (~ *zʷi-*) ramson: Tsez. *zu*; Khvarsh. *zu* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *zū*; Bezht. *sobo* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *so* (*Gunz.*).

PTsKh **zu* (nasalisation in Inkh. is probably secondary); PGB **sobo*. The Gunz. form *so* is a result of reinterpreting -bo as oblique base marker (the paradigm in Gunz. is *so*, *sobo-s*). Still earlier the same process (**zubV* reinterpreted as *zu* + -bV) must have happened in PTsKh.

| Darg. **s:ap* ramson: Chir. *s:aps:ap*.

The Chir. form is reduplicated.

| Lezg. **s:āp* ramson: Arch. *s:ap*.

Cf. also erg. *s:epi* (pointing to PL *-ā-). Isolated in Arch., but having good external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for PL *-p (*-p̄ would be expected; an aberrant development in Archi?) all correspondences are regular.

**swīrā* (~ -ī-, -ē) a k. of milk product: Nakh. **šura*; Av.-And. **sʷrV*; Tsez. **zʷirV* A.

| Nakh. **šura* milk: Chech. *šura*; Ing. *šura*; Bacb. *šur*.
4th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. **sʷrV* alum; leavened dough: Av. *surá*.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *surá-dul*).

| Tsez. **zʷirV* A an alcoholic beverage (beer): Tsez. *zeru* / *zero*; Gin. *zere*; Khvarsh. *zila* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *zilo*; Bezht. *suro* (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *suru* (*Gunz.*).
PTsKh **ziRV*; PGB **suru*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. The semantic development must be explained as (*'milk') > 'sour milk' > 'alcoholic beverage made of milk' (a rather common drink for steppe and mountain cultures).

**swīnē* barberry; currants: Av.-And. **soni* (~ -a-); Tsez. **zin(u)* B; Lak. *sunū*; Lezg. **s:ina* (~ **sʷ-*); W.-Cauc. **s(ʷ)ana*.

| Av.-And. **soni* (~ -a-) barberry: Av. *sani*; Akhv. *sani*; Cham. *san* / *sanʷ*; Tind. *sani*; Kar. *seni*; God. *sani*.

Av. paradigm B (*sani-dul*). Note that Av. Chad. *sonó* 'barberry', together with lit. Av. *sonó* 'pome-granate', must be considered as a loan from Lak. *sunū* 'pome-granate'.

| Tsez. **zin(u)* B barberry: Tsez. *zin*; Gin. *zenu*; Inkh. *zon*; Bezht. *sino* (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *sinu*.

PTsKh **zan(u)*; PGB **sinu*.

| Lak. *sunū* pome-granate.

Lak. *sus* 'barberry' is probably a reduplication of the same root (*sus* < **suns*).

| Lezg. **s:ina* (~ **sʷ-*) barberry: Tab. *šʷum-zaz*; Rut. *sin*; Tsakh. *sina*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *šʷum-zaža* (Tab. *zaz*, Düb. *zaža* 'thorn'), Tsakh. Tsakh. *suná*. 3d class in Rut., but 4th class in Tsakh. -m in Tab. is secondarily labialised (*šʷum* < **šʷun* with assimilation). There is not enough evidence for distinguishing between **s:ʷ-* and **sʷ-* in this root (external evidence is in favour of **s:ʷ-*).

See Leksika 1971, 160.

| W.-Cauc. **s(ʷ)ana* 1 grapes 2 currants: Ad. *sāna* 1; Kab. *sāna* 2.

PAK **sanā*.

[] The comparison between EC and WC (PAK) seems reliable both phonetically and semantically. See Abdokov 1983, 112.

Hurrian in Arraphe had a word **šann-orā* 'plum-(tree), medlar' (> Akkad. *šannūru*, perhaps also Sum. *šennur* id.), which can be compared with EC **swīnē*. Other dialects, however, had **šall-orā* (> Akkad. *šallūru*, Arm. *salor*) with a secondary -l- (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 34).

The Caucasian word (with the meaning 'grapes' > 'wine') penetrated into Scythian **sana*, Osset. *sān* / *sānā* (despite Abayev 1979, 67, the Indo-Iranian origin of the word is highly dubious). Note that usually this root is confused with PNC **ʒw[ə]nʔi* 'honey, wine' (q.v.) - etymologically quite different.

**swüre* dirt, soot, sand: Av.-And. **sirV* (~ c-); Tsez. **zar*; Darg. **s:uri*; Lezg. **sāra* (~ s:-).

| Av.-And. **sirV* (~ c-) sand: And. *sur*; Cham. *sira* (*Gig.*); God. *sira*.

The vowel -u- in And. is irregular (*sur* < **siru*?). Cf. also Cham. (U.-Gakv.) *sera* 'road-metal'.

| Tsez. **zar* 1 sand, road-metal 2 faeces: Tsez. *zar* 1; Gin. *zaru* 1; Bezht. *saj* 2; Gunz. *sar* 2.

PTsKh **zar(u)*, PGB **sar*. Cf. also Bezht. *tl*, *Khosh. sar*.

| Darg. **s:uri* soot: Ak. *suri*.

| Lezg. **sāra* (~ s:-) 1 soot 2 ashes: Tab. *sirin* 1; Rut. *ser* (*Shin.*) 1; Tsakh. *sera* 2 (*Tsakh.*).

The Tab. form contains a frequent suffix -(i)n.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except that

there are usual doubts about the extremely rare vowel *ü). Abdokov (1983, 102) compares PAK *-sa in *kab^wa-sa 'soot', but the element is rather obscure, and the phonetic side of the comparison is not convincing.

*swVH(r)V a day after tomorrow: Av.-And. *sV[?]-; Lezg. *s:ar-.

| Av.-And. *sV[?]- a day after tomorrow: Av. sé-ze; And. šijo (Gudava); Akhv. ši-di; Cham. saj; Tind. sã; Kar. saji; Bagv. saj (Gudava); God. sawu.

The Av. and Akhv. forms contain original case suffixes.

| Lezg. *s:ar- a day after tomorrow: Tab. sari-ŧ; Ag. sa-jaḅa.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. sejri / sēri, Khūr. (Magometov) s:eri-di, Ag. Bursh. sará-ji. Ag. sa-jaḅa < *s:ar-jiq:a (a compound with *jiq: 'day'); other forms are originally locative (but with a non-trivial development *-d > -ŧ in Tab. dialects).

[] An Av.-And-Lezg. isogloss. The precise reconstruction depends on whether we regard *-r- in PL as an original locative morpheme or not.

*swVŧ[?]V (~ -fi-) a k. of odorous grass: Nakh. *šowV (~ -ō-, -ū-); Av.-And. *s^wilV; Lak. salsi.

| Nakh. *šowV (~ -ō-, -ū-) a k. of ramson: Chech. šu (~ šū); Ing. šū.

The Chech. word is cited from the Russ.-Chech. dictionary, thus vowel length is unclear.

| Av.-And. *s^wilV ramson: Akhv. šole; Cham. sol; Tind. sola.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. šolo, Cham. Gig. suli id.

| Lak. salsi cockle.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Lak. form is reduplicated (rather a frequent phenomenon in plant names).

In the Darg-Lezg. area there exists a stem denoting 'garlic' - *swālgV - which can be probably traced back to the same root (if we assume that -gV is a suffix here, possibly, deglottalized from diminutive *-kV), cf. Darg. Chir. s:urge 'garlic'; PL *s(:)ālk: > Lezg. serg (erg. serk:i), Ag. serg, Kryz. sarg 'garlic', Bud. sarg 'ramson' (-l- is indicated by the fact of preservation of -r- in Kryz. and Bud.; real *-r- would have been lost in this position).

*śānV[k]wV young (of animals): Av.-And. *s:ink^wV; Darg. *kamš:a;

Lezg. *š(:)ānV[k]^w-; Khin. šunkor.

| Av.-And. *s:ink^wV puppy: Av. s:ink^wā.

| Darg. *kamš:a bull-calf: Chir. kamš:a.

| Lezg. *śānV[k]^w- (~ *š:-) 1 young of a donkey 2 child, boy: Lezg. šarkunŧ 1; Ag. šinik^w 2; Kryz. šak^waj 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Khin. šankur 'young of a donkey'. An expressive root with irregular changes. Strength of initial *š- unknown (the word is absent in the Bursh. dialect of Agul which preserves the distinction).

| Khin. šunkor young of donkey.

[] An expressive root with metatheses (PD *kamš:a < *s:amka) and irregular changes; quality of the medial velar consonant is hard to establish. Although very distorted, the root may belong to the set of early Indo-Iranian loanwords in EC: cf. Osset. šānikk 'kid' < Indo-Iran. *śčanika-, cf. Bel. šanikh, šinik 'kid', Yagn. sanča etc. (see Abayev 1979, 71-72).

*śilŧ (~ -ā-, -ō-, -ǔ) dung of sheep: Av.-And. *šili; Lak. š:ulū; Lezg.

*?ur-s:il (~ -ā-, -l:).

| Av.-And. *šili 1 sheep's dung 2 dried sheep's dung: Av. xil 2; Akhv. šili; Tind. hili; Kar. sila.

Cf. also Kar. Tok. xila 'sheep's dung'. A recent loan from Tind. is Inkh. hili id.

| Lak. š:ulū dung of sheep.

Cf. Khosr. š:ulu id.

| Lezg. *?ur-s:il (~ -ā-, -l:) dung, manure: Tab. ursil.

Cf. also Tab. lit. ursal, Khan. urš:^vel id. The first syllable is historically a prefix. The root is attested only in Tab., but has good external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*śinV blue, green: Nakh. *sēn-i(n); Darg. *š:iniš(:-); Khin. si-b.

| Nakh. *sēn-i(n) blue: Chech. sīna; Ing. sīna; Bacb. sejni, sīni.

Cf. also Cheb. sjēni 'blue'. The pure root is preserved in Chech. sen-dan 'to make blue', Bacb. sen-dalar 'to become blue'.

| Darg. *š:iniš(:-) green: Ak. šiniša; Chir. š:inišze.

Cf. also Kait., Kharb. šiniš-.

| Khin. si-b green.

External data apparently indicate that -b is a historical suffix (si-b < *sin-b).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Khin. word is somewhat dubious (it may belong here only if *sib* < **sin-Vb* with an old class suffix), but the Nakh-Darg. correspondence is quite satisfactory.

**sVfiVjmV* a k. of odorous grass: Nakh. **stim* (~ -ī-); Av.-And. **sVHVmV*; Tsez. **miša-χu* (~ -i-); Darg. **š:alm-*.

[] Nakh. **stim* (~ -ī-) 1 wormwood, absinth 2 hellebore: Chech. *stim-urχα* 2; Bacb. *stim* 1.

Forms are quoted from Алироев 1975, 159, 161. The component -urχα in Chech. is unclear.

[] Av.-And. **sVHVmV* mint: Av. *sa^han*; Chad. *šam*.

Av. paradigm B-C (gen. *sa^hnī-l*; Chad. gen. *šimī-l*, but also *šāmi-l*). Av. dial. > Bezht., Gunz. *sam* 'mint'. It is highly probable that Lak. *san* (*samu-l*) 'ramson' is also a borrowing from the same root in some Av. dialect.

[] Tsez. **miša-χu* (~ -i-) mint: Tsez. *mešaħu*; Gin. *mečaħu*.

PTsKh **mišaχu* (-č- in Gin. is irregular, probably under influence of **mič(a)* 'nettle' q.v.).

[] Darg. **š:alm-* mint: Ak. *šumeri*; Chir. *š:almul*.

The root is provided with frequent suffixes (-ri and -l).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular, although it is somewhat difficult to reconstruct vocalism (because of the root's trisyllabic nature and the medial laryngeal). The cluster *-jm- is reconstructed to account for the development **s-* > **st-* in PN. Cf. also HU: Hurr. *šim-ri* 'fennel' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 23).

**sVI?V* (~ *s-*, -t-, -fi-) light, ray: Nakh. **sa*; Tsez. **riš(:)V* (~l-, i, u); Darg. **š:ala*; W.-Cauc. **P-sV*.

[] Nakh. **sa* 1 light; eye-sight 2 dawn 3 to dawn: Chech. *sa* 1; Ing. *sa-χila* 3; Bacb. *sa-χilno* 2.

3d class in Chech. Obl. base **si-* (cf. Chech. *si-n*, dat. *si-na*).

[] Tsez. **riš(:)V* (~l-, i, u) sun ray: Tsez. *reša* (*Imnaishvili*).

Attested only in Tsez., but having probable external parallels.

[] Darg. **š:ala* light (n.): Ak. *šala*; Chir. *š:ala*.

Cf. also Ur. *šala*, Tsud. *š:ala* id.

[] W.-Cauc. **P-sV* to shine: Ad. *q:ja-psə-n*; Kab. *te-psə-n*.

PAK **psə-* (only with preverbs); there is also a transitive correlate **psa-*.

[] The data are not enough to establish the PNC vocalism. See Abdokov 1983, 166. The root is attested also in HU: cf. Urart. *šēl-ardə* 'moon, moon deity' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 37).

**sVnVd(w)V* a k. of vessel: Tsez. **s:idV* (~š:-, -i-); Darg. **š:in[t:]V*; Lezg. **š:int(a)*; W.-Cauc. **s^wanədə*.

[] Tsez. **s:idV* (~š:-, -i-) mill kennel: Bezht. *sido*.

Attested only in Bezht., but having possible external parallels.

[] Darg. **š:in[t:]V* gutter, kennel: Ak. *sindi-r*; Chir. *š:anču*.

-t- in Chir. is not clear.

[] Lezg. **š:int(a)* cradle: Tab. *šint* (*Dub.*); Ag. *šint* (*Bursh.*).

For PL **š:-* cf. Tab. Khür. *š:int*.

[] W.-Cauc. **s^wanədə* barrel: Kab. *fandə-ra*; Ub. *s^wandə-r*.

PAK **s^wandə-ra*. Similar forms in Abkh. and Abaz. (Abkh. *a-s^wandəq^wra* 'trunk', Abaz. *s^wandəq^wara* id.) may represent a merger of the genuine root and the Turkic loanword (cf. Kypch. *sunduq* etc.).

[] A cultural term, revealing several irregularities (-t- in Chir., devoiced *-t in PL, unclear vocalism), possibly due to old interlingual borrowings. Not very reliable.

**s^wajV* last year: Nakh. **stā-χku*; Av.-And. **s:a-* (~ -o-); Lezg.

**s^wal-[s:]*.

[] Nakh. **stā-χku* last year: Chech. *stoxka*; Ing. *səχk*; Bacb. *stauχkū*. Historically a compound (etymology of the second part see under **H^hwinV*

'year').

[] Av.-And. **s:a-* (~ -o-) last year: Cham. *sas:*; Kar. *s:a-bi*; God. *s:a-bu*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *sa-bu* id. The U.-Gakv. form is interesting, because it is probably an exact match of PL **s^wal-s:*.

[] Lezg. **s^wal-[s:]* last year: Lezg. *šaz*; Tab. *sač* (*Khiv.*); Rut. *šās*; Tsakh. *saca*; Kryz. *šeš*; Bud. *šeše*; Arch. *s^wals*.

Some irregularities in the reflexation of **s-* (which is probably an original case suffix) are caused by dissimilative / assimilative reasons.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The resonant *-j- is reconstructed to account for the development **s-* > **st-* in PN. The root may have also contained a laryngeal (if the PL pharyngealisation is not expressive in this case).

**s^wadV* (/ -t-) rock, stone; tomb-stone: Tsez. **s^wed* (~ š:-); Darg.

**s:uṭa*.

[] Tsez. **s^wed* (~ š:-) 1 grave 2 rock, cliff: Tsez. *šud* 1; Gin. *šud* 1; Inkh. *šud* 1; Bezht. *šed* 2 (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *šed* 2 (*Gunz.*).

PTsKh **šud*; PGB **šed*. For the semantic correlation ('rock' : 'grave') cf. the external evidence.

[] Darg. **s:uṭa* tomb-stone: Chir. *s:uṭa*.

[] A Tsez-Darg. isogloss. Not quite clear is glottalisation in Darg. (**s:ut:a* would be expected regularly).

**s^wanī* year: Av.-And. **rišin*; Lak. *šin*; Lezg. **s:än*; W.-Cauc. **s^wA*.

[] Av.-And. **rišin* 1 year 2 sky: Av. *son* 1; Chad. *šon* 1; And. *rešin* 1,2; Akhv. *reše* 1,2; Cham. *jeħi* 2; Tind. *rehan* 1,2; Kar. *rešin* 1,2; Botl. *reši* 1,2; Bagv. *reši* 1,2; God. *rešin* 1,2.

Av. paradigm C (obl. *sanā-* in *sanā-jil* 'every year', pl. *sóna-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tl., Ratl. *rešen*, Cham. Gig. *reši*, Kar. Anch. *niši*, Tok. *rexin*. The initial **ri-* in PA is probably a result of contamination with another PEC root for 'year' (**s^werho* / **rēswo* q.v.).

The only Andian language which distinguishes between 'year' and 'sky' is

Chamalal: cf. Cham. *jehna* 'sky', Gig. *rešin* id. (opposed to Cham. *jehĩ*, Gig. *reši* 'year'). This may be an indication of an old opposition between **riši* 'year; old' (< **rēswo*) : **ri-šin* 'year; sky' (< **śwānĩ*).

| Lak. *šin* year.

4th class, obl. base *šina-*.

| Lezg. **s:ān* year: Rut. *sān*; Tsakh. *sen*; Kryz. *sān*; Bud. *sen*; Arch. *s:an*; Ud. *usen*.

Oblique base **s:āni-* (cf. Tsakh. Gelm. *seni-*; Rut. *sānā-* is probably secondary). See Trubetzkoy 1930, 83; Leksika 1971, 182; Giginayshvili 1977, 135.

| W.-Cauc. **ś^wA* year: Abkh. *á-šk^ws*; Abaz. *sk^wsə*; Ub. *ś^wa*.

Ub. def. *á-ś^wa*. PAT **śə-k^wśə* : probably from earlier **ś^wə-k^wśə* with dissimilation (cf. also different dissimilations and metatheses in modern languages: Bz. *á-šk^ws*, Abaz. *sk^wsə*). The meaning of the component *-k^wśə* is not clear. Abdokov (1973, 54) compared the Abkh. word with AK **jəlasə* 'year' which is improbable.

[] Correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems quite reliable. See Abdokov 1983, 102, 104 (with a hardly justified attempt to divide this root into two different NC roots).

**śwānqī* gum, ink: Av.-And. **s:Vnq:V*; Lak. *ś:iq:i*; Darg. **šinqla* (~ *ś:-*); Lezg. **śVqāq* (~ *ś:-*); W.-Cauc. **ś^wāql:a*.

| Av.-And. **s:Vnq:V* gum (added to ink for lustre): Av. *s:anq:*; Lak. *ś:iq:i* ink.

The Old Lak. form **ś:aqi* was probably borrowed in Avar as *śaq:i* 'ink'. The Avar form penetrated into Nakh languages (Chech. *śəqa*, Ing. *śāqa*), whence it came to Kab. *śaq:a* 'ink'.

| Darg. **šinqla* (~ *ś:-*) ink: Ak. *šinqla*.

| Lezg. **śVqāq* (~ *ś:-*) gum: Lezg. *śqāq*; Tab. *śqāq*.

An interesting form with a partial reduplication. The narrow vowel of the first weak syllable is reduced both in Lezg. and Tab.

| W.-Cauc. **ś^wāql:a* letter, document; book: Abkh. *a-ś^vqə*; Abaz. *ś^wə*; Ub. *ś^wāqā*.

PAT **ś^wə²V* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-ś^vqə*).

[] An interesting common NC term. It had obviously signified some dying stuff for ornament (in WC the meaning shifted to the ornament itself - whence 'letter, document'). Phonetically the correspondence is quite satisfactory; perhaps, however, we should reconstruct **śāmqī* with shift of labialisation in PWC (**śāmqī* > **śwānqī* > **ś^wāql:a*) rather than suppose loss of labialisation in PEC (all EC form point to PEC **śānqī*). Of course, Abdullayev's treatment of the Darg. form as *šin* 'water' + *qla* 'roasted grain' (see Shagirov 2,136) should be considered as folk etymology. The root has interesting parallels, particularly, in Semitic: Arab. *summāq* 'Rhus coriaria L.', a plant used for dying into black. From Arabic it penetrated into Persian (*summāk*), then through Turkic (Tat. *sumax* etc.) - into Ossetian *s(y)māg* 'iron vitriol', and from Ossetian - into Georg. dial. *smagai* id. The Semitic word was spread also in European languages (Engl. *sumac*, Russ. *сумах* etc.). See Abayev 3, 198-99, Starostin 1985, 91.

**śwer^cV* (~ *-ə-, -ə-*) street, village: Av.-And. **rVs^wV*; Lak. *śalra*;

Khin. *s^wa*.

| Av.-And. **rVs^wV* village: Av. *rōsu*; Chad. *rōsu*.

Av. paradigm A (*rōsda-l*, *rōsa-bi*; Chad. gen. *rōsu-l*, but pl. irreg. *rōs-bi*).

| Lak. *śalra* street.

Cf. also *śalra-walu*, Khosr. *ś^walra-balu* 'village'.

| Khin. *s^wa* village.

Erg. *s^w-ī*, pl. *so-bur*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although the root is attested only in three languages, correspondences are regular and the reconstruction seems probable. Cf. also Hurr. *śayri* 'orchard' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 36).

**śwērV* evening: Nakh. **psarV*; Av.-And. **śVr-dV*; W.-Cauc. **ś^wə* (~ **ś^w-*).

| Nakh. **psarV* 1 evening 2 yesterday 3 in the evening: Chech. *śujrē 1, sara-ñ3*; Ing. *śajral, sara-ñ3*; Bacb. *psara 1, psare2*.

The Nakh forms reflect different locatives and derivatives from the root **psar(V)-* (not attested without suffixes). The root is also used in Bacb. *si-psre(ñ)* 'the day before yesterday' = Chech. *śīsara*, Ing. *śijsara* id. (etymology of the first part, PN **si-*, is not quite clear - perhaps a dissimilation < **śi-* 'two', lit. 'two evenings (ago)').

| Av.-And. **śVr-dV* night: Av. *sordō*; Chad. *śordo*.

Paradigm B (*sardi-l*, *sardā-l*). -do is historically a suffix.

| W.-Cauc. **ś^wə-*L*^wa* (~ **ś^w-*) 1 night 2 evening: Ad. *-śh 2*; Kab. *-śha 2*; Ub. *ś^wawá 1*.

The AK root is attested within the compound **pčāhā-śha* 'evening' (Ad. *pčāhā-śh*, Kab. *pśāha-śha*), where the first component by itself means probably 'dusk; sunset/sunrise' (see **bāč^wə*). Despite Shagirov (2, 27) the component *śha* here means 'evening' by itself and has nothing to do with PAK **śha* 'head'.

The correspondence PAK **śha* = Ub. *ś^wawá* is exact and points unambiguously to PWC **ś^wə-*L*^wa*. This stem itself is probably an old compound, with probable external parallels for both parts).

[] Cf. also HU: Hurr. *śērə* 'evening; west' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 37). Correspondences are regular. It is interesting to note that the word is also present in Kartvelian: Megr., Laz. *ser-* 'night', Georg. *ser-oba* 'supper'.

**świ[?]ē* (~ *-ā-*) a k. of cereal: Nakh. **psa* (~ *-ā*); Av.-And. **ś^wV[?]V*; Lak. *śi*; Khin. *pśā*; W.-Cauc. **pəśə* (~ *-ś:-*).

| Nakh. **psa* (~ *-ā*) barley: Bacb. *psa*.

Attested only in Bacb., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **ś^wV[?]V* small chaff: Av. *ś^wají*.

| Lak. *śi* millet.

Cf. Khosr. *śi* id.

| Khin. *pšā* bread.

| W.-Cauc. **pəšə* (~ -š:-) 1 maize, corn 2 millet: Abkh. *á-pš* 1; Ub. *pšə* 2.

[] Although not very widely represented in the EC area, the root is no doubt archaic. The PWC form has a frequent prefixed *p- (with usual labial dissimilation after it: *-š^w- > *-š-).

The Avar form, which is phonetically quite regular, but somewhat deviating semantically, may have been influenced by another root, whose traces are left in PN **ča* 'straw' (Chech., Ing. *ča*, Bacb. *ča-l*) and possibly in Bud. *če*^r 'roasted grain'.

**šwimHV* three: Lak. *šam=a*; Lezg. **š(w)imV*; Khin. *pš^wa*.

| Lak. *šam-a* three.

Cf. Khosr. *šam=a* id.

| Lezg. **š(w)imV*- / **s(w)imV*- three (in: thirty): Tab. *simi-čur*; Ag. *šin-čur* (Bursh.).

Tabasaran and Agul have preserved this relic numeral only within the compound **s(w)imV-ču-r* 'thirty' (with 'ten' as the second part). The initial consonant reveals a variation between **s(w)* and **š(w)*; cf. also Tab. Kand. *sumčur*, Düb. *simičur*. In the Richa dialect of Agul the form is *xim-čur*: this is obviously a contamination with the normal PL numeral 'three' **lep:i-* (q.v.); but neither Tab. *simi-*, nor Ag. Bursh. *šin-* in 'thirty' can not be traced back to **lep:i-*.

| Khin. *pš^wa* three.

[] A rather interesting Eastern Daghestanian root: all the listed forms for phonetic reasons can not be traced back to PEC and PNC **λHē* 'three'. It is probable that in PNC we must reconstruct two pairs of numerals for 'three' and 'four'; the semantic difference between them is still to be established.

In the case with **šwimHV* it is also interesting to point out the Kartvelian word for three which is PK **sam-* (see Klimov 1964, 161; despite several authors - Bork 1907, 23-24, Lafon 1952, 64, Klimov ibid. - the PK root can be hardly compared with PNC **λHē*, but is a rather good match for the local EC **šwimHV*).

**šwinkV* mouth: Av.-And. **s:unḱV*; Tsez. **šiku* (~ **š:-*).

| Av.-And. **s:unḱV* 1 mouth 2 muzzle: And. (?) *s:unṭul* 2; Tind. *s:unḱa* 1.

The And. form may belong here if it comes from **s:unḱ-tul* (but the nature of the second component is not clear).

| Tsez. **šiku* (~ **š:-*) mouth: Bezht. *siko*; Gunz. *šiku*.

PGB **šiku*.

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss.

**šwōtV* a hollow tube: Av.-And. **š:wVIV*; Tsez. **šelu* A (~ **š:-*); Lezg.

**sol* (~ **s:-*).

| Av.-And. **š:wVIV* 1 pipe 2 tubular bone 3 arm (from hand to elbow): Av. *šulu* (Ants.) 1; And. *tom-š:il* 2; Cham. *na-s:ul* 2; Tind. *han-š:al* 3;

Kar. *hani-š:el* 2.

The Andian languages have preserved the root only in compounds: **honi-š:wVIV* 'marrow (brain)+'pipe' (= 'tubular bone') or **tomV-š:wVIV* (And. *tomš:il*); for the first part see **thwəmV*.

| Tsez. **šelu* A (~ **š:-*) horn: Tsez. *šilu*; Khvarsh. *šeru*; Inkh. *šelu*; Bezht. *šelo*; Gunz. *šelu*.

PTsKh **šeRu*, PGB **šelu*.

| Lezg. **sol* (~ **s:-*) 1 gullet 2 top (of boot): Rut. *lis* 1; Kryz. *sil* 2.

4th class in both languages. Despite metathesis in Rut., the comparison is quite probable: cf. the external evidence and note that the meanings 'gullet, throat' and 'top of boot' are sometimes interchangeable (cf., e.g. Lezg. *q:uχ* meaning both).

[] The comparison seems plausible; the semantic development (*'tube' > a) 'horn'; b) 'gullet') is rather usual in NC.

*šadV (~ -ə-) snake, worm: Lak. šat:a; Lezg. *šat:-.

| Lak. šat:a worm, snake.

3d class.

| Lezg. *šat:- worm: Tab. šad.

Not very reliable: the Tab. form is quoted only in Leksika 1971, and there is no trace of the word in other languages.

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss; rather dubious because of the root's bad fixation within Lezghian.

*šakV / *šakV (~ *š-) a k. of small bird: Av.-And. *š:aki-b / *š:aki-m; Darg. *š:akak-; Lezg. *š:Vķ- (~ š-).

| Av.-And. *š:aki-b / *š:aki-m 1 small bird 2 bird: And. š:ekib 2; Akhv. š:akiba 2; Cham. sečib (U-Gakv.) 1; Tind. š:akib 2; Kar. š:akibo 2; Botl. š:ikib 2; Bagv. š:akib 2; God. š:ikim 2.

Cf. also God. š:ikara (with another suffixation) 'swallow'. In Cham. sečib is probably a misspelling for š:ecib (note, however, the MSU Gig. recording also with s-: sečib). Not quite clear is the reason of preservation of š: in Akhv. (s- would be expected); perhaps, as in the case with *š[i]nk:V q.v., we have to reconstruct an early PA form *šak:i- with later shift of tenseness.

| Darg. *š:akak- quail: Chir. š:akaki.

| Lezg. *š:Vķ- (~ š-) 1 sparrow 2 swallow: Ag. bişik 2; Rut. iški-l (Shin.) 1.

In Ag. the form is probably a contamination of *š:Vķ- and *p:ič- 'swallow' (q.v.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except for occasional shifts of the tenseness feature, usual in the structure CVCV).

*šarHV whey, buttermilk: Nakh. *šar; Av.-And. *š:arV (~ -o-); Lak. š:aj.

| Nakh. *šar buttermilk: Chech. šar; Ing. šar; Bacb. šar.

Obl. base *šare- (Chech. šera-, Ing. šaro). Cf. also Chech. Pharch. šar id. 3d class in Chech. and Ing., 5th class in Bacb.

| Av.-And. *š:arV (~ -o-) 1 whey 2 buttermilk 3 sour milk: Av. š:ar 1; Cham. š:ara 3; Tind. š:ari 1 (Leksika); Kar. š:are 1; Botl. š:ara 1; God. š:ari 2.

Akhv. š:ari 'sour milk' (MSU recording) must be a loan - either from Av., or from some other And. language (otherwise s:- would be expected).

| Lak. š:aj whey.

The root is attested only in the compound š:aj-ini 'oat flour in whey' (ini 'oat flour').

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for the not quite clear laryngeal (in the cluster *-rH-), correspondences are regular.

Cf. Osset. sir / serä 'meal made of flour and buttermilk' (see Abayev 1979, 112), most probably of Caucasian origin (there is no reason to postulate the reverse direction of borrowing, as Abayev does). Also interesting is Lat. serum 'whey, buttermilk' (an ancient substratum word?).

*šaxwA (~ š-, -ə-) dust, mould: Darg. *š:ax:wa; Lezg. *š:ax:w-; W.-Cauc. *šwəxwa.

| Darg. *š:ax:wa 1 pus 2 mould: Ak. šaxa 1; Chir. š:ax:wa 2.

Cf. also Tsud., Kharb., Kait. š:ax:a 'pus'.

| Lezg. *š:ax:w- rusty, be rusty: Arch. š:ax:w- (-x:w-).

Isolated in Arch., but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *šwəxwa 1 grey 2 powder: Ad. šxwa 1; Kab. šxwa 1; Ub. šxwa 2.

PAK *šxwa. The root is used in several compounds also, cf. PAK *q:a-šxwa (Ad. q:āšxwa, Kab. q:āšxwa) 'blue', *šxwa-(n)šá 'blue, green' (Ad. šxwānša, Kab. šxwānša) etc.

[] The etymology seems reliable, both phonetically and semantically.

*šax(w)V dew, hoar-frost: Darg. *šaxw; W.-Cauc. *šVχV (~ s-, š-).

| Darg. *šaxw 1 hoar-frost 2 dew: Ak. šax 1; Chir. šax 2.

Cf. also Kub. šaxw 'hoar-frost'.

| W.-Cauc. *šVχV (~ s-, š-) 1 hoar-frost 2 saccharine grains, sugar crystals: Ad. šax 1; Kab. səxa 2.

PAK *šaxə / *šəxa. The meaning in Kab. is secondary, as one can clearly see from the old Abaz. loanword: Abaz. səxa 'snow-flake, sleet'.

[] A Darg-WC isogloss. Cf. perhaps also Kryz. šexitā 'hoar-frost' (although the form is isolated within Lezghian, and the suffixation is not clear; there exists Azer. šaxta 'frost' without any further Turkic or Iranian cognates - thus most probably borrowed from Shakhdagh).

*šalkwV hoof: Av.-And. *š[i]nk:wV; Lak. š:ik; Lezg. *šalkw (~-r-).

| Av.-And. *š[i]nk:wV 1 hoof 2 foot, leg 3 stake, wedge: Av. š:inkil 1; Akhv. š:unkwa 1 (Ratl.); Cham. s:unča 2,3; Tind. š:unka 3; God. š:unka 2.

Av. paradigm B (pl. š:anklā-l). Av. > Akhv. š:iki (pl. š:ikila), Tseg. š:inkil 'hoof'. Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. š:unka 'foot', Cham. Gig. s:anka 'ankle'. The only possible reconstruction is *šink:wV with a weak *š- and later shift of tenseness to the initial consonant (otherwise in Akhv. we should have expected a regular development *š:- > s:-).

| Lak. š:ik hoof (of a sheep or goat).

Originally labialised -kʷ, cf. the Arch. loan š:ikw 'heel'.

| Lezg. *šalkw (~-r-) hoof: Tab. širkw.

Cf. also Khiv. širk, Düb. šarka, Khür. šark 'hoof'. Attested only in Tab., but having reliable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In Lak. we should rather expect šik (with weak š-); probably there occurred an early assimilation (even before the weakening of *-kʷ- > -kʷ- in Lak.).

*šam²V (~ -ʔ-) milk; udder: Nakh. *šim; Av.-And. *š:imHu; W.-Cauc. *čə.

| Nakh. *šim udder: Chech. *šin*; Ing. *šim*; Bacb. *šī*.

Obl. base *šima- / *šam-ar- (cf. Chech. *šina*-, Ing. *šamaro*-, the variant *šamar- is probably more archaic and demonstrates the PN Ablaut). 6th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *š:imHu milk: And. *š:iwu*; Akhv. *s:ō*; Cham. *s:īw*; Tind. *š:ū*; Kar. *š:iw*; Botl. *š:īʔu*, *š:īʔū*; Bagv. *š:ū*; God. *š:īwu*.

Cf. also And. (Gudava) *š:imu*, Akhv. Tseg. *s:in*, Tlan. *s:jo*, Cham. Gig. *s:īw*, Bagv. Kvan. *š:i*.

| W.-Cauc. *čə 1 udder 2 milk: Abkh. *ā-č-rəgʷ* 1; Abaz. *čə* 1; Ub. *čə* 2.

PAT *čə (the Abkh. form is a compound with -gʷə 'middle, heart' and a connecting morpheme -rə-). Some comments on the Ub. form see also under *λə.

[] The affricatisation (š > č) in PWC can be probably explained if we assume a dental prefix (čə < *T-šə, possibly of a class origin); dental prefixation is less frequent in PWC than labial prefixation, but several cases of it are attested.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 277 (at least the comparison of Ub. *čə* and And. *š:iwu* is correct).

*šānšū a k. of grass: Nakh. *šiš; Av.-And. *š:Vnš:V; Lezg. *š:Vš:- (~ *š).

| Nakh. *šiš 1 ergot, spur 2 a k. of weed (волчье лыко): Chech. *šiš* 1; Ing. *šiš* 2.

Obl. stem *šišV- (cf. Chech. *šiša*-). 5th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *š:Vnš:V a k. of weed (горчак розовый, плевел опьяняющий): Av. *š:onš:ō*.

| Lezg. *š:Vš:- (~ *š) mint: Tab. *šuse* (Kand.).

Attested only in Tab., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root denoted some odorous or poisonous weed.

*šārī (~ -ū) worm: Nakh. *šari (~ -e); Lak. *š:ira*; Darg. *širV (~ š:-); Lezg. *š:ar.

| Nakh. *šari (~ -e) earwig: Chech. *šera*, *šar-olg*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *š:ira* ascarid.

| Darg. *širV (~ š:-) worm, helminth: Ak. *širi* (Kait.).

Cf. also Kub. *šiwaj* id.

| Lezg. *š:ar worm, helminth: Lezg. *šar*; Tab. *šar*; Ag. *šar*; Rut. *šar-ak* (Khniukh); Kryz. *ser-bāh*.

Cf. also Tab. Ulz., Khan. *š:ar*, Ag. Burk. *š:ar*. 3d class in Rut. and Kryz. Oblique base *š:ari- (cf. Ag. *šaru*-, Tab. *šara*-).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (in PL we

have -a- instead of *-ā- after a hushing fricative; ā does not occur in this position).

Some languages reflect also a stem like *šār(V)-kV (probably with an old expressive diminutive): cf. God. *š:irka* 'helminth', PD *šulerk (< *šVrk-Vl with further suffixation?) > Ak., Tsud., Ur. *šulerk*, Sirg. *šulk*, Muir. *šulelk* id.

*šēkV muscle; tendon: Av.-And. *š:ikV; Lezg. *š:Vk-.

| Av.-And. *š:ikV 1 muscle 2 tendon: Av. *š:ek* 1; Chad. *saḳ* 2; And. *š:eki* 2; Tind. *š:eka* 2.

Av. paradigm C (*š:okó-l*, *š:úk-dul*; Chad. *sakí-l*, *saka-l*).

| Lezg. *š:Vk- muscle: Lezg. *zak-um*.

The Lezg. form is quoted from the Russian-Lezghi dictionary; Khaidakov 1973 gives the word as *zakul*. Isolated within Lezghian, but having probable external parallels.

[] An Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss (thus the vocalism is not very secure). In Av. and PA we observe a violation of the 'rule of tenseness' (we should expect a strong -k:-); this is probably explained by a late dissimilation.

*šerčV a k. of grass: Nakh. *šarč; Darg. *š:erš:i; Lezg. *š(:)erš:(a).

| Nakh. *šarč sedge: Chech. *šač*; Ing. *šarš*.

The reconstruction is highly tentative, because the Chech. and Ing. forms correspond poorly to each other. It is not clear why Chech. lost -r-, and why in Ing. -č > -š. 4th class in both languages.

| Darg. *š:erš:i onion, garlic: Ak. *širši* (Ur.).

The word has an unexpected voiced ž in several dialects: Ak. *žerši*, Kait. *šerži*, Kub. *š:ejže*. It is possible that these forms are actually borrowed from Tabasaran: cf. forms like Düb. *šerže* 'garlic' (which is a regular reflex of *šerš:).

| Lezg. *š(:)erš:(a) garlic: Tab. *šarš*.

Cf. also Düb. *šerže* (pointing to PL *-š:-). Attested only in Tab., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Despite some phonetic problems, the etymology seems generally plausible. The semantic correlation 'sedge' : 'onion, garlic' is easily explained by external similarity of the leaves of these two plants.

*šəwV (~ -b-) height: Nakh. *šub (~ -ū-); Av.-And. *š:iba (~ -o).

| Nakh. *šub (~ -ū-) 1 hill, height; boundary 2 precipice: Chech. *šū* 1; Ing. *šuw* 2.

6th class in Chech. and Ing. Obl. base *šub-na- / *šub-ne- (Chech. *šūna*-, Usl. *šūni*-, Ing. *šuwno*). 6th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *š:iba (~ -o) 1 summit, ridge (of a mountain); edge 2 tower: Av. *š:ob* 1; Akhv. *s:eba* 2; Botl. *š:eba* 2; Bagv. *š:eb* (Gud.) 2.

Av. paradigm C (*š:obi-l*, *š:oba-l*).

[] A Nakh-Av.-And. isogloss.

*šHātV spittle, saliva: Nakh. *šato; Darg. *š:alt.

| Nakh. *šato (/t-/) 1 spittle 2 saliva: Chech. *šet* 1; Ing. *šod* 2; Bacb. *šatō* 2.

Chech. *šet* probably is a secondary building after the obl. base *šati- (Chech. *šeta*-). 4th class in all languages.

In PN there are no clusters of *š- + laryngeals; it is not excluded that in this root such a cluster had existed (cf. the pharyngealization in the Darg. parallel), and influenced the reflex of medial *-t- in Ing. (where the form *šod* points to *šato < *šHato?).

| Darg. *š:alt saliva: Ak. *šut-ri*.

Cf. also Gapsh. *šalt-ri*, Kait. *š:alt-ri*, Kharb. *š:at-re* (all forms are pluralia tantum). Cf. also, with secondary glottalisation, Kub. *š:ulʔ-u*, Tsud. *š:ulʔ-e* id.

[] A Nakh-Darg. isogloss. Obviously related to Osset. *sāt* / *sātā* 'spittle, saliva' (cf. also Balk. *šatā* id.). If its Iranian etymology is correct (*spaṭa, see Abayev 1979, 92) - which, however, is somewhat dubious for phonetic and morphological reasons - we will have to acknowledge the Iranian origin of the gloss.

*šHīwʔV whistle; reed-pipe: Nakh. *šāt-ik (~ -ē-); Av.-And. *š:ʔiʔV; Tsez. *šuršVʔ- (~ š:); Lak. *š:ulwʔ*; Darg. *š:alt / *š:uʔ; Lezg. *š:ʔiʔ(a).

| Nakh. *šāt-ik (~ -ē-) reed-pipe: Chech. *šēdag*.

The word contains a common Nakh diminutive *-ik. Cf. also Bacb. *štiur* 'reed-pipe' (< *šat-iru = Av. *ištéro*), with a secondary vowel reduction.

| Av.-And. *š:ʔiʔV 1 pipe, reed-pipe 2 to whistle: Av. *š:ʔantīχ*; Akhv. *š:ʔiʔ*; Tind. *š:uʔ-i-j* 2.

The Akhv. form has irregularly preserved š:- (which should have yielded s:-), obviously, for expressive reasons. The Avar form contains an expressive suffix; medial -n- is probably secondary (it has no external parallels). The Avar form was borrowed in many Andian languages (Kar. *š:ʔantīχ*; Tind. *š:inʔiχ*; Cham. *s:antīχ* - all cited from Leks.; God. *š:antīχ*;) and Lak. *š:ulʔux:i* id. We should also mention some Avar form with prothetic i- (cf. Lezghian below): *išʔi* 'whistle', *išʔi-ze* 'to whistle', *išʔé-ro* 'whistle (n.)'.

| Tsez. *šuršVʔ- (~ š:) reed-pipe: Gin. *šuršatu*.

An expressive reduplicated form; attested only in Ginukh, but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *š:ulwʔ* whistle.

Cf. also Khosr. *š:ʔulʔa ʔun* 'to whistle'.

| Darg. *š:alt / *š:uʔ whistle: Ak. *šalt*; Chir. *š:uʔ*.

Cf. also Ak. *šaltaxi* 'reed-pipe' (similar to *šalt*, but possibly borrowed - through Lak. *š:ulʔux:i* - from Av. *š:ʔantīχ*).

| Lezg. *š:ʔiʔ(a) 1 whistle 2 reed-pipe 3 to whistle: Tab. *šʔuʔ-ram* 2; Kryz. *fiʔ* 1; Bud. *fiʔ* 1; Arch. *š:ʔiʔ-bos* 1; Ud. *fiʔ:it:i* 2.

3d class in Bud. Bud. > Khin. *fiʔ* 'whistle'. With prothetic *ʔi- (*ʔiʔ:ʔ-ʔ-) cf. Tab.

uʔʔi (coexisting with *šʔuʔ* / *šʔiʔ*, Düb. *šʔiʔi*), Lezg. *uʔʔ* 'whistle'. There are also irregular reflexes: Ag. *uʔʔ*, Bursh. *š:ʔuluʔ*, Rut. *suʔ*, Tsakh. *suʔ* id. - easily explainable by expressive reasons.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An onomatopoeic and rather universal root; nevertheless, its EC antiquity seems rather probable.

*šHwātā (~ -ā) sock, stocking: Av.-And. *š:ʔata (~ o); Tsez. *šeta (~ š:-); Lak. *š:altal*.

| Av.-And. *š:ʔata (~ o) sock, stocking: Av. *š:ʔatā*; Kar. *š:eta*. Av. paradigm B (gen. *š:ʔatā-dul*). Cf. also Kar. Tok. *š:ata* id.

| Tsez. *šeta (~ š:-) a knitted boot: Gin. *šita*.

Attested only in Ginukh, but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *š:altal* woollen footwear (socks).

The Lak. form is an original plural.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*šikV / *kišV (~ š) sweetbrier: Av.-And. *kiš:u; Lezg. *š:ik-Vj /

*š:ik-Vla.

| Av.-And. *kiš:u sweetbrier: Cham. *čis*; Tind. *keš:u*; Bagv. *keš:ʔ*; God. *kiš:u*. Cf. also Cham. Gig. *čis:i*.

| Lezg. *š:ik-Vj / *š:ik-Vla sweetbrier: Lezg. *ziki*; Tab. *ski* (lit.); Rut. *kaskal-bir*; Tsakh. *kaskale*.

Cf. also Lezg. Akht., Khl. *ški*. The Rut. form (which is from the Khniukh dialect) and the Tsakh. form are partially reduplicated, and have the suffix *-Vla (as opposed to *-Vj in the Lezg.-Tab. area). An irregular modification of the same stem is possibly Ag. Bursh. *kučkučaj* 'sweetbrier'.

[] An And-Lezg. isogloss (involving a metathesis, but nevertheless rather reliable). In PA we have weak *k instead of *k: according to a local rule (k: in Av.-And. languages does not occur before fricatives and affricates, tending in this position to pass tenseness to the next consonant).

*šimišV (~ š,-i-) fringe, plait: Av.-And. *šimišV (~ s); Tsez. *žižu (~ ž:-, -i-, -V-).

| Av.-And. *šimišV (~ s) 1 fringe 2 tassel: Av. *simís* 1; Akhv. *sisa* 2. Av. paradigm C (pl. *simsa-l*). Not quite clear is the reason why Akhv. preserved s in this root (both PA *s and *š normally yield Akhv. š); however, the word (attested in the northern Akhv. dialect) does not resemble a loanword.

| Tsez. *žižu (~ ž:-, -i-, -V-) plait: Tsez. *zežu*; Gin. *zežu*. PTsKh *žižu (~ i-, -V-).

[] An Avaro-Ando-Tsezian isogloss. Correspondences are normal; PTs reveals a usual reduction of the medial syllable with a resonant in a polysyllabic structure; unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to establish whether there had been nasalization in the PTs root (regularly it would have been expected).

*šišaŋV sack; clothes: Av.-And. *šišal(V) (~ s); Lak. šašal; Lezg. *šišal.

| Av.-And. *šišal(V) (~ s) clothes: Akhv. šišal(i) (Tseg.).

Cf. also Tlan., Ratl. šišal(i) id. Northern Akhv. has šišaŋ:e which is originally a locative form of the same noun.

| Lak. šašal sack.

| Lezg. *šišal sack: Lezg. šešel; Tab. šišal; Ag. šišal (Bursh.); Kryz. šišäl.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. šešel, Ag. Fit., Burk. šišal id.

See Khaidakov 1973, 86.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Lak. form is dialectal and may be borrowed from Lezghian (e.g. from Agul), but borrowing is far less probable for the Akhvakh form.

*ši an interrogative pronoun: Av.-And. *š:V; Tsez. *š:i- (~š-); Lak. š:i-; Lezg. *š:i; W.-Cauc. *šə (~ *š:-).

| Av.-And. *š:V what, who: Av. š:i-; Chad. si-.

The root is preserved only in Av. (with changing class suffixes: 1st class - š:i-w, 2d - š:i-j, 3d - š:i-b, pl. š:a-l), but has good external parallels.

| Tsez. *š:i- (~š-) 1 what 2 who: Tsez. šo-w, še-b 1,2; Gin. se 1; Bezht. šizo 1; Gunz. šijo 1.

PTsKh *š-i-, PGB *š-i-jo (in Bezht. Tlad. -ž- is a result of assimilation, cf. Khosh. šijo-d). A derived word (from šeb 'what') is Tsez. šebin 'thing'.

| Lak. š:i- who.

The stem is used only in oblique cases (gen./erg. š:i-l, dat. š:i-n).

| Lezg. *š:i who: Lezg. wu-z; Tab. fu-z; Ag. fi-š; Rut. wi-š; Tsakh. hi-su; Ud. šu.

Labialized vowel in Udi and Tsakh. is secondary (probably due to a contraction *-i + class marker). Mostly used in conjunction with other interrogative stems, like *λ:wi-š:i, *hi-š:i; but. cf. Tab. erg. š-i-li, Ag. Bursh. erg. š:e (nom. u-š:).

See Alekseyev 1985,74 (this stem is to be distinguished from another PL interrogative pronoun, *šwi q.v.).

| W.-Cauc. *šə (~ *š:-) how: Abkh. -š(ə)-; Abaz. -š(ə-).

PAT *šə (used as a verbal interrogative modifier infix). PAT *š can go back to PWC *š, *š: or *š:~.

[] A common NC interrogative stem. It is used mostly for animated (more rarely - for unanimated) objects in EC languages, but has become an interrogative modifier in PWC (PAT). See Trubetzkoy 1930, 274.

*šumVšV face, muzzle: Av.-And. *š:umVš:V; Lak. š:unš:u-.

| Av.-And. *š:umVš:V face: Av. šumeš (Kel.).

The word is cited from Mikailov 1959; cf. (ibid.) Andal. šumeš, šoneš 'nose'.

| Lak. š:unš:u-maŋi muzzle.

A compound word (etymology of the second part see under *maŋe).

[] An Av.-Lak. isogloss.

*šVIVŋV lizard: Nakh. *šulŋqV; Av.-And. *š:uŋV; Darg. *š:ilŋa; Lezg.

*šVrVŋV(l) (~ š:-).

| Nakh. *šulŋqV 1 lizard 2 a k. of lizard (медяница): Chech. šaŋqam 2; Ing. šulŋa 1.

The PN form is probably a reduction < *šult-ikV (with a common diminutive suffix). The Chech. form has a secondary suffixed -m, joined to the original oblique base *šalŋqV- (with Ablaut). 6th class in Chech., 4th class in Ing.

| Av.-And. *š:uŋV lizard: Av. š:uŋ (Ants.).

The Av. dialect form is quoted from Khaidakov 1973; he also lists variants č:uŋ, c:uŋ - which have an affricate due to contamination with the root č:ut q.v. Although both forms are hard to separate from within Avar, external evidence shows that they are historically distinct.

Av. dial. č:uŋ > Gunz. čuŋ 'lizard'.

| Darg. *š:ilŋa lizard: Ak. šuršutan; Chir. š:ata.

An expressive root with some irregular changes. Cf. also Kub. š:ifa, Kharb. š:ilŋa (the most archaic form).

| Lezg. *šVrVŋV(l) (~ š:-) 1 lizard 2 scorpion: Lezg. šaraŋul 1; Kryz. šuruŋ 2.

The Lezghi form is quoted from Khaidakov 1973. The vocalism and the tenseness of initial consonant are hard to establish (not enough data).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive root, which obscures the vocalic reconstruction.

*šVmV / *mVšV edge, spine: Av.-And. *š:VmV-IV; Lezg. *muš:-ur.

| Av.-And. *š:VmV-IV edge, end: Av. š:oméli.

| Lezg. *muš:-ur spine, backbone: Arch. muš:ur.

Attested only in Archi, with a possible Avar parallel.

[] An Av.-Lezg. isogloss. The comparison is possible, but not very reliable (because of the sparsity of reflexes, and a metathesis in one of the subgroups).

*šVnšV / *čVnčV (~ -l-) a k. of bird: Nakh. *šaršu-l; Av.-And. *čwančwa / *sanča; Tsez. *š:aš:V (~-ŋ-, -ŋ-); Khin. čänč; W.-Cauc. *čVšV.

| Nakh. *šaršu-l thrush, blackbird: Chech. šoršal.

Attested only in Chech., but having possible external parallels.

| Av.-And. *čwančwa / *sanča 1 wild turkey 2 swallow: Akhv. čwančwa 1; Cham. sanča-ra 2 (Gig.).

An expressive root, with somewhat irregular correspondences.

| Tsez. *š:aš:V (~-ŋ-, -ŋ-) swallow: Bezht. šašu.

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Khin. čänč pigeon.

| W.-Cauc. *čVšV swallow: Abkh. á-z'čə-s; Abaz. z'čə; Ad. pčāšχ; Kab. pčāšχa; Ub. čāšχa.

PAT *z'əčə (cf. Bz. á-z'č); PAK *pčāšχa. A complicated case. If we assume a metathesis and secondary voicing in PAT (*z'əčə < *čəs'ə), the PAT form can be compared to PAK *pčas- and Ub. čās-, yielding the reconstruction *čVšV. *-χa

in PAK and -xa in Ub. can be considered as a second element of compound (meaning probably 'grey').

See Abdokov 1973, 65. Since the PAK form can hardly be separated from Ub. and PAT, the inner analysis of PAK *pčášx̣a as 'black, dark' + 'blue' (see Shagirov 2, 50) seems to be a folk etymology.

[] Like many birdnames, a reduplicated expressive root with some irregular phonetic variations. The original root must have denoted a medium sized dark bird (cf. various meanings in modern languages: 'blackbird, wild turkey, swallow, pigeon'). Cf. also Hurr. *zinz-aBə* 'pigeon' (or 'swallow'), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 45. It is interesting to note similar birdnames in Georgian: *šašvi* 'blackbird', *šošia* 'starling'.

*šVrV lake, river: Av.-And. *šVrV (~ s-); Darg. *šara.

| Av.-And. *šVrV (~ s-) river, stream: Akhv. *šuru* (*Tlan.*).

Attested only in Akhv., with probable Darg. parallels.

| Darg. *šara lake: Ak. *šara*; Chir. *šara*.

Cf. also Kub. *šāl*, Tsud. *šalri* (both are MSU recordings; the source of pharyngealization is unclear - faulty record?).

[] An And-Darg. isogloss.

*šwēmhV young goat or sheep: Nakh. *šo (~ -ō); Av.-And. *ʔi-šomu; Tsez. *š(:)ome (~ ž-); Darg. *šam.

| Nakh. *šo mountain goat: Chech. *šo*.

The Chech. word is quoted from Карасаев-Мациев 1978, thus vowel length and paradigm are unknown.

| Av.-And. *ʔi-šomu 1 female mountain goat 2 goat (less than 2 years old): Av. *sum* (*Ants.*) 1; And. *išom* 2; Cham. *īho* (*U.-Gakv.*) 2; Tind. *hīhab* 2; God. *išamu* 2.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *išan* 'kid (less than 1 y. old). The PA form has a laryngeal prefix (as in a number of other cases). In Tind. a secondary metathesis of nasalisation occurred (*hīhab* < **iham* < *ʔ*išomu*). Andian (Old Tind. or Cham.) > Inkh. *išomu*, Khvarsh. *išamu* 'young goat'.

| Tsez. *š(:)ome (~ ž-) goat (less than 2 y. old): Bezht. *šāmū* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *šome*.

PGB *šom[e].

| Darg. *šam young sheep (less than 2 y. old): Chir. *šam*.

Cf. also Ur., Mek. *šam* id., Tsud. *šam-čuje* 'lamb'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root may have denoted both a young wild or domestic goat/sheep.

*šwēzV a k. of biting insect: Lak. *suç*; Lezg. *š:ʷāç:.

| Lak. *suç* tick.

The Lak. form is a result of assimilation < **suç*; cf. Khosr. *š:uç* (strong š:- not quite clear - inaccurate recording?).

| Lezg. *š:ʷāç: midge, mosquito: Lezg. *wet*; Ag. *šit:aj, šit:ilaj*; Rut. *šʷāt*.

3d class in Rut. Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *šʷet*, Ag. Fit., Burk. *šit*: (all

reflexes uniformly pointing to *-ç:). The root tends to contaminate with PL *š:uʔ 'bug' (q.v.); this may explain the Lezg. Akht. form *feʔ* (regularly *feʔ* would be expected).

[] A Lak.-Lezg. isogloss (in both subgroups the root tends to contaminate with the reflexes of PEC *šwVʔV q.v., which makes the reconstruction not very secure).

*šwifhV tomorrow: Av.-And. *š:ʷila; Darg. *bur-š:al; Lezg. *šʷil:V.

| Av.-And. *š:ʷila 1 tomorrow 2 a day after tomorrow: And. *š:ela* 1; Cham. *š:ola* 2; Tind. *š:ola* 1.

Not quite clear is Cham. *š:et* 'tomorrow' (is it a reduction < *š:ʷil-ʔV with an unclear suffix, or a quite different root?).

| Darg. *bur-š:al morning: Chir. *burš:al*.

Cf. also Chir. *burš:alli* 'tomorrow'. The component *bur-* is etymologically obscure.

| Lezg. *šʷil:V tomorrow: Arch. *šut:a*.

Attested only in Archi (thus *-l:- as well as *-t:- is possible for PL), but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*š(w)irʔV village; nest: Tsez. *š(:)ī (~ *ž-, -i-); Lak. *š:ar*; Darg. *š:i.

| Tsez. *š(:)ī (~ *ž-, -i-) nest: Bezht. *šī*.

Cf. also Khosh. *si* id., Tlad. *ši* 'bed'. Isolated in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *š:ar* village.

| Darg. *š:i village: Ak. *ši*; Chir. *š:e*.

Cf. also Ur., Kad. *ši*, Kub. *š:e*, Kait., Tsud. *š:i* etc.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Phonetically and semantically quite reliable: the correlation between 'dwelling-place, village' and 'nest' is usual in Caucasian languages. Some details of reconstruction - e.g., labialisation, allow for alternatives, because the root has preserved not very many reflexes.

tāk*wV (~ -ə-) a k. of vessel: Nakh. **tēk*(u); Lezg. **tak(a).

| Nakh. **tēk*(u) chamber-pot: Chech. *tōk*; Ing. *tek*.

The original paradigm can be reconstructed as **tēk*, **tēku*- (cf. Chech. obl. *tōka*-); the obl. base vocalism in Chech. penetrated into the direct base. 4th class in both languages.

| Lezg. **tak**(a) 1 mortar 2 goblet 3 water-trough: Lezg. *tak*^w 1,2; Tab. *tak*^w 1; Bud. *tōke* 3.

The Bud. form contains a historical suffix *-aj and has undergone an assimilation (**tak*^waj > *tōke*). Obl. stem unclear (Lezg. erg. *tak*-uni). 3d class in Budukh.

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss. See also PEC **tāq*V.

**tām*hī (~-ī,-ū) vein; pipe, kennel: Tsez. **tōh*V; Lak. tunnu; Darg. **tum*; Lezg. **tam*: (~-p:); W.-Cauc. **t:a* (~da).

| Tsez. **tōh*V 1 mill kennel 2 trough: Gin. *tah-ra* 2; Gunz. *tōhe*.

Gin. *tah-ra* probably < **tōh-ra* with vowel assimilation.

| Lak. tunnu vein, blood vessel.

Cf. Khosr. *tundu*. The Proto-Lak. form must be reconstructed as **ten-d*V (< **tem-d*V), cf. the Khosr. form and the Arch. loanword *tenne*.

| Darg. **tum* vein, blood vessel: Ak. *tum*; Chir. *tum*.

Cf. also Ur., Kub. *tum* etc. Perhaps we should also relate here (with old Ablaut?) Chir. *tima* 'brook, stream'.

| Lezg. **tam*: (~-p:) 1 vein 2 sinew, tendon 3 cramp 4 tenacity 5 power: Lezg. *tab* 3,5; Tab. *tab* 1; Ag. *tab* 2; Rut. *tab* 2; Kryz. *tāb* 3; Bud. *tab* 4.

Since there are no reflexes in Tsakh., Ud. and Arch., we can not distinguish between PL **m*: or **p*:; external evidence suggests the former. Obl. base **tam*:e- or **tam*:i- (cf. Ag. *tabu*-, Rut. *tābi*-). 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Leksika 1971, 110.

| W.-Cauc. **t:a* (~da) vein: Abkh. *a-dā*; Abaz. *da*.

PAT **da*.

[] Cf. also the HU evidence: Hurr. *tem-ari* 'irrigation ditch, canal' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 25). The original meaning must have been 'pipe, kennel ~ blood pipe, vein'. The PTs form suggests rather short *-ā- against the WC evidence implying long *-ā-; however, since the form is attested only in Gunz. and the vowel is nasalized (nasalisation often shifts vowel reflexes), we prefer to reconstruct a long vowel in PNC.

**tāw*cV bug: Av.-And. **tabc*:V; Tsez. **tawsa* (~ -s:-).

| Av.-And. **tabc*:V bug, bed-bug: And. *tarc:a* (Khaidakov); Cham. *tas*^w;

God. *tabc:u*.

The irregular reflex -s:- in Cham. (cf. also Gig. *tas:u*) is due to contamination with another root, PA **λars*:V 'bug' q.v.

| Tsez. **tawsa* (~ -s:-) bug, bed-bug: Tsez. *tawsa* (Sh.); Gin. *tawsa*. PTsKh **tawsa*.

[] An And-Tsez. isogloss. Because of a peculiar root-structure in PTs (an unusual -ws- cluster), an old loan in PTsKh from Andian is not excluded.

tēm*tV dirt, dust: Av.-And. **toto*; Tsez. **tōtu* (tīt*V-); Lak. *tanta*.

| Av.-And. **toto* 1 dust 2 foam 3 saliva: And. *toto* 3; Akhv. *tata* 1; Cham. *tata* 2 (Gig.).

| Tsez. **tōtu* (**tīt*V-) 1 ashes 2 dust, dirt 3 dirty: Tsez. *tet* 1*tutu*-ru 3; Gin. *tutu*-ru 3; Bezht. *tato* 2, *tīt* 1; Gunz. *tōdu* 2, *tīt* 1.

PGB **tōtu* 'dust, dirt', **tīt* 'ashes'. It is very hard to separate these two PGB stems (of which the second has an exact parallel in Tsez. *tet*). Since **ɔ* / **ɪ* is an archaic Ablaut type in PTs, the stem **tīt* is probably a nominalized oblique base (the PTs paradigm must have been **tōtu*, **tītu*-; **tītu*- > PTsKh **tīt*, **tutu*-ru-).

| Lak. *tanta* body dirt.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Lack of nasalisation in PTs and PA, corresponding to a nasal -n- in Lak., points to PEC *-m-.

**ten*λ^wV weasel: Darg. **terγ*^wa; Lezg. **ten*λ^w.

| Darg. **terγ*^wa weasel: Ak. *tarha*; Chir. *terγ*^wa.

Cf. also Ur. *tarh*^wa, Tsud. *tarh*^wa, Sirg. *targ*^wa id.

| Lezg. **ten*λ^w weasel: Tab. *terk*^w (Kand.); Ag. *turk*;; Rut. *tuk*; Kryz. *čak* (Al.); Bud. *čok*; Arch. *tun*λ^w; Ud. *c:iq:l*.

A regular palatalisation of *t- before a front vowel occurred in Kryz., Bud. and Ud. In some languages irregular changes occurred: cf. Tab. Düb. *kūt* (with metathesis and assimilative weakening **k:ū* > *kūt*); Kryz. *žek* (with irregular voicing). The word belongs to the 3d class in Kryz. and Bud., but to the 4th in Arch. and Rut.

[] A Darg.-Lezg. isogloss (for phonetic reasons this root can not be compared with PEC **darq*wV and other similar names for weasels).

**thw*ǝmV seed; stem, spadix: Nakh. **thum*; Av.-And. **tomo* (~ a); Tsez. **tama*; Lezg. **tum*(a).

| Nakh. **thum* 1 corn-cob 2 core (of a plant): Chech. *thum*; Ing. *tum*. Obl. base **thamo*-rV- (Chech. *thamara*-, Ing. *tomaro*). 4th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **tomo* core (of a cabbage), maize stalk: Tind. *tama*.

The same root is probably present in the compound: And. *tom-s:il* 'tubular bone' (*'stalk'+tubular bone'); for the second part see **swō*tV.

| Tsez. **tama* horn: Gin. *tama*.

Attested only in Gin., but having probable external parallels (with a typologically common semantic development 'root, spadix' > 'horn').

| Lezg. **tum(a)* 1 seed 2 grain 3 kin, tribe 4 root: Lezg. *tum* 1; Tab. *tum* 1; Ag. *tum* 1; Kryz. *tum* 1,2; Bud. *tum* 1,3; Ud. *tum* 4.

The root was borrowed from Lezg. into Azer. *tum* 'seed' (not vice versa, because the Azer. word has no Turkic etymology and even no Turkish parallel).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is of Iranian origin (cf. Avest. *taoxman-* 'seed; kin', Pers. *tuḡm* id. < PIE **teuk-men-*), but must have been borrowed very early, because modern reflexes can not be deduced from late Iranian forms, and have considerably changed semantically and phonetically.

**tñVrcwV* dirt; bog: Nakh. **tʔarš*; Av.-And. **tiç:u*; Tsez. **taç*.

| Nakh. **tʔarš* slush, mire: Chech. *tqarš*; Ing. *tarš*.

There's not enough information to establish the PN vowel length in this root.

| Av.-And. **tiç:u* bog, marsh: Cham. *tiş*; Tind. *tic:u*; Kar. *tiç:u*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *tiçu*.

| Tsez. **taç* bog: Gunz. *taç*.

Isolated in Gunz., but having secure external parallels (first of all, in Andian languages).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Vowel correspondences are not quite clear; perhaps Gunz. -a- is Bokarev's misspelling instead of -ɔ- - in that case this would be a case of PEC *-o-.

**tHVnkwV* loop; part of a spindle: Av.-And. **tVkv*; Lezg. **talnk(ul)*.

| Av.-And. **tVkv* loop (made of a rope): Chad. *tiḡ*.

Av. paradigm C (*tiḡi-l*, *tiḡa-l*).

| Lezg. **talnk(ul)* 1 head of a spindle 2 support for a spindle: Bud. *tunuk*; Arch. *talnkuli* 1; Ud. *tirik:al* 2.

The precise meaning in Bud. is 'деталь прялки в виде железного стержня в кружке для наматывания ниток'. The word was obviously influenced phonetically by PL **tinuk*: (Bud. *tunug* / *tunuk*) 'spindle'.

[] An Av.-Lezg. isogloss. The reconstruction is not very secure because of scarcity of reflexes.

**tiçwV* (~ -i-, -ɜ-) button, buckle: Av.-And. **tuç:a* (~ -o); Tsez. **ciḡwV* A / **tiçwV* A.

| Av.-And. **tuç:a* (~ -o) 1 buckle 2 button: Cham. *tuşa* 1; Bagv. *tuç:a* 2.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *tuç:a* 'buckle'.

| Tsez. **ciḡwV* A / **tiçwV* A 1 button 2 belt: Tsez. *ceḡa* 1; Gin. *ceḡa* 1; Khvarsh. *ceḡo* 1; Inkh. *ceḡo* 1; Bezht. *tiçiro* 2 (*Khosh.*).

PTsKh **c[i]ḡwV* (not clear is -e- in Inkh.; -i- or -ɜ- would be expected). Cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *tiçiro* 'belt'. Semantically 'belt' is in this case obviously a secondary development < 'buckle'. In Bezht. *Khosh.* another similar word is witnessed: *ṭuruci* 'button'; *ṭuruci* and *tiçiro* probably represent an etymological doublet due to interdialectal borrowing.

[] An And-Tsez. isogloss. May be deverbative: cf. Gunz. *tuç-ul-* 'to pass through, to thread, to string'.

**tirungV* spindle: Darg. **duruk*: (~ t:-, -g); Lezg. **tinug*; W.-Cauc.

**t:arədə* (~ d-, -t:-).

| Darg. **duruk*: (~ t:-, -g) spindle: Ak. *durug*.

| Lezg. **tinug* 1 swaddling-band 2 reel, spool 3 spindle's pivot: Lezg. *tang* 1; Rut. *timug* 2; Kryz. *tünüg* 3; Bud. *tunug/tunuk* 3; Arch. *tung* 3.

Cf. also Rut. Kich. *tumuk* 'spindle ring', Lezg. plur. *tangar*. 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

| W.-Cauc. **t:arədə* (~ d-, -t:-) spindle: Abkh. *a-dardə*; Abaz. *dadər-ḡə*.

PAT **darədə* / **dadərə* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-dardə*; in Abkh. there exists also a variant *a-dardḡə* = Abaz. *dadərḡə* with an unclear component **-ḡə*).

[] The EC and WC forms can be compared if we assume an assimilation **darəgə* > **darədə* in PAT, which seems possible. The correlation between PNC **tirungV* and PIE **torkw-* 'spindle; band' (WP 735) is still to be investigated.

**türV* (~ -l-) dung, mud: Av.-And. **tirV*; Tsez. **tar* (~ -ɔ-).

| Av.-And. **tirV* 1 ashes, dust 2 dog's dung 3 sleet: Av. *terét* 3; Akhv. *tereti* 1; Tind. *tira* 2.

In Av. and Akhv. the root is reduplicated. Tind. *tira* > Inkh. *tira* 'dog's dung'; Av. *terét* > Arch. *teret* 'sleet'.

| Tsez. **tar* (~ -ɔ-) sheep's dung: Bezht. *tär* (*Tlad.*);

Isolated within Tsezian, but having Andian parallels.

[] An And-Tsez. isogloss; however, borrowing is improbable. Cf. perhaps also (with metathesis) Tab. *riči-n*, Düb. *riti-n* (< PL **rätV* ~ **ritV*) 'charcoal; ashes'.

**tVmV* a k. of weed: Nakh. **tāmu-ri* (~ *tōmari*); Av.-And. **tVmV-IV*;

Tsez. **tem* (~ -i-, -ə-).

| Nakh. **tāmu-ri* (~ *tōmari*) reed mace: Chech. *tōmari*.

Attested only in Chech., with a probable Avar parallel.

| Av.-And. **tVmV-IV* moss; a k. of weed (овсяница пестрая): Av. *tamālo*.

| Tsez. **tem* (~ -i-, -ə-) a k. of weed ('борщевник'): Tsez. *tim*.

Isolated in Tsez., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level.

**tV* that (demonstrative pronoun): Lak. *ta*; Darg. **tV-*; Lezg. **tV*.

| Lak. *ta* that.

| Darg. **tV-* demonstrative stem: Ak. *it*; Chir. *it*, *ta*°.

Used for far deixis in Darg., in compounds with other deictic particles (mostly **ʔi-*).

| Lezg. **tV* demonstrative pronoun: Tab. *tu-mu*; Ag. *ti*; Rut. *tin*; Arch. *to-t*.

The root was used for far deixis ('that') and has retained this meaning in all languages; it is opposed to PL **t:V-* q.v.

[] This demonstrative root (used for far deixis and opposed to **dV* q.v.) is

common for the Eastern Daghestan languages (Lak., Darg., PL). A trace of it in the Western area is perhaps PTsKh **ti*-λ 'inside' > Tsez., Gin. *teλ* (the adverb 'inside' is often built from pronominal stems, cf. Av. *zá-ni-b*, PA **hi-nV* etc.).

**twəjV* spit, spittle: Nakh. **tuj* (~ -ū-); Av.-And. **tʷo-*, **tʷojV*; Tsez. **tʷi-*; Darg. **tu*; Lezg. **tuj* / **tutuj*.

| Nakh. **tuj* (~ -ū-) spit, spittle: Chech. *tuj*; Ing. *tu-g*; Bacb. *tuj*.

In Ing. - a diminutive form (**tu(j)-k*). It is impossible to establish vowel length. 3d class in Chech., Ing., 5th class in Bacb.

| Av.-And. **tʷo-*, **tʷojV* 1 spit, spittle 2 to spit: Av. *tuj* 1, *tu(j)-* 2; Chad. *tu-* 2; And. *toto* 1, *tu-d-* 2; Cham. *tū-* 2; Tind. *tʷē-* 2; Kar. *tutu* 1.

The And. languages reflect a derived verbal stem **tʷo-d-* and a reduplicated noun **tʷotʷo* < **tʷotʷəjV*.

| Tsez. **tʷi-* to spit: Bezht. *tū-λ-* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *ti-λ-*.

PGB **tu-* / **ti-* (reflecting an original root **tʷi-*); cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *ti-λ-* id.

| Darg. **tu* to spit: Ak. *tu-iķes*; Chir. *tu-ʔi*.

The stem *tu* is nominal ('spit, spittle') and used as the first component of a compound verb.

| Lezg. **tuj* / **tutuj* 1 spit, spittle 2 to spit: Tab. *tutu* 1, *tu ap-* 2; Ag. *tutu* 1; Rut. *tu* 1; Tsakh. *tu* 1; Arch. *tu-bus* 2.

For the final *-j cf. Tab. pl. *tutuj-ir*, Ag. obl. *tutuji-*, Rut. *tujt-*, Tsakh. *tujt-*. Cf. Giginayshvili 1977, 80.

[] An expressive, but common EC root with quite regular correspondences. A reduplicated variant (> PA **tʷotʷo*, PL **tutuj*) can also be reconstructed.

†

**tʰāmV* wing: Nakh. **tʰām*; Av.-And. **timitara*; Lak. *timu*; Lezg. **tām:-*; W.-Cauc. **t:ama*.

| Nakh. **tʰām* wing: Chech. *tam*; Ing. *tqam*.

6th class in Chech. and Ing. Obl. stem **tʰāmu-* (Chech. *tōma-*, Ing. - with vowel levelling - *tqamo*). Cf. also Shar. *tʰām*, Akk. *tqam*.

| Av.-And. **timitara* butterfly: Akhv. *timitara* (*Ratl.*).

An isolated Akhv. word, but with probable external parallels.

| Lak. *timu* feather.

4th class. Cf. also Khosr. *timitaj* (redupl.) 'butterfly'.

| Lezg. **tālm:-* (~ **tālp:-*) butterfly: Tab. *baItli* (*Düb.*); Rut. *ṭābābāl*.

The Düb. form is metathesized (*baItli* < **taIbli*). Both **m:* and **p:* can be reconstructed on basis of Tab. and Rut. data; external evidence suggests **m:*.

| W.-Cauc. **t:ama* wing, shoulder: Ad. *tāma*; Kab. *dāma*.

PAK **t:amā*. Attempts of inner morphological analysis of the form (see Shagirov 1, 142) are not convincing.

[] Correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems quite reliable. The Lak. forms provide a bridge between the basic meaning 'wing' and the derived (often with expressive reduplication) meaning 'butterfly'.

taHnā* (~ -ā) nit: Av.-And. **tanʔa*; Lak. *tu*; Darg. **neṭ*; Lezg. **nät* / **tän* (tāH*); W.-Cauc. **ta*.

| Av.-And. **tanʔa* nit: Av. *tihā*; Chad. *tihī*; And. *ta*; Akhv. *tani*; Cham. *tana*; Tind. *tana*; Kar. *tane*; Botl. *tana*; Bagv. *tana*.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *tihā-dul*; Chad. *tohō-l*, *tahā-l*). For And. Khaidakov notes two forms: *ta* 'nit', but *tana* 'larva, grub' - these are probably dialectal variants; the MSU recording is *tana* 'nit'.

| Lak. *tu* nit.

Obl. stem *tuni-*; 3d class. Cf. Khosr. *tu*, pl. *tun-di*.

| Darg. **neṭ* nit: Chir. *neṭ*.

Cf. also Kait. pl. *niṭ-bi*.

| Lezg. **nät* / **tän* (**tāH*) nit: Lezg. *neṭ* (*Khl.*); Tab. *niṭ*; Ag. *neṭ*; Rut. *nät*; Tsakh. *naṭ*; Arch. *naṭ*; Ud. *t:e*.

Obl. base **nāta-* (cf. Tsakh. *naṭa-*) - but more frequent is the consonantal obl. base **nät-rV-* (Lezg. *neṭre-*, Tab. *niṭru-*, Rut. *nätir-*, Arch. *neṭir-*). 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh., but 4th class in Arch. The Udi form is the most archaic (preserving the original order of consonants, see below), but it is hard to establish the underlying PL form (both **tän* and **tāH* with some laryngeal are possible).

See Leksika 1971, 151; Talibov 1980, 272.

| W.-Cauc. **ta* 1 louse 2 nit: Ub. *taḳ* 1, *taḳ* 2.

The Ub. root *ta-* is isolated (*ta-ḳ* may be an old singulative form; about

-č see *čA - Ub. *ta-*, despite Shagirov 2, 125, can have nothing to do with this root), but has rather probable EC parallels.

[] The type of laryngeal in the cluster -Hn- can not be established precisely, because in two critical cases (PD and PL) the root underwent an influence of *nēmzi 'louse' (PD *neṭ - cf. PD *nez 'louse'; PL *nät - cf. PL *näç: 'louse'). All other correspondences are regular, and the root can be safely reconstructed for PNC.

*tamsV carpet: Av.-And. *tams:a; Darg. *tams:; Lezg. *tams(:).

| Av.-And. *tams:a carpet: Av. *tāns:a*; And. *tams:a*; Akhv. *tās:a*; Cham. *tans:a*; Tind. *tams:(*)a*.

Av. paradigm A (gen. *tāns:a-dul*). Tind. (or Cham.) > Inkh. *tansa* id.

| Darg. *tams: carpet: Chir. *tams:*.

| Lezg. *tams(:) carpet: Lezg. *tams* (Khl.); Ag. *tams*; Rut. *tams*.

[] A cultural word, thus the probability of interlingual borrowings is very high; PEC antiquity therefore dubious.

*tāpV a k. of wooden vessel: Nakh. *dab(V) (~ -ā-, -w-); Tsez. *tāpV; Lezg. *tāp / *tāp; Khin. *tab*; W.-Cauc. *tāpə.

| Nakh. *dab(V) (~ -ā-, -w-) a woven basket (for corn or for fishing): Chech. *dō*; Ing. *dō*.

Cf. also Akk. *daw(a)* id. 6th class in both languages.

| Tsez. *tāpV a small barrel: Gunz. *tāpi*.

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *tāp / *tāp 1 hollow log 2 trap 3 lock 4 hive 5 tent 6 trough: Lezg. *tab* 1; Tab. *tāpar* 3; Ag. *taw* 3 (Burk.); Rut. *tāp* 2 (Kich.); Tsakh. *tāpan* 4; Kryz. *tāpān* 5; Ud. *t:ap:an* 6.

The Ag. form stems from the Burk. dialect, thus *taw* < **tab* < **tāp*. The original *-p is preserved in Tsakh.; all other languages reflect a secondary variant **tāp(an)* with assimilated *p. A form without suffixes is reflected in Lezg., Rut. and Ag.; other languages either reflect a form with a common suffix *-an (Tsakh., Kryz., Ud.) or the original plural form **tāp-ar* (Tab., cf. also Lezg. *dāpar* / *tāpar* 'lock', Lezg. Khl. *tāpar* id.). Cf., perhaps, also Tsakh. *topi* 'jug, jar' (with a secondary vowel labialisation) = Ud. *t:op:i* id. The Ud. form *t:ap:an* may have been borrowed from Arm. *tapan* (all the Lezg. forms with -an are derived from this source by Vinogradova-Klimov 1979, 157); however, it is less probable for Kryz. and Tsakh. - and in general, considering the lack of IE etymology of the Armenian word, it seems much more probable that Arm. *tapan* was itself borrowed from a Caucasian source.

| Khin. *tab* trap.

| W.-Cauc. *tāpə hut: Abkh. *a-tāp*; Abaz. *tāp*.

PAT *tāpə (the word also means 'place' in general).

[] The etymology seems quite reliable, although there are usual in roots of this type (with two stops) assimilations and dissimilations (PN **dab* < **tab* < **tāp*; PWC **tāpə* < **t:āpə*). The root must have denoted originally some wooden or woven vessel.

*tāqV (~ -ā-) a k. of vessel: Nakh. *tāqe; Darg. *tāqa; Lezg. *tak(a); W.-Cauc. *t:āqa (~d-,r-).

| Nakh. *tāqe 1 tub (for cheese brine) 2 tub: Chech. *tēqa* 1; Ing. *tāqa* 1.

3d class in both languages. Cf. also the Ing. obl. base *tāqo* (< **tāqi*-).

| Darg. *tāqa hive: Ak. *tāqa*.

| Lezg. *tak(a) 1 hive 2 basket (for berries) 3 fire-place: Ag. *tak* 1; Rut. *tak* 2; Kryz. *tāk* 3.

4th class in Rut. and Kryz.

| W.-Cauc. *t:āqa (~d-,r-) jar, vase, vessel: Ub. (n)*daqā*.

Def. *ā-(n)daqā*. Since only the Ub. form is attested, it is possible to reconstruct also **qīl*- or **qīl*-.

[] It is hard to keep the PL form apart from the rest, although PL *-k- is quite irregular. This may be due to a contamination with another EC root, **tākV* (q.v.): indeed, the reflexes of the two roots are complementary distributed within (Lezghian: **tak(a)* is present in Ag., Rut. and Kryz., **tak**(a) - in Lezg., Tab. and Bud. Otherwise (besides the easily explicable assimilative glottalisation in Ub.) all correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems reliable.

*tātV cap, hat: Av.-And. *tāta (~ o); Tsez. *tātV (~ -u-); Lezg. *tāt-.

| Av.-And. *tāta (~ o) cap, hat: God. *tāta*.

Attested only in God., but with probable external parallels.

| Tsez. *tātV (~ -u-) cap, hat: Khvarsh. *tītar* (Khaidakov).

Attested only in Khvarsh., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. *tāt- cap: Kryz. *tātāx*.

The Kryz. word is isolated within Lezghian, but has parallels in some Andian and Tsezian languages. -āx is an expressive suffix.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Not widely spread (attested only in three languages), but the correspondences are regular and the reconstruction seems plausible.

*tāhwē (~ -ā) rope, loop: Nakh. *tāV-; Av.-And. *tāHV; Tsez. *tāhV A; Lezg. *tā²a.

| Nakh. *tāV- chain: Chech. *tāē*.

Attested only in Chech., thus there are several possible PN reconstructions (with *-j-, -w-, -b-, -d-, -g-).

| Av.-And. *tāHV button: Av. *tah*.

The form is cited from the Russ.-Av. dictionary, thus the accent paradigm is unknown. Cf. also Av. Andal. *te* id. (Микаилов 1959)

| Tsez. *tāhV A 1 buckle, clasp 2 loop: Tsez. *tewo* 1; Inkh. *tihu* 2.

PTsKh *tāhV.

| Lezg. *tā²a 1 rope 2 rope made of plant stalks: Rut. *tu²I*; Tsakh. *to²Ia*; Arch. *duhlu-ni* 2.

Cf. also Tsakh. prop. *toI²* 'rope'. d- in Arch. is not quite clear: perhaps an early dissimilation < t- before *².

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*tēmṭV freckle, spot: Nakh. *tāti; Av.-And. *tintV; Tsez. *təṭV (~o-, -V-); Lak. *tanṭa*; Lezg. *t[e]mṭ.

| Nakh. *tāti freckle, spot: Chech. *tēda*; Ing. *tād*.

*tḥ- also possible.

| Av.-And. *tintV 1 freckle(s) 2 pock-marked, speckled: Av. *tonṭ-ró*; Tind. *tiṭa-k-be 1*; God. *tintik^wa-be-ki3*.

All forms contain suffixes: in Av. -ro is the original plural suffix; -kin Tind. and God. is diminutive; it is accompanied also by the plural suffix *-bi.

| Tsez. *təṭV (~o-, -V-) pimple: Bezht. *toṭilo*.

Isolated in Bezht., but having reliable external parallels. The Bezht. word contains a frequent -lo suffix (cf. also the Av. form).

| Lak. *tanṭa* freckle.

| Lezg. *t[e]mṭ 1 freckle 2 wart, nipple 3 nipple, female breast: Lezg. *t^weṭ^w-el 1*; Tab. *tiṭ 1*; Ag. *talṭam 1*; Rut. *tiṭ 2*; Ud. *cic:ik: 3*.

An expressive root, thus the precise reconstruction is somewhat difficult. The word probably contained -m- in Inlaut, cf. the labialization in Lezg. and the Ag. form (*talṭam* < *tV^wmṭ-al = Lezg. *t^weṭ^w-el*). The suffixed -VI is probably an exact match for the Av. and Bezht. forms q.v.

See Khaidakov 1973, 49.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Obviously expressive, but with sufficiently good correspondences.

*tāmṭō fly: Nakh. *toṭ; Av.-And. *tint^wV; Tsez. *tōṭ A; Darg. *tent / *tant; Lezg. *temṭ / *tamṭ.

| Nakh. *toṭ 1 gadfly 2 fly: Chech. *toḍ 1*; Bacb. *tuṭ 2*.

6th class in both languages. Reason for narrowing *-o- > -u- in Bacb. is not quite clear. Obl. base *toṭa-, cf. Chech. *toda-*.

| Av.-And. *tint^wV fly: Av. *tuṭ*; Chad. *toṭ*; And. *tenṭa*; Akhv. *tiṭi*; Cham. *tunṭ*; Tind. *tunṭu*; Kar. *tunṭu*; Botl. *tunṭu*; Bagv. *tunṭ^w*; God. *tunṭu*.

Av. paradigm B (*tuṭó-l*, *tuṭá-l*; Chad. *toṭó-l*, *tuṭá-l* / *tuṭ-bí*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan., Ratl. *tinṭi*, Cham. *Gig. tunṭu*.

| Tsez. *tōṭ A fly: Tsez. *tuṭ*; Gin. *tuṭ*; Khvarsh. *tuṭ*; Inkh. *tuṭ*; Bezht. *toṭ*; Gunz. *tōṭ*.

PTsKh *tuṭ; PGB *tōṭ (cf. also Gunz. Nakh. *toṭ* 'fly, bee').

| Darg. *tent / *tant fly: Ak. *tent*; Chir. *teṭ*.

Cf. also Ur. *tant*, Kub. *taṭ*, Tsud. *tent*.

| Lezg. *temṭ / *tamṭ 1 fly 2 bee: Lezg. *t^weṭ 1*; Ag. *tuṭ 1*; Rut. *did 1*; Tsakh. *toṭ 2*; Kryz. *tiṭ 1*; Bud. *tuṭ 1*; Arch. *tant 2*; Ud. *t:at: 1*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *t^waṭ*. Medial *-m- is safely reconstructed on the basis of Arch. -n- and labialisation in Lezg. (*t^weṭ* < *tewṭ < *temṭ), and is also supported by labialized vowels in most languages. Rut. *did* is a result of irregular (expressive) transformations. 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. Oblique base *temṭa- (/ *tamṭa-) can be reconstructed on the basis of Tsakh. *toṭa-*.

See Leksika 1971, 156; Talibov 1980, 285.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Despite the root's expressive nature, the reflexes are fairly consistent (both semantically and phonetically).

*thwərV string, cord: Nakh. *thēr-ik; Lezg. *turin (~o-).

| Nakh. *thēr-ik string, cord: Chech. *tīrig*; Ing. *t^hirg*.

Cf. also Cheb. *tjērig*, Shar. *tīrig*, Khild. *tjerg* etc. 4th class in both languages. The word contains a frequent diminutive *-ik.

| Lezg. *turim (~o-) 1 string, rope 2 thread: Tab. *turin 1*; Ag. *turin (Bursh.) 1*; Ud. *t:uri 2*.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *turim*.

[] A Nakh-Lezg. isogloss (in both families the root is followed by productive suffixes).

*thāta ~ *thāṭa (~-e) thorn, a prickly weed: Nakh. *t(h)ātV; Av.-And. *tVtV-IV; Tsez. *tiṭV B; Lezg. *taṭa.

| Nakh. *t(h)ātV 1 a k. of weed 2 weed: Chech. *tāti 1*; Ing. *tatam 2*.

4th class in Chech., 5th class in Ing. Both forms have suffixes (-i < *-Vj in Chech., -am in Ing.).

| Av.-And. *tVtV-IV burdock: Av. *teṭéli*.

| Tsez. *tiṭV B 1 thorn, prick 2 thistle, thorny bush: Tsez. *tiṭori 1*; Gin. *teṭu 2*; Khvarsh. *taṭu (Radzhibov)*; Inkh. *toṭu 2*; Bezht. *tiṭo 2*; Gunz. *tiṭu 1,2*.

PTsKh *taṭu (cf. also Gin. *teṭe-ra* 'thorn' = Tsez. *tiṭori*); PGB *tiṭu.

| Lezg. *taṭa stick (with a hook) for working wool and leather: Rut. *taṭal*; Tsakh. *taṭa (Gelm.)*.

4th class in both languages. The Rut. form contains a suffixed -l. The word means '(pointed) stick' in Tsakh.; cf. also Rut. Ams. *taṭal* 'staff'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The laryngeal in cluster is reconstructed on basis of the PTs 'B'-phonation.

*tHam[q]V arc, bow: Nakh. *darḅa; Darg. *tamqla; Lezg. *tamqI-.

| Nakh. *darḅa arc (of a bow): Chech. *ṣad-darḅa*; Ing. *ṣad-darḅa*.

A compound with the first part *²āth 'bow' (q.v.). 4th class in both languages. One wonders if the Avar form *gazārḅo* 'bow' does not reflect a compound (for the first part cf. *gazā* 'hoe?') with an old borrowing from Nakh (*gazarḅo* < *gaz-darḅo).

| Darg. *tamqIa arc, hoop: Ak. *tamqal*.

| Lezg. *tamqI- arc, bow, hoop: Tab. *tanqIu*.

Isolated in Tab. (with a variant: *tanq:lu*), but having possible external parallels.

[] Not very certain, because in PN the root is present only within a compound (and underwent irregular changes; especially unclear is the medial -r-). The Darg.-Tab. isogloss is of course secure, but the PEC antiquity of the root is somewhat dubious.

*tHālq̄wV / *qHwāl̄tV part of leg: Nakh. *phit̄; Tsez. *tiq̄wV (~ *tuq̄V); Lezg. *telq̄l̄w (~ *tulq̄l̄).

| Nakh. *phit̄ calf of leg: Chech. *phid*; Ing. *phid*.

Obl. base *phita- (Chech. *phida-*, Ing. *phido*). The word is homonymous with *phit̄ 'frog' (q.v.) which is a secondary merger.

| Tsez. *tiq̄wV (~ *tuq̄V) sole of foot: Bezht. *tuqa*.

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels (although there is a small chance that the Bezht. form is borrowed from Av.: cf. Av. *tiq̄:wá* 'horseshoe; sole', Chad. *tuq̄en* 'horseshoe', Andal. *uq̄:a* id. < **liq̄:wá*; in that case the Bezht. word is to be kept apart from the PN and PL forms).

| Lezg. *telq̄l̄w (~ *tulq̄l̄) 1 shin 2 ankle: Ag. *tur̄e* 1; Rut. *turq̄l* 2.

Rut. -r- in the cluster with following uvulars goes back only to PL *-l-. As for the vocalism, it can be either *u or *e- with following labialisation (there are too few data to make the choice); external evidence seems to be in favour of the latter variant.

From some Ag. dialect the word was borrowed in Darg. Chir. *tuIr* 'shin'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for the metathesis (a frequent phenomenon in roots of this structure), correspondences are regular.

It is very tempting to compare also Av. *tiq̄:wá* 'horseshoe; sole of foot', Chad. *tuq̄:é-n* 'horseshoe'. However, dialectal forms (Andal. *uq̄:a*) show that here t- goes back to Proto-Avar **λ*- (**liq̄:wá*). The comparison is thus possible only if we assume a non-trivial assimilation in Proto-Avar: **liq̄:wá* < **tilq̄:wá*. The inclusion of the Av. form (paradigm B: *tiq̄:wá-dul*, *tuq̄:-bí*, Chad. *tuq̄eni-l*, *tuq̄-bí/tuq̄ná-l*) would allow to make the PEC reconstruction more precise: **thālq̄wā* (~ -ə).

*tHānk̄ō drop, spray: Av.-And. *tink̄V / *tik̄Vn; Lak. *čilnt̄*; Lezg. *tālnk̄; Khin. *ting*; W.-Cauc. *t̄j̄k̄w̄ə.

| Av.-And. *tink̄V / *tik̄Vn 1 drop 2 to drop: Av. *tink̄* 1; Chad. *ténki* 1; And. *tonki-l* 1; Akhv. *tikun-* 2; Cham. *tikana* 1 (Gig.); Tind. *tikun* 1 (*Leksika*); Kar. *tink-* 2 (*Tok*).

The Av. Chad. form is actually a deverbal noun from *tēnk̄-zi* 'to drop' (Av. lit. *tink̄-ize*, masd. *tínki* 'dropping'). Besides the Akhv. and Kar. verbal forms listed above, cf. also And. *tonkun-*, Cham. Gig. *tikun-* 'to drop'. And. *tonkil* has an irregular vowel and may be explained as a metathesis < **tink̄-ol*. Some other forms with -a-vocalism (namely: Cham. Gig. *tank̄*, God. *tank̄i* 'drop') may either reflect the same metathesized variant, or (which is equally possible) reflect a merger with PA **tank̄V* 'spot, dot' q.v.

| Lak. *čilnt̄* spray.

| Lezg. *tālnk̄ drop: Ag. *tink̄*; Rut. *tank̄*; Tsakh. *tank̄*; Kryz. *tikin*; Bud. *tik̄*.

Cf. also Tsakh. Gelm. *talnk̄*, Bud. *tik̄-en* 'freckles'. Obl. base *tālnka- (Rut. *ánki-*, Tsakh. Gelm. *talnka-*). 3d class in most class-distinguishing languages, but 4th class in Bud.

See *Leksika* 1971, 188; Giginayshvili 1977, 81.

| Khin. *ting* drop.

| W.-Cauc. *t̄j̄k̄w̄ə to drop: Abkh. *á-k̄:wá-ra*; Abaz. *ka-k̄k̄wá-ra*; Ad. *jəba-tk̄wá-n*; Kab. *pə-tk̄wá-n*; Ub. *k̄wá-k̄wá*.

PAT *k̄(ə)k̄wá; PAT *tk̄wá- / *tk̄wá- (mostly used with preverbs in the meaning 'to drop'; without preverbs cf. Ad., Kab. *tk̄wá* 'to thaw, melt', *tk̄wá-ps* 'drop'); Ub. *a-k̄wá-k̄wá-n*. The comparison of Adygh forms with Abkh. and Ub. belongs to Abdokov (1973, 86) and seems quite probable (we only have to suppose an assimilation t- > k- in Ub. and Abkh.). The alternative comparison of Klimov (PAK *tk̄wáV- : Abkh. *a-3ə-tq̄wá* 'pool'), see Klimov 1967, 303) is much worse both phonetically and semantically.

[] One of a series of roots sounding like *KVNTV / *TVNKV and meaning 'drop, spot' (see also *t̄Vn̄k̄ə, *kwim̄t̄V, *kan̄t̄V). All of them are clearly expressive and tend to contaminate with each other. The root *t̄Hānk̄ō, however, is the only one having parallels in WC. See Abdokov 1983, 103. Cauc. > Osset. (Dig.) *tink̄*, *ting* 'drop', see Abayev 1979, 356.

*t̄iHV / *Hīt̄V small, little: Av.-And. *t̄Vn̄V- (*t̄VH̄w̄V-n-); Lak. *īl̄ta-; Lezg. *ti-; W.-Cauc. *ta.

| Av.-And. *t̄Vn̄V- (*t̄VH̄w̄V-n-) small: Av. *hītina-b*; Chad. *tih̄in̄ča-b*; Cham. *tanna-b* (Gig.).

Cf. also PA *t̄un̄HV- 'bad', reflected in Cham. Gig. *tuw* 'bad', God. *tūji* 'very' (< *'badly'), *tūji-λi* 'evil'. In PAnd.-Av. the form must have been *H̄(w̄)V̄t̄V-n- or *t̄VH̄w̄V-n- (cf. the variants in Av. dialects). Av. > Bezht. *ifino* 'small'.

| Lak. *īl̄ta- small.

This hypothetical Lak. root is extracted from *bīl̄ta-kis:a* 'small finger' (cited from Khaid.).

| Lezg. *ti- 1 small 2 few 3 little finger: Lezg. *ti-mil* 2; Arch. *ti* 1; Ud. *t:i-lin* *k̄:āšā* 3.

In Lezg. and Ud. the root is expanded by suffixes (in Ud. *k̄:āšā* - 'finger'). Cf. also Arch. *ti-nna* 'few', Lezg. Khl. *te-mil* id.

| W.-Cauc. *ta 1 few, a little 2 less, smaller: Ad. *tak̄w* 1; Kab. *tak̄w* 1; Ub. *ta* 2. PAK *t̄á-k̄w̄ə (a compound with an unclear second component; however, it is highly likely that the first part = Ub. *ta*). AK *tak̄w* > Ub. *tak̄w*, Abaz. *tak̄w* 'few, a little'.

[] Correspondences are regular, and the NC etymology seems reliable. The nasal (*-n-) in PA is probably of a secondary (suffixal) origin. Perhaps we should also relate here Tsez. *taki* 'few' (with a velar suffix - old diminutive?). See Abdokov 1983, 185.

*tim̄λw̄V pimple: Av.-And. *tix̄(w̄)V; Lak. *tink̄*; Lezg. *tim̄λ.

| Av.-And. *tix̄(w̄)V abscess, furuncle: Av. *tix̄*.

Isolated in Av. (the form is quoted from Khaidakov 1966), but having reliable parallels in Lak. and Lezghian languages.

| Lak. *tink̄* pimple, rash.

For final -k cf. gen. pl. *tink̄-ur-dil*.

| Lezg. **tim*λ pimple: Tsakh. *ṭix* (Mishl.); Arch. *ṭin*λ.

For final *λ cf. Arch. pl. *ṭin*λ-um. Arch. -n-and Tsakh. -0- before a lateral point to PL *-m-.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Not very widely spread, but phonetically reliable. It is interesting to note the dialectal Lak. (Khosr.) form *ṭinx* 'pimple'; since literary Lak. has *ṭink*, the Khosr. form must be borrowed from some Lezghian source.

**ṭi*ṭV finger: Nakh. **ṭal-ik*; Av.-And. **ci-ṭil*; Tsez. **ṭu* A; Darg. **ṭul*; Lezg. **ṭil* (~o-); Khin. is-t:al.

| Nakh. **ṭal-ik* finger: Chech. *ṭelg*; Ing. *ṭelg*; Bacb. *ṭark*.

The stem contains a diminutive *-ik. Bacb. *ṭark* instead of **ṭalk* on analogy with *lark* 'ear', *b^sark* 'eye'. 6th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. **ci-ṭil* finger: Kar. *ṣitel*; God. *seṭil*.

An old compound with **ca-* 'one' (cf. a similar compound in Khin.).

| Tsez. **ṭu* A finger: Khvarsh. *ṭu*; Inkh. *ṭu*.

PTsKh **ṭu*, obl. base **ṭuRa-* (Inkh., Khvarsh. *ṭula-*) - preserving the old resonant.

| Darg. **ṭul* finger: Ak. *ṭul*; Chir. *ṭul*.

Cf. also Ur., Tsud. etc. *ṭul* 'finger' and the derivate **ṭuleka* (Ak. *ṭuleka*) 'finger-ring' (another derivate is Chir. *ṭule* 'finger-ring').

| Lezg. **ṭil* (~o-) 1 finger 2 finger-nail 3 thimble: Rut. *ṭili* 1; Tsakh. *ṭul-ung* 3; Kryz. *ṭil* 1; Bud. *ṭil* 1,3; Arch. *ṭon-tol* 2.

3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. The Tsakh. form is a derivate (the simple root was not preserved there); on the etymology of Arch. *ṭon-tol* see under **ir*λ.^wār- 'cut, slaughter'.

See Leksika 1971, 120; Talibov 1980, 284.

| Khin. is-t:al finger.

Originally a compound 'one finger' (cf. PA). **ṭ* > *t*: in the cluster -st:-; the original **ṭ*- is preserved in an old derivate *ṭaring* 'finger-ring' (= PD **ṭuleka* 'finger-ring', Tsakh. *ṭulung* 'thimble').

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**ṭimh*V owl, a big bird: Tsez. **ṭimə* A; Darg. **ṭuma*; Lezg. **ṭim*:(a) (~-p:-); W.-Cauc. **ṭə* / **tə*.

| Tsez. **ṭimə* A pigeon: Tsez. *ṭumi*; Khvarsh. *ṭema*; Bezht. *ṭimo*.

PTsKh **ṭ[i]mə* (with assimilatory rounding *i* > *u* in Tsez.). Cf. also Bezht. Khosh. *ṭimo* 'pigeon'.

| Darg. **ṭuma* owl: Ak. *ṭuma*; Chir. *ṭuma*.

Cf. also Ur., Kub., Tsud. etc. *ṭuma*.

| Lezg. **ṭim*:(a) (~-p:-) owl: Lezg. *ṭib*; Tab. *ṭip*;; Rut. *ṭib*; Kryz. *ṭub*.

Cf. Lezg. erg. *ṭip-re* (this, together with Tab. *ṭip:-ru* and Rut. *ṭib-ir-* points to a PL oblique base in *-rV-). 3d class in Rut. and Kryz. Since the root is not preserved in Arch., Tsakh. or Udi, it is impossible to distinguish between PL *-m:- and *-p:-; external evidence is strongly in favour of *-m:-.

See Khaidakov 1973, 17.

| W.-Cauc. **ṭə* / **tə* 1 owl 2 eagle-owl: Abkh. *a-ṭə* 1; Abaz. *ṭə* 1; Ad. *ṭə-ṭəṭəṭə* 2; Kab. *də-ṭəṭəṭə* 2.

PAT **ṭə*; PAK **tə-ṭəṭəṭə*. Despite the irregularity (*ṭ* : *t*;) the comparison of PAT and PAK is quite probable (see Шарипов 1, 154), especially because in Abkh there also exists a compound *a-ṭə-ṭəṭəṭə* 'eagle-owl' (= PAK **tə-ṭəṭəṭə*); etymology of the second part see under **ṭəṭəṭə*.

Ub. *ṭəṭəṭəṭə* 'owl', because of its *t*-, is probably not genuinely related, but borrowed from Adygh. However, despite Abdokov (1983, 122), Ub. *dəma* 'hen' is hardly related.

[] Correspondences are regular. See Abdokov 1983, 122.

**ṭirix*V a k. of foot-wear: Tsez. **ṭix*:V-IV (~-i,-b-); Lezg. **ṭirix*.

| Tsez. **ṭix*:V-IV (~-i,-b-) boot sole: Bezht. *ṭixla*.

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable Lezghian parallels.

| Lezg. **ṭirix* 1 leathern foot-wear 2 soft slippers for children: Lezg. *ṭirix-ar* 1; Tab. *ṭirx* 1; Ag. *ṭirix* 2.

Cf. also Tab. Khür. *ṭirix* 'leathern foot-wear'. The vowel *-i- (not -i-) must be reconstructed to account for lack of palatalisation (*ṭ* > *ç* or *č*) in Lezg. and Tab.

[] An interesting Tsez.-Lezg. isogloss (unfortunately, attested only in a few languages).

**ṭiš(w)i* (~-ə,-a) lead: Nakh. **daš*; Av.-And. **ṭiš^wV*; W.-Cauc. **ṭəša* (~-s-).

| Nakh. **daš* lead: Chech. *daš*; Ing. *daš*.

Obl. stem **dašu-* (Chech. *doša-*, Ing. *dašo* with vowel levelling). 3d class in both languages.

| Av.-And. **ṭiš^wV* lead: Av. *ṭoxi*; Chad. *ṭuxi*; And. *ṭuši*; Akhv. *ṭoša*; Cham. *ṭoha*; Tind. *ṭoha*; Kar. *ṭoše*; Botl. *ṭuši*; Bagv. *ṭoš* (Tlond.); God. *ṭuši*.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *ṭuša*, Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *ṭošo*. Av. paradigm B (gen. *ṭoxi-dul*, Chad. *ṭuxi-l*).

| W.-Cauc. **ṭəša* (~-s-) lead: Abkh. *a-ṭsá* / *a-čsá*; Abaz. *ṭsa*. PAT **ṭəša* (~-s-; cf. also Ashkh. *ṭasa*). Since the Bzyb. form is not attested, we can reconstruct both *-s- and *-š- in PAT; consequently, there are several PWC possibilities: *-š- (which would correspond to EC), *-š-, *-s- or *-š^w-.

[] PN has **d-* instead of the expected **ṭ-*: this must be explained by the influence of other metal names (PN **dašVb* 'gold', **datVb* 'silver' q.v.). Otherwise correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems quite satisfactory. See Abdokov 1983, 102 (Av.-And. : WC; the author also cites, however, a non-existent Darg. *ṭabs* 'copper' and Lak. *ṭi* 'bronze' which can not belong here).

**ṭug*V he-goat: Av.-And. **ṭuka*; Tsez. **ṭig₁a*; W.-Cauc. **tak:a-* (~-k:-).

| Av.-And. **tuka* he-goat: And. *tuka*; Akhv. *tuka*; Cham. *čuta*; Tind. *tuka* / *kuta*; Kar. *tuka*.

In Tind. and Cham. - a metathesis of velarity and palatalisation (Cham. *čuta* < **kuta*); note that in Tind. both forms are in free variation.

| Tsez. **tiga* a B he-goat: Tsez. *teka*; Gin. *teka*; Khvarsh. *teka* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *tika*; Bezht. *tiga*; Gunz. *tiga*.

PTsKh **tika*, PGB **tiga*.

| W.-Cauc. **t:ak:a-* (~ -*k:-*) 1 he-goat (1 y. old) 2 animal (1 y. old and older): Ad. *tača-x* 2; Kab. *daža-x* 1.

PAK **t:ak:a-x*ə (a compound with **x*ə 'male'); in Kab. the precise meaning is 'a gelt he-goat (more than 1 year old)'. Cf. also Kab. *dažāza* 'a 1 y. old he-goat' (a compound with *āza* 'goat').

[] Correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems quite reliable. See Abdokov 1983, 117 (EC : Kab.).

One feels tempted to compare this root with PEC **dHogwV* 'donkey, ass' (q.v.), spread in the Lak-Darg-Lezg. area (all the forms could be united under a single protoform **tHōgwV*, assuming some metatheses and possibly interdialectal loans); however, there still remain semantic and phonetic difficulties, and the question is still open.

**tūmhV* (~ **twi-*, -*h-*) kernel, stone (of fruit, nut); marrow: Nakh. **tum*; Lak. *tuṭi*; Lezg. **tum(:)ul* / **tum(:)ut*; W.-Cauc. **tVmla*.

| Nakh. **tum* marrow; kernel (of a fruit, nut): Chech. *tum*; Ing. *tum*; Bacb. *tum*.

4th class in all languages. Obl. base **tam-or-*, cf. Chech. *tamar-*, Ing. *tomar-*.

| Lak. *tuṭi* grape.

The Lak. form was probably borrowed in Darg.: cf. Ak., Ur. *tuṭi*, Chir. *tuṭe* etc. It is also probable that the Av. dialectal form *tuṭi* 'gooseberry' is borrowed from Lak. or Darg.

| Lezg. **tum(:)ul* / **tum(:)ut* 1 grape 2 plum: Lezg. *cip:ic* 1; Tab. *tumut* 1; Ag. *tibiṭ* 1; Rut. *timil* 1; Tsakh. *tumil* 1; Bud. *tombul* 2; Arch. *tummul* 1; Ud. *t:ul* 1.

A complicated root, partly reduplicated, partly provided with a suffix *-ul. Some languages (Lezg., Ag.) reflect a variant with front vocalism (**tim:it*, with regular palatalisation in Lezg.). In Inlaut Lezg., Ag., Tsakh., Arch. and Ud. reflect PL *-m:-; however, Tab., Rut. and Bud. reflect a weakened variant *-m- (in Bud. with a secondary epenthetic -b-). Bud. > Khin. *tumbol* 'damson' (Ud. *damp:ul* 'plum' is also an old loan from Shakhdag languages). All these complicated interrelationships probably reflect active interborrowing of this important cultural term; there is, however, little doubt in the genuine character of the root as a whole.

We should also note Av. Andal. *timiṭ* 'besom': this may be an old loan from some Lezghian language (explained by using grape branches for sweeping). See Leksika 1971, 161; Giginayshvili 1977, 70, 107; Talibov 1980, 285.

| W.-Cauc. **tVmla* 1 peach 2 apricot: Abkh. *a-tamá* 1; Abaz. *tama* (Ashkh).

2; Ub. *təmlā* 1.

PAT **tama*. The Abkh. form is obviously the source of Georg. *aṭami* 'peach' (whence further Osset. *aṭami*, see Abayev 1958, 82).

[] The Lak. form and part of Lezghian forms are reduplicated (Lak. *tuṭi* < **tumṭi*); otherwise correspondences are quite regular. The root must have originally meant 'kernel, fruit-stone', whence, on the one hand, meanings like 'grape', 'plum' and 'peach', on the other hand - 'marrow'.

Klimov (1964, 181) marks the similarity of PN **tum* with Kartvelian **twin-* 'brain'; it is most probable that the Kartvelian root is an old loanword from NC.

**tVnḱə* freckle, mole; bead: Av.-And. **tankV*; Lak. *tunka*; Lezg.

**tink*.

| Av.-And. **tankV* 1 dot, spot 2 freckles: Av. *tank* 1; And. *tanki-lol* 2; Akhv. *tāka* 1; Tind. *tink* a-bi 2; God. *tank-e* 2.

Av. pl. *tanka-l* (thus probably paradigm C). All the Andian forms are pluralia tantum. The Tind. form has an irregular shape (**tankabi* would be expected) due to contamination with the synonymous *k^wintabi* (see **k^wintV*).

| Lak. *tunka* bead.

| Lezg. **tink* birth-mark, mole: Ag. *tink* (Bursh.).

Isolated in Ag., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive root (although the relationship of Av.-And., Lak. and Ag. forms is obvious). The 1st syllable vowel is hard to reconstruct. In Lak. -k- (instead of -ḱ-) is either a result of secondary dissimilation, or of contamination with *tink* 'pimple, rash' (see **timḱwV*).

**tVrčwē* a k. of small stone: Av.-And. **tVrč:V*; Lak. *turš:i*.

| Av.-And. **tVrč:V* coal, charcoal: Av. *turč:i*; Chad. *turčī*.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *turč:ó-l*, Chad. *turčī-l*).

| Lak. *turš:i* small clay balls for a sling (put on sticks).

[] An Av.-Lak. isogloss; however, for phonetic and semantic reasons, borrowing is not probable.

**tVručV* a k. of vessel: Lezg. **turVč*.

| Lezg. **turVč* scoop: Rut. *turč*.

Cf. also Rut. Ams. *turiš* id. Isolated in Rut., but having interesting external parallels.

[] The word is attested only in Rutul and HU: cf. Urart. *tirusi* (Urartian spelling), *turuza* (L.-Hier. spelling) 'a vessel and capacity measure for liquids' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 27).

**tVtV(wV)* silver; gold: Nakh. **tatib*; W.-Cauc. **t^wat^wa*.

| Nakh. **tatVb* silver: Chech. *deti*; Ing. *dotuw*; Bacb. *tateb*.

3d class in all languages. Initial d- in Chech. and Ing. is secondary (obviously under the influence of **dašVb* 'gold' - Chech. *desi*, Ing. *došuw* - q.v.). Cf. also Khild. *detiw* id. Related is also Bacb. *tiṭbe-r* 'bronze'.

| W.-Cauc. *t^wat^wa gold: Ub. t^wat^wa.

[] An interesting Nakh-Ub. isogloss; borrowing is hardly possible (there are no direct Nakh-Ubykh contacts, and the appearance of the words excludes direct borrowing), thus the root may go back to the PNC level.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 276.

*tVtV flower: Lak. t^utⁱ; Lezg. *t^et.

| Lak. t^utⁱ flower.

| Lezg. *t^et flower: Tsakh. t^et; Ud. cⁱcⁱ:ik.

Ud. reflects a diminutive *t^et-ik (for phonetic reasons it can not be considered a loan from Turk. *čeček*). 4th class in Tsakh.

[] An expressive Lak-Lezg. isogloss.

*t^wel[?]e (~ -2-) stick; beam, crossbeam: Nakh. *t^ewi; Tsez. *tⁱrə A; Lak. t^ulj; Darg. *t^al; Lezg. *t^wela.

| Nakh. *t^ewi 1 crossbeam 2 bridge 3 collar-bone, clavicle: Chech. t^aj 1,2; Ing. tⁱj 2; Bacb. tⁱw 2,3.

The PN paradigm *t^ewi, obl. *t^awi- is clearly reflected in Ing. tⁱj, t^awo; Chech. has generalized the vocalism of the obl. stem (t^aj < *t^aj(i) < *t^awi, obl. t^e- < *t^aji- < *t^awi-). For Bacb. cf. also Desheriyev's notation: t^ew. 3d class in all languages.

The root originally meant just 'stick' or 'pole', cf. the Chech. diminutive t^e-rg-aš (pl. t.) 'drumstick', and Ing. dial. tⁱ(j) 'penis'.

| Tsez. *tⁱrə A bridge, stairs: Khvarsh. t^ero; Inkh. tⁱro; Bezht. tⁱjo; Gunz. tⁱrə. PTsKh *tⁱRə; PGB *tⁱrə (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. tⁱro).

| Lak. t^ulj molar tooth.

| Darg. *t^al stem, trunk, post: Ak. t^al.

Cf. also Ur., Kait., Tsud. t^al id.

| Lezg. *t^wela 1 twig, rod 2 leaf 3 rib 4 pole: Lezg. t^wal 1; Tab. t^ul 1; Ag. t^ul 1,3; Rut. t^ul 1,3; Tsakh. t^ele 2,3; Kryz. tⁱl 1; Bud. t^ul 1; Ud. alat:a 4 (?).

Obl. stem *t^welä-, cf. Tab. t^uli-, Ag. t^uli-, Tsakh. t^ele. The meaning 'rib' occurs normally only in compounds (Rut. begid t^ul, Tsakh. muylena t^ele), but in Agul it also occurs separately. Somewhat dubious is the Ud. form (with metathesis and an obscure a- in Anlaut). The word belongs to the 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh., but to the 4th class in Kryz. and Bud.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. Note also an isolated Gunz. form: t^ala 'penis' (an old loanword from Nakh, before the simplification of -l[?]-?). Abdokov (1983, 133) compares the EC forms (Darg., Lezg. and some unrelated forms) with Kab. jan[?]ar 'log'. The comparison is not quite secure (the meaning of the first component is not clear, although Abdokov discovers it also in jan-ç 'a long pole'; also unclear is -r in Kab.).

*t^wertV a k. of food: Av.-And. *t^urtu-l; Tsez. *t^atu.

| Av.-And. *t^urtu-l a k. of pancake, блин: God. t^urtul.

Attested only in God., with a probable Tsezian parallel.

| Tsez. *t^atu soup with bread and milk, молочная тюря: Gunz. t^atu.

Attested only in Gunz., with a probable parallel in Andian.

[] An And.-Tsez. isogloss.

*t^war[?]i nipple; pimple: Nakh. *t^ara; Tsez. *cō/B/-t[?]/A/; Darg. *t^e (< *t^a?)i; Lezg. *t^ur; Khin. t^a.

| Nakh. *t^ara 1 nipple 2 breast, nipple: Chech. t^ara 1; Ing. t^ar 1; Bacb. t^ar 2.

Obl. base *t^are- (Chech. t^era-, Usl. t^eri-, Ing. t^aro). 6th class in Chech., Ing., 7th class in Bacb.

| Tsez. *cō/B/-t[?]/A/ navel: Tsez. co-tori; Gin. čⁱ-to; Khvarsh. ce-tona (Radzhibov); Inkh. ce-ton; Bezht. co-taro; Gunz. co-tor.

The word is originally a compound ('navel'+nipple, pimple). The PTs paradigm may be reconstructed as *cō-t[?], *cō-t[?]ra- > PTsKh *cō-t[?], *cō-t[?]ra-, PGB *t[?]ra- (direct base from oblique).

| Darg. *t^e (< *t^a?)i 1 udder 2 nipple (of udder): Ak. t^e 1 (Kub.); Chir. t^e 2.

| Lezg. *t^ur 1 pimple 2 bud 3 twig 4 birth-mark; tree-knot 5 wart: Lezg. t^ur 1,2,3; Tab. t^ur 2, t^ur-kal 1; Ag. t^ur 4; Rut. t^ur 1,3; Tsakh. t^ur 1,3; Kryz. tⁱr 3,5.

Obl. base *t^ure-, cf. Tab. t^uri-, Ag., Rut. t^uru-, Tsakh. t^ura-. 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages.

| Khin. t^a udder.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are fully regular.

*t^wiñV foot, forefoot: Nakh. *t^a; Av.-And. *HVtV; Darg. *t^wah.

| Nakh. *t^a 1 front leg (of animal) 2 bottom chuck (of animal): Chech. t^a 1; Ing. t^a 1; Bacb. t^a 1,2.

Obl. base *t^a-ni-, cf. Chech. t^ana-, Ing. t^ano. 3d class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *HVtV foot: Av. he^té / he^t.

Av. paradigm B (ha^ti-l, ha^ta-l). Isolated in Av., but with reliable external parallels.

| Darg. *t^wah a jump, leap: Ak. t^alh.

The original meaning is 'foot', cf. Kad. t^ah, Ur., Sirg. t^wah, Kait. t^ah 'foot, hoof', Kub. t^ulj 'foot', Kharb. t^ah 'foot, paw'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Av. form underwent a metathesis (he^t < *t^eh); otherwise correspondences are regular.

*t^wiñi (~-ə-) finger: Darg. *t^up; Lezg. *t^up.

| Darg. *t^up finger: Ak. t^up (Kait.).

Cf. also Kub. t^up id.

| Lezg. *t^up: 1 finger 2 finger-ring: Lezg. t^ub 1; Tab. t^ub 1; Ag. t^ub 1; Rut. tⁱbə[?]al 2 (Shin.); Tsakh. t^ub 1.

Cf. Lezg. erg. t^up; Lezg. Khl. t^ub, t^upa-; Tab. Düb. t^uw; Ag. Bursh., Burk. t^u (t^uw-), Tsakh. Gelm. tⁱb. Obl. base *t^up:- (cf. Tab. t^uba-, Ag.

tubu-, Burk. *tuwi-*, Tsakh. Gelm. *tiba-*). Several languages have an old derivate from the same root meaning 'finger-ring', cf. Lezg. *tupal*, Tab. *tublan*, Ag. *tubal*, Rut. Khniukh., Shin. *tibaʔəl* (PL **tup:al*).

Cf. Bokarev 1961, 62; Leksika 1971, 120; Giginayshvili 1977, 81; Talibov 1980, 284; Khaidakov 1973, 92.

[] A Darg.-Lezg. isogloss. Correspondences are regular (except for an assimilation **tub* > **tup* in PD).

**tʷōnʔe* manger, feeding-trough; spring: Av.-And. **tonHV* (~ -a-); Lak. *ṭunu*; Darg. **t(ʷ)eni*; Lezg. **tona*.

[Av.-And. **tonHV* (~ -a-) spring: Akhv. *tāji* (*Tseg.*).

Attested only in Akhv., but having probable external parallels.

[Lak. *ṭunu* feeding-trough, manger.

[Darg. **t(ʷ)eni* feeding-trough: Ak. *ṭeni*.

Cf. also Ur., Kub. *ṭini*, Tsud. *ṭeni*, Muir. *ṭuni* id. (the last form pointing to a probable labialisation in PD).

[Lezg. **tona* feeding-trough, manger: Lezg. *ṭun*; Tab. *ṭun*; Rut. *ṭin* (*Khniukh.*); Tsakh. *ṭina* (*Mishl.*); Kryz. *ṭin*; Bud. *ṭun*; Arch. *ṭono*.

Obl. stem **tonä-* (besides the Tsakh. form cf. also Lezg., Tab. *ṭuna-*, Rut. *ṭina-*). 4th class in Arch., but 3d class in all other class-distinguishing languages.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**ḡHuṭV* short-eared ram: Tsez. **s:uṭV* (~o-); Darg. **huṭa*; Lezg. **holṭ(a)*.

[Tsez. **s:uṭV* (~o-) short-eared ram: Tsez. *suṭu*; Khvarsh. *suṭe* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *suṭe*.

PTsKh **suṭV*.

[Darg. **huṭa* short-eared ram: Chir. *ulṭa*.

Attested only in Chir., but having probable external parallels.

[Lezg. **holṭ(a)* short-eared ram: Arch. *olṭi*.

Arch. *olṭi* presupposes PL **holṭ-* with a suffixed **-Vj*. Isolated in Arch., but with probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of the rare cases of PEC **ḡ*, thus not very reliable (although it is hard to explain the coincidences by old borrowings).

*=uċĒ(rV) thick, fat: Av.-And. *čora-; Tsez. *=uš:V- (~ -š-); Lak. =uċ-; Darg. *=uc-; Lezg. *=oċV (~ -u-); W.-Cauc. *p(ə)ċa-.

| Av.-And. *čora- fat, thick: And. čora; Akhv. čara-da; Kar. čora- (Tok.).

| Tsez. *=uš:V- (~ -š-) 1 fat, thick 2 fat (of meat): Tsez. =ušš-ā-si 2; Khvarsh. =ujša (Radzhibov); Bezht. =ōšerō (Tlad.); Gunz. =ošeru.

PGB *=oše-ru (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. =ōšō-rō); PTsKh *=uš-iju.

| Lak. =uċ- fat, thick.

Cf. Khosr. =uċ-s:a id.

| Darg. *=uc- thick, dense: Ak. =uc-si; Chir. =uc:-ze.

In Chir. -c:- is a result of dissimilation (desaspiration) of -c- before the following -ze.

| Lezg. *=oċV (~ -u-) thick, dense: Ud. b-oċlu.

The root is preserved only in Udi, but has very reliable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *p(ə)ċa- fat, thick: Ad. pšar; Kab. pšar.

PAK *pčāra. Final *-rə may be a suffix (cf. an analogical suffix in the PA form), but the root *pčā- has no parallels in other WC languages: the comparison with PAT *pāšā-la 'fat' (see Shakryl 1968, 29; Abdokov 1973, 16, 21, 27; Shagirov 2, 29) can not be accepted for phonetic reasons (the correspondence PAK *č : PAT *š does not exist).

[] The etymology is both phonetically and semantically satisfactory. The PWC form has a prefixed labial (former class marker), as in many other cases. See Abdokov 1983, 143.

*=uGwV to rain: Nakh. *daβu; Tsez. *b:ʷədə; Lak. βaral; Lezg. *ʷoq:ʷa-.

| Nakh. *daβu rain: Chech. doβa; Ing. doβa.

3d class in Chech. and Ing. Note that the verbal present stem *-āβ- (> Chech. -ōβu) 'to come' has also the meaning 'to rain, to snow'; thus the form *daβu may have been deverbal in PN.

| Tsez. *b:ʷədə rain: Khvarsh. βʷada; Inkh. βodo; Bezht. wodo; Gunz. wadə.

PTsKh *βʷədə (in Inkh. also means 'sky'), PGB *wadə.

| Lak. βaral rain.

3d class. Cf. Khosr. βʷaral.

| Lezg. *ʷoq:ʷa- 1 to rain 2 rain (n.): Lezg. q:ʷa-z 2; Tab. u-r-β-uz 2; Ag. uβas 2; Rut. huβʷas 2; Tsakh. g'-oβa-s 2; Ud. aβala 1.

The words for 'rain' in most Lezghian languages are derived from this verb base (PL *ʷoq:ʷa-l(V) 'rain' > Lezg. q:ʷal, Ag. uβal, Rut. huβʷal, Ud. aβala); a separate derivation from the same root is Tsakh. joβʷi.

See Talibov 1960a, 298; Leksika 1971, 185.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The verbal root is preserved only in PL. Other languages reflect a deverbative noun *GwV-(r)dV / *r-ūGwV.

*=uλwV to be silent, quiet: Darg. *=uxʷ-; Lezg. *ʷoλ:ʷa-.

| Darg. *=uxʷ- to speak, to say, to talk: Chir. =uxʷ-.

| Lezg. *ʷoλ:ʷa- 1 to be silent, listen 2 be reconciled 3 to say: Ag. d-uċ- 2; Rut. =uxʷa- 3; Arch. o=λ:a- 1.

Cf. also Arch. dur. =orλ:u-r, Ag. Bursh. ʷad-uš:a-s. Note a peculiar semantic shift '(keep silent, reconcile) > listen > (*cause to listen) > say' (rather often observed in Caucasian languages).

[] Abdokov (1983, 148) compares the root with PAK *xʷāmə 'silent, quiet' (Ad. fam, Kab. xʷam): this is possible if -mə is a suffixed morpheme.

*=un3Ē to hide, conceal, steal: Tsez. *=ūc-; W.-Cauc. *3V.

| Tsez. *=ūc- to hide, steal: Khvarsh. cuc- (Radzhibov); Bezht. =ūc- (Tlad.); Gunz. =ūc-.

PGB *=ūc- (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. =uc- id.). The Khvarsh. form is reduplicated.

| W.-Cauc. *3V 1 to hide, conceal 2 secret: Abkh. a-3a-rā 1; Abaz. 3a-ra 1; Kab. bzə-šə-n 1; Ub. wa(n)3á 2.

PAT *3á- (cf. also Bzyb. a-3a-rā), *ma-3a 'secret' (Abkh. á-ma3a, Bzyb. á-ma3a, Abaz. ma3a). In Ub. variants wa(n)3á and wIa(n)3á are attested; wa- here can be treated as a prefix meaning 'to do, execute'. The Kab. word means literally 'to make (-šə-n) a secret (bzə-)'. See Shagirov 1,97.

PAT *3á- can, in fact, reflect a merger of two WC roots: cf. also *c:ə > Ub. wə-cə 'to steal' (perhaps also -pš- in Kab. βa-pš-kʷə-n 'to hide?').

[] The root is not widely attested in EC (only in PTs), thus the etymology is somewhat dubious (although phonetically and semantically plausible).

*=ūsV to descend; to fall, be scattered: Nakh. *=oss-; Av.-And.

*=uš:-; Tsez. *=ōs:-; Darg. *=uš(:)-; Khin. aš-.

| Nakh. *=oss- to descend, go down: Chech. =oss-; Ing. =oss-; Bacb. =oss-.

Dur. *=iss- is attested in Chech. =iss-.

| Av.-And. *=uš:- 1 to scatter, strew 2 to be scattered, fall: Av. š:ʷa- 1; Chad. susá-k- 1; Akhv. š:e-r- (Ratl.) 2; Cham. š:uš:ē-d- 2; Tind. =uš:- 1.

Av. and Cham. reflect a reduplicated stem *š:uš:- (cf. also Av. lit. š:uš:á- 'to be scattered'). An expressive root, which explains the preservation of š: in Cham. and Akhv. (regularly s: would be expected; on the possible regular reflex in Cham. see under *=VrcwĀ).

| Tsez. *=ōs:- B to fall down, be scattered: Gin. =iš-; Bezht. =ōs- (Tlad.); Gunz.

PGB *=ōs- (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. =os-).

| Darg. *=uš(:)- to lower, put down: Ak. =uš-es.

Cf. also Ur. =uš- / =urš-, š- / =urš- id.

| Khin. aš- to throw.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Most languages point to *ū; there is also some evidence of an Ablaut grade with *ā (Lak. =i=š:u-, PN *=iss-).

*μacV hawk: Darg. *walwalc; Lezg. *wač-aj (~ *u-).

| Darg. *walwalc hawk: Chir. walwalc.

| Lezg. *wač-aj (~ *u-) hawk: Tab. wačaj (Düb.).

An isolated Tab. form with a parallel in Darg.

[] An expressive Darg.-Lezg. isogloss.

*μar(V)GV a k. of vessel: Lak. waraq:i; Darg. *waq:.

| Lak. waraq:i a copper jug for water.

Cf. Khosr. waraq:i id.

| Darg. *waq: cup; ladle, scoop: Ak. waG.

Cf. also Kub. waq (pl. wuq:e) 'cup'.

[] A Lak.-Darg. isogloss, reflecting a rare phoneme *μ-; the PEC antiquity is rather dubious.

*μelγV burdock; nettle: Lak. ulč:a; Darg. *miγa (~ -?-); Lezg.

*μelg(-ej).

| Lak. ulč:a burdock.

Cf. also Khosr. ulč:a, gen. ulk-lul.

| Darg. *miγa (~ -?-) barberry: Ak. mi?a.

Cf. also Ak. musi-mi?a 'sorrel', Ur. mi?a 'barberry', Kad. mi?a 'nettle'.

| Lezg. *μelg (/ *μeng) 1 nettle 2 burdock: Lezg. werg l; Tab. warži l; Tsakh. meg 2 (Tsakh.); Arch. urk:i 2.

Cf. also Lezg. erg. werge-di, Khl. werg, wergi, Tab. Düb. warži 'nettle'. 4th class in Archi. It is necessary to reconstruct *-l- because of the liquid's preservation in Archi (*-r- would have disappeared before a velar). The Tsakh. form may belong here if we suppose a PL variant *μeng (with the shift -l->-n- and further assimilation *μeng > meg).

See Leksika 1971, 165.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular, but the root contains at once two very rare (in nominal roots) phonemes (*μ-, *γ-); therefore, borrowing from some non-Caucasian source is not excluded, although the source is not yet clear.

*μhalGV (~ -h-) a bird of prey; big bird: Nakh. *mhāqqVl; Lak. walrq:u; Darg. *walrq:-; W.-Cauc. *bābla.

| Nakh. *mhāqqVl kite: Chech. maqqal.

Cf. also Shar. m^haqql, Akk. m^haqql, Cheb., Ved. maqqil. The intervocalic geminate -qq- is either expressive or a result of some cluster simplification (unfortunately there is no Bacb. evidence which would clarify the case). Nakh > Osset. māqqil, māqāl / miqil 'a bird of prey' (see Abayev 1973, 94-95 - also linking Osset. māqqāl 'Ingush' as a zoomorphic ethnonym).

*=V[?]wVn to go: Nakh. *²o-; Av.-And. *=V[?]Vn-; Tsez. *=³o-; Lak. na-.

| Nakh. *²o- go: Bacb. ^oo- (*pres.*).

An isolated Bacb. root (used only in the present tense), but probably archaic.

| Av.-And. *=V[?]Vn- to go: Akhv. =un-; Cham. =ūn-; Kar. =o²an-.

The root vowel is hard to establish because of contractions which had taken place in all languages.

| Tsez. *=³o- come: Gunz. n²o-.

Isolated in Gunz. (initial n- points to root nasalisation), but having probable parallels in Andian languages and elsewhere.

| Lak. na- to go, walk (*dur.*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of the verbal roots with the basic laryngeal consonant. The vowels are rather hard to reconstruct in most of these roots (because of contractions). Cf. also HU: Hurr. un-, Urart. nun- 'to come' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 32).

*=V[?]wV(r) to go, to come: Nakh. *=a²- (~ -ā-); Tsez. *-VH-; Lak. ha-; Darg. *=ah-/*=ih(r)-; Lezg. *²V[?]*V(r)-; W.-Cauc. *jə.

| Nakh. *=a²- (~ -ā-) to come: Chech. =ā-n; Ing. =a-n; Bacb. =a²-ar.

PN term. *=a²- (or *=ā²-; the vowel length is unclear because of loss of the laryngeal in Chech.), *dur.* *=ē²- (Chech. -e²-, Bacb. -e²-).

| Tsez. *-VH- to go, come: Bezht. g-oh- (*imper.*); Gunz. g-u²-.

Vowel quality unclear (because of assimilations due to class infixes: cf. Bezht. g-oh-/ g-ih-/ g-uh-, Gunz. gu²-/gij-); also irregular are correspondences between laryngeals. Cf. also Bezht. Khosh. g-uw- (with alternations: g-ō- / g-ī- / g-ū-).

| Lak. ha- to go (*term.*).

| Darg. *=ah-/*=ih(r)- to go: Ak. =ir-es; Chir. =a- (*ej.*).

Cf. also Ur. =ih-/=ir- 'go'.

| Lezg. *²V[?]*V(r)- 1 to go 2 to come: Rut. ru²u-; Tsakh. =ōr-a (*pres.*).

In Tsakh. the stem is used in imperative (in *pres.* it has the shape -(h)aI, cf. *all-ha* 'to go', *qI-ā* 'to go away', *aor. q-a=i*; *s-āI* 'to gather', *aor. s-a=i*). In Rut. it is used both in the paradigm of the verb 'to go' and as a constative in the paradigm of the verbs 'to be, to become' ('is becoming...').

| W.-Cauc. *jə come: Abkh. a-né-jra; Abaz. ^aa-jra.

PAT *jə, used only with locative preverbs (*na-jə 'come there', *^aa-jə 'come here'). There are no known parallels in other WC languages, but there exist possible EC correspondences.

[] One of several NC verb stems with root laryngeal. Vocalism in such roots is usually hard to reconstruct. Similar to the previous root, but probably originally distinct (cf. the opposition in Lak.)

*=V_CV (~ -ċ-) dark, blind: Av.-And. *ic:u-; Tsez. *sas- (~ s:).

| Av.-And. *=ic:u- 1 blind 2 dark: Av. =ec:a-b I; Chad. b-ēca-b I; Akhv. =ec:o-da I,2; Tind. =ec:u-b I.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. =ec:a-, Ratl. =ec:o-da 'dark'. Tind. > Inkh. becc^we 'blind'; Av. > Gin. beccaw, Arch. becu, bes-du (< bec-t:u) id. A somewhat earlier loan from an Av.-And. source is PGB *bāc-du (-diju) 'blind' (Bezht. bocdijo, Gunz. bācdu).

| Tsez. *sas- (~ s:) dark: Tsez. sasiju; Khvarsh. sajsu; Inkh. sassu.

PTsKh *sas-iju.

[] An Av.-And-Tsez. isogloss; the precise PEC vocalism is hard to establish. The Tsez. form is reduplicated (like many other adjectival stems).

*=V_CV to drink; to gulp, to eat: Av.-And. *ç:a-; Tsez. *=aç-; Lezg.

*²V_CV (~ç:-).

| Av.-And. *ç:a- drink: And. ç:a-d-; Akhv. ç:a-r-; Tind. c:a-; Kar. ç:a-r-; Bagv. ç:e-.

The root occurs often with suffixed *-d- (And., Tind.: c:a- < *ç:ad-) or *-r- (Akhv., Kar.). It may have a counterpart in Av. ç:a-ze 'smoke, sip' (although it must be a contamination with ç:a-ze 'pull' - which is obviously a different stem); cf. also Av. Chad. çuçú- (= Av. lit. ç:aç:á-) 'to suck'.

| Tsez. *=aç- to eat: Tsez. =aç-; Gin. =aç-; Khvarsh. =aç-; Inkh. =aç-.

PTsKh *=aç-.

| Lezg. *²V_CV (~ç:-) drink: Arch. ç-a-bus.

The Arch. form is isolated within Lezghian and the precise reconstruction is therefore difficult to establish.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Since the first vowel is reduced in all Andian reflexes and in Archi, the original vocalism is impossible to establish.

*=V_CV to drive, urge: Av.-And. *=aç- (~ -oç-); Tsez. *=oç- B; Lezg.

*²V_CV.

| Av.-And. *=aç- (~ -oç-) 1 to drive, urge; to swarm (bees) 2 to reach: Av. =aç- I; Cham. =aç- I; Tind. =aç- I.

In Av. the verb also means 'to forge, hit, fight', but this is most probably a fortuitous homonymy. Cf. also Cham. Gig. =az- 'to reach'. Perhaps (with old Ablaut) we should add here also Cham. =uç- 'to run away' (*'be driven').

| Tsez. *=oç- B to drive, urge: Tsez. =oç-; Khvarsh. =eç- (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. =oç- (*Tlad.*); Gunz. =oç-.

PTsKh *=oç-; PGB *=oç- (cf. also Bezht. Khosh. =oç-).

| Lezg. *²V_CV to drive, urge; to pour, strew: Bud. q:a=ç-.

Attested only in Bud., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. There is a vague possibility

that the root may have WC parallels (PAT *ča 'to drive', see under PNC *=āčĀn-).

*=VčwV good; fresh, new: Lak. =uči-; W.-Cauc. *čwa.

| Lak. =uči- good, fitting.

| W.-Cauc. *čwa 1 young, fresh 2 new 3 good: Abkh. a-čá 1; Abaz. ča 1; Ad. ča 1,2; Kab. ša 1,2; Ub. ča 3.

PAT *ča; PAK *ča. Usually these AA and AK forms are compared with Ub. ča 'young, fresh, new': the correspondence is, however, irregular, and there exists a self-standing PWC root *čV q.v. On the other hand, Ub. č regularly corresponds to AT č, AK č, and the semantic correlation between 'new' and 'good' is fairly common.

[] The root is widely spread in WC, but within EC has only a Lak. counterpart, thus the WC antiquity is questionable. Cf. perhaps also Akhv. Tlan. čiqā-b, Tseg. čī²a-b 'good' (if -qa- here can be analysed as a historical suffix).

*=VgĀ(w) to hit, to fight: Av.-And. *gab- / *g-Vg-; Tsez. *geg; Darg. *=u(r)k:- (~ -g-); Lezg. *²ek:V-; W.-Cauc. *pə-ga-.

| Av.-And. *gab- / *g-Vg- 1 to fight, wrestle 2 to hit; to kill: Av. gog-ár- 1; And. žabi- 2.

The Avar stem is reduplicated.

| Tsez. *geg fight: Bezht. geg; Gunz. geg.

PGB *geg.

| Darg. *=u(r)k:- (~ -g-) to fight: Ak. =ury- (Ur.).

The stem is used only as durative, thus -r- may be an infix and not belong to the root.

| Lezg. *²ek:V- to butt, to fight: Tab. el-e=g-.

Cf. also Düb. hē=g- id. The root is attested only in Tab., but has probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *pə-ga- 1 to rush at 2 to fall down, crumble 3 to butt: Abkh. a-bga-rá 2; Abaz. bga-ra 1,2; Ad. pəžā-n 3; Kab. pəžā-n 3.

PAT *baga-; PAK *paga-. The first part is probably a preverb *pə- 'front part' (with secondary assimilation in PAT), see Shagirov 2, 37, Abdokov 1983, 130.

[] The etymology seems reliable, both phonetically and semantically. Abdokov (1983, 130) compares the AK root (from which he derives Kab. žada 'spear') with EC reflexes of *rākwi 'axe', as well as PN *²āk- 'to hit' and *=ak- 'to sew' - which is all most dubious.

*=VgVI to lie, to put: Av.-And. *gir-; Darg. *=a(l)g-/=u(l)g-.

| Av.-And. *gir- to lie: Av. =eg-; Chad. =eg-n-; And. gir-di-; Cham. gara-d-; Tind. šor-d-; Kar. gir-.

The Andian forms reflect the stem II (*gir-), while Avar reflects stem I (*=VgVr-). Some problems are raised by Av. dialectal forms (Chad. -n-conjugation) and by the Tind. initial š- which is quite irregular. However, it doesn't seem proper to separate this form from Cham. garad- etc. (the reason for š- may be contamination

with šer-d- 'to roll, glide' - see under EC *=iršwV).

In Avar there is also a stem =ug-, serving as present for the verb 'to be' (=uk-n-); it probably can be related (with Ablaut) to the root *=Vg(Vr)- / *gir- 'to lie'. Cf. also its Akhv. counterpart g- / gol-.

| Darg. *=a(l)g-/=u(l)g- to lie: Chir. sah=alg-/=ulg-.

Cf. also probably Ur. =ag-/=ig- 'to get (somewhere)' - although root structure differences between Ur. and Chir. raise some doubts.

[] An Av.-And-Darg. isogloss. Cf. perhaps also Lak. b-alža-n (g. pr. b-algu-nu) 'to contain, restrain; dress, provide clothes' (although the semantic development raises some doubts).

*=VGĀI to cut, clip, shear: Av.-And. *=uq:- / *q:ir-; Lak. qu=qī-; Darg. *=alšVn-; Lezg. *²iq:ā(l)-; Khin. t:-āq-; W.-Cauc. *qā.

| Av.-And. *=uq:- / *q:ir- to cut, chop: And. =uq:-; Akhv. =uq:-; Cham. =uq:-; Tind. =uq:-; Kar. =oq:-; Botl. =uq:-; Bagv. =uq:-; God. =uq:-.

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. =oq:-, Kar. Tok. =uq:-. With reduplication cf. Tind. =uq:uq:-, Cham. =uq:uq:-, And. =aq:aq:- 'to cut in small pieces'. Stem II *q:ir- is reflected in the following forms: And. q:ir-d-, Akhv. q:er-, Cham. q:i-d- (Gig. q:ir-), Tind. q:er-d- 'to clip, shear' (in Cham. also 'to chop'). With expressive suffixation cf. perhaps also Av. q:unç- 'to clip, shear' (< *q:e-nç-, as seen from the old Arch. loanword qenç-bos id.).

| Lak. qu=qī- to cut, chop; to end.

G. pr. qu=qū-nu. Cf. Khosr. qu=qī-n id. Without reduplication the root is attested in the Khosr. dialect: =u=qā-n 'to cut, clip, shear'.

| Darg. *=alšVn- to cut, chop, shear: Chir. =alšVn- / =ulš-.

Cf. also Ur. =al²Vn- / =ul²- id.

| Lezg. *²iq:ā(l) 1 to butt, stick into 2 to clip, shear: Tab. ult-u=q:- 2; Ag. uq:- 1; Arch. qe-bus 1; Ud. doIq:ala-besun 1.

Archi reflects the Ablaut grade *²iq:ā- (with regular loss of i-); all other languages reflect the Ablaut grade *²oq:ā- (the 'plural' aspect).

| Khin. t:-āq- to cut.

| W.-Cauc. *qā to cut: Abkh. a-p-qā-rá; Abaz. p-q-ra; Ub. qā.

PAT *qV (in Abkh. there also exists a variant a-pq-rá; cf. also a-t-qā-rá 'to cut out', showing that t- and p- are prefixes). Ub. a-s-qā-n. Abdokov (1983, 161) compares also PAK *wə²a- 'to wound' (Ad., Kab. wə²a-) which is rather dubious for phonetic reasons (-q:- would be normally expected).

[] The etymology seems both phonetically and semantically plausible, although it is hard to reconstruct the root vowel (because of extensive Ablaut).

*=VšwV (~ -G-) to pay tribute: Av.-And. *=išw-; Lak. buši.

| Av.-And. *=išw- 1 to give (living beings) 2 tribute: Av. mašálo 2; Cham. =uš- 1.

The verb is preserved only in Cham. (where it is opposed to gu-d-, Gig. ič- 'to give (objects)'). The derivate (with an archaic prefix m- - or maybe reflecting a lost

medial nasal in the root?), preserved in Avar, has a general meaning 'tribute', but has also a more specific meaning 'tribute paid for grinding grain'.

| Lak. *buši* fine (paid by parents for children's misbehaviour).

[] An interesting Av.-And-Lak. isogloss. Judging from the spectre of meanings, the root must have signified 'to pay tribute with cattle'.

*=Vñ(w)V(n) (~ -ñ-) to rumple, knead, rub: Nakh. *ñew- (~ -ē-); Av.-And. *=VH- / *HVn-; W.-Cauc. *jV.

| Nakh. *ñew- (~ -ē-) to rumple, rub, knead: Chech. *ñē*; Ing. *ñe*; Bacb. *ñew*.

| Av.-And. *=VH- / *HVn- 1 to full, felt, rumple 2 to knead: Av. =uñ- 1; Cham. *an*- 2; Tind. *an*- 2.

The Andian forms reflect stem II *HVn-; Avar reflects stem I *=VH-. Reconstruction of the root consonant *q̣ is also possible, but less probable because of external evidence.

| W.-Cauc. *jV to rub, plaster: Ad. *jā-n*; Kab. *jā-n*; Ub. *ja*.

PAK *jā-; Ub. *a-z-jā-n*. See Shagirov 1, 185.

[] One of the common NC verbal stems with a root laryngeal. The comparison seems probable, although the root is not reflected in many languages.

*=VñVI (~ *=VñVn) to bend: Nakh. *=ak-; Av.-And. *=ikVn; Tsez. *=uk- (~ -o-); Darg. *=ulk-; Khin. *kili*.

| Nakh. *=ak- to fold, make pleats: Chech. =ag-.

Cf. also Chech. *nog*, obl. *noga*- 'corner, bend' (an old derivate < *w-VñkV = PA *bi(r)kun).

| Av.-And. *=ikVn to bend: Av. *s-uk*-; Chad. =ukn-; Akhv. =ikun-; Cham. =ekñn-; Tind. =ikñ-; Kar. =akan-; God. =ikñ-.

Lit. Avar for an unclear reason has lost the -n-conjugation (still preserved in the Chad. dialect).

Cf. also Cham. Gig. =ačn- 'to bend' and derivatives: PA *=ikVn- 'curved, bent' (Akhv. =ikā-da, Cham. =içanna, Gig. =ača-m, Tind. =ikā-b, Kar. Tok. *meķa-b*); Av. *boķon*, Chad. *bukún*, PA *bi(r)kun 'corner' (And. *bikun*, Akhv. *meķu*, Tlan. *berken*, Ratl. *berķen*, Cham. *bekū*, Kar. *bukun*, Tok. *boķun*, God. *bikun*). Av. *boķon* > Cham. Gig. *boķon*, Gunz. *boķon* 'corner'; Av. *suk*- 'to bend' > Tind. *suk-ij*, Kar. *suk*- id.

| Tsez. *=uk- (~ -o-) 1 to bend 2 curved, bent: Tsez. *uk*- 1 (*Radzhibov*); Khvarsh. =uk-aχ- 1 (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. =ukale 2.

PTsKh *=uk-.

| Darg. *=ulk- to bend: Ak. =ulk-es.

Cf. also =alka, =alkun-si 'bent, hooked'.

| Khin. *kili* bent, curved.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Because of Ablaut it is hard to reconstruct the root vocalism. One can also reconstruct the derivate *w-VñkVnV 'corner, angle' (PN *nok, PA *bi(r)kñin). A trace of this root in Lezghian may be Rut. *q̣lu=ka*- 'to bend' (with an expressive prefix?).

*=VñcV short, narrow: Nakh. *=acu-n; Av.-And. *=ičo- / *=očo-;

Tsez. *=Vñs:V.

| Nakh. *=acu-n short: Chech. =ōca; Ing. *lōca*; Bacb. =ācū.

Ing. has a prefixed l-; cf. also Chech. =ācū, Shar. =ōcū etc. For the pure root cf. Chech. =ac-dan, Bacb. =ac-d-ar 'to shorten'.

| Av.-And. *=ičo- / *=očo- short: And. =očo; Akhv. =ača-da; Cham. =ašaku-b; Tind. =ečaku-b; Kar. =ačako-b; Botl. =ečeki; Bagv. =ačaku-b; God. =ačeki.

The original form must be probably reconstructed as *=ičo- (cf. Tind. =eča-) with vowel assimilation in most languages. Most Andian (except And. and Akhv.) languages reflect a suffixed form *=ičo-kV-. Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. =ača-b 'tight, narrow'.

| Tsez. *=Vñs:V 1 short 2 thin 3 narrow: Tsez. *niši*, *nišju* 1,2; Gin. *niššu* 2; Khvarsh. *niššu* 2 (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *niššu* 2,3; Bezht. =ašo 1; *šušijo* 2; Gunz. =ōšu 1; *šūššu* 2.

PTsKh *n[e]s(-iju), PGB *=šsu (cf. also Khosh. =āssō, *susijō*). The meaning 'thin' in PGB is expressed by a reduplication *šūs(-iju). Vocalic correlations between all these variants are somewhat unclear (traces of Ablaut?).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The vocalism is hard to reconstruct (because of variation within PTs and PA); otherwise correspondences are regular. Medial *-l- must be reconstructed to account for the PTs nasalisation (but *-n- or *-m- would have given other reflexes).

*=VλwE(n) (~ -λ-) to bind, knit, plait: Av.-And. *=oxwVn-; Lezg. *?iλ(:)wV; W.-Cauc. *λwə.

| Av.-And. *=oxwVn- 1 to bind, tie 2 to knit, plait: Av. =uxn- 1; Chad. =uxn- 1; And. =ošin- 1; Kar. =exux- 2.

Cf. also a reduplicated stem in Av. *xuxn*- (Chad. *xux*-) 'to knit, plait' (= Kar. =exux-). It is interesting to note Cham. =aλiλa-d- 'to knit, plait' which probably reflects an early variant of the same stem with delabialisation (and, accordingly, preservation of the lateral *λ).

| Lezg. *?iλ(:)wV to sew: Tsakh. *i=xwə*.

Attested only in Tsakh., but having possible external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *λwə to plait: Abkh. *ā-s:-ra*; Abaz. *š:-ra*; Ad. *fə-n*; Kab. *xwə-n*; Ub. *sʷə*.

PAT *s:ə (with expressive gemination); PAK *xwə; Ub. *a-s-sʷə-n*. See Klimov 1967, 303; Shagirov 2, 109.

[] The root is widely represented in WC, but preserved only in Av.-And. among the EC branches. Still, the phonetic and semantic correspondence is exact, and the NC antiquity of the root is quite probable.

*=VλwVn to sow: Nakh. *fuw; Av.-And. *xun?i; Lak. *hanna*; Darg. *xwə; Lezg. *λwə.

| Nakh. *fuw seed: Chech. *hu*; Ing. *fu*; Bacb. *huw*.

Obl. base *fune- (Chech. *hūna*-, Ing. *funo*). 3d class in all languages.
| Av.-And. *xunʔi 1 seed 2 flax (seed): Av. *xon* 1,2; Chad. *xum* 1; And. *šen* 1; Cham. *hū* 1; Tind. *huʔu* (*Gudava*) 1; Kar. *hūji* 1; Botl. *xuni* 1; Bagv. *hūʔi* 1; God. *xun* 1.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. *xo-dó-l*). Cf. also Bagv. Tlond., Kvan. *xūʔi*, Tlis. *xūʔi*, Cham. Gig. *hun*, Gad. *hū*, Kar. Tok. *xun*.

Originally a deverbal stem, cf. Av. *xa-*, Av. Chad. *xʷe-*, Cham. (with reduplication) *hāhʷn-a* 'to sow', And. *šam-* 'to throw'.

| Lak. *hanna* seed.

3d class. The word contains a suffix -da (cf. Khosr. *handa*). Cf. also a dialectal form (Khaidakov) *lan*na (with an archaic preservation of initial lateral).
The word is originally deverbative, cf. =u^{ha}- (p. pr. =u=*hun*u) 'to sow'.

| Darg. *xʷe seed: Ak. *he*.

Cf. also Kub. *xʷe*, Kait. *sʷe*, Ur. *hʷi*, Tsud. *he*. The word is an old derivate of the verbal root, reflected in PD as *axʷVn- (cf. Chir. =axʷ(n)- / =alxʷ- 'to sow, to plough', Ur. =aʷ(n)- / =alʷ- 'to sow').

| Lezg. *λ:ʷin 1 seed 2 wheat 3 flax: Lezg. *fin* 1; Rut. *xin* 2 (*Kh*n.); Kryz. *xin* 3; Arch. λ:ʷin 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Nüt. *xūn*, dial. *šun* id. 3d class in Kryz., but 4th class in Arch. Obl. base unclear.

See Giginayshvili 1977, 72.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The verb itself is preserved not very widely (that is why its vocalism is not clear): PA *-VxʷV(n), Lak. =u=*ha*-, PD *-axʷVn. Much more widely spread is the deverbative noun *λwīnʔi (~ -ə), reflected also in PN and PL (although the verb was not preserved in those subgroups).

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 240.

*=VλV to pierce, punch, beat: Av.-And. *oλ:- (~ -a-); Tsez. *=iλ(-) (~ i, L, L:); Lak. *š:ina*; Darg. *rurk:ani; Lezg. *(Ho)roλi-l(a).

| Av.-And. *oλ:- (~ -a-) 1 to punch a hole, to bore 2 sharpen, set (knife): Av. =orλ:- 1; Tind. *aλ:-* 2.

An old derivate is Av. λ:ini 'chisel' (> Lak. *x:ini* id.).

| Tsez. *=iλ(-) (~ i, L, L:) to beat: Tsez. =eλ-;

Attested only in Tsez. (therefore there are so many variants of reconstruction), but having possible external parallels.

| Lak. *š:ina* hatchet, chisel.

| Darg. *rurk:ani gimlet: Ak. *rurgani*.

| Lezg. *(Ho)roλi-l(a) 1 chisel 2 gimlet: Tab. *rašil* 1; Ag. *hurukul* 2; Rut. *rixil* 1 (*Khniukh*).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Several languages have preserved only the archaic nominal derivate *λi-nV (with prefixation: *HVrV-λinV / *HVrV-λitV 'chisel, instrument for piercing or sharpening/whetting'.

*=VλV to copulate: Tsez. *daλ; Lezg. *ʔeλ:a; Khin. *li-ki*.

| Tsez. *daλ penis: Bezht. *daλ* (*Khosh*.); Gunz. *ʔaλ*.

PGB *daλ (with assimilation d- > t- in Gunz.; cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *daλ*).

| Lezg. *ʔeλ:a to copulate: Rut. -egge-s; Tsakh. *hi-ik:a-s*.

Rut. has preserved -gg- in an expressive word (instead of a more usual reflex -g-).

| Khin. *li-ki* to copulate.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. PTs has preserved only a deverbal noun (*d-aλ), but in general the etymology seems satisfactory.

*=VλVn to wash, pour; to weep: Nakh. *=elχ-; Tsez. *ʔaλ-; Lezg. *ʔa[λ:]Vn- / ʔ:-ə[λ:]Vn-.

| Nakh. *=elχ- 1 to weep 2 to pour (of rain): Chech. =elχ- 1,2; Ing. =elχ- 1; Bacb. =etχ- 1,2.

Cf. also dur. *=alχ-, reflected in Bacb. =atχ- (regular durative, meaning both 'to rain' and 'to weep'), Chech. =alχ-ō 'to complain'.

| Tsez. *ʔaλ- to rinse: Tsez. *čokλ-*; Khvarsh. *čokλ-* (*Radzhibov*).

PTsKh *čokλ-; it is interesting to note the coincidence between Tsez. čand Lezghian forms in *č:-, but the combination -kλ- is not quite clear (*čokλ- < *čokλ-k-, with a secondary reanalysis of *-λ- as a verbal suffix?). Cf. perhaps also PGB *čaλ- 'to pour out, scatter' (Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *čāλ-*, Gunz. *čaλ-*) ?

| Lezg. *ʔə[λ:]Vn- / ʔ:-ə[λ:]Vn- 1 to wash 2 to make an ablution: Tab. *zi=k-* 1; Ag. *zūkūl bušas* 2; Arch. *e=λ:in-* 2.

Cf. also Tab. Kand. *zi=k-*, Düb. *ža=k-* 'to wash', Ag. Bursh. *žikan-* 'to make an ablution'. In Tab. and Ag. the verb has an expressive preverb *č:-, which had probably caused a dissimilation *-λ:- > -λ- (Tab., Ag. -k-). It is interesting to note some similarity in behaviour with the root *ʔeλ:i 'to sweep' (see under *=VλwV); the two roots are of course different, but they could have influenced each other.

[] Basically a Nakh-Lezg. isogloss (the Tsez. form is somewhat dubious).

*=VλVw to beat, hit: Av.-And. *λ:ab- (~ -o-); Tsez. *-aλ-; Lezg.

*=Vλ:ʷe.

| Av.-And. *λ:ab- (~ -o-) 1 to beat, hit 2 to burst, shoot: Av. λ:ab-; Chad. *λap-*; And. λ:a-hun- / -tun- 2; Cham. =iλ:ʷal-; Tind. λ:ʷe-; Kar. λ:ab- (*Anch*.).

The stem *λ:ʷa- with different suffixes is also used in expressive verbs meaning 'to burst, to shoot': besides And. λ:ahun- / λ:atun- cf. also Av. λ:ʷah- (Chad. λ:ʷah-), Cham. λ:a-d-, Tind. λ:ʷah-ij-. A loan from Avar is Gunz. *λahzi* =oq- 'to burst'.

| Tsez. *-aλ- to beat 1: to stick into: Tsez. *c-aλ-*; Gin. *h-aλ-* 1; Khvarsh. *h-aλ-* 1; Bezht. *χ-āλ-* 1; Gunz. *χ-aλ-*.

PTsKh *-aλ-, PGB *χ-aλ-. The root is used with expressive preverbs (cf. also Tsez. *h-aλ-* 'to stick into'). Tsez. *λahʷ-* 'to tear, burst' may be a parallel for the Proto-Av.-And. derivate *λ:ʷa-h- 'to burst, to shoot' (see above).

[Lezg. * $V\lambda:w$ to butt; Ag. *al-ak:w*- (*Bursh.*).

The root is attested only in Agul, but has probable external parallels.

[] Basically an Av.-And.-Tsezian isogloss, but the Agul parallel makes the PEC reconstruction probable.

* $V\lambda V$ to put clothes (on the upper body): Av.-And. * $o\lambda$ -; Tsez.

* $s(:)i\lambda$ - A.

[Av.-And. * $o\lambda$ - to put clothes (on the upper part of body): Av. *=e η n-*; Chad. *re η e(l)-*; And. *=ol-*; Cham. *=al-*; Tind. *=al-*; Kar. *=a λ -*.

Cf. also Av. Ants. *ri λ in-zi*, *re λ e-zi*; Kar. Anch. *=a λ ?* id. -n-conjugation in Avar is secondary, due to the influence of * $i\lambda:Vn$ 'to put on (lower part of body)'.

[Tsez. * $s(:)i\lambda$ - A to put clothes (on the upper part of body): Tsez. *se λ w-*; Khvarsh. *si λ -*; Inkh. *si λ -*; Bezht. *li ζ -* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *si λ -*.

PTsKh * $si\lambda$ - (with secondary labialisation in Tsez.); PGB * $si\lambda$ - (with a specific metathesis of the lateral feature in Bezht., cf. also Khosh. *li ζ -* id.). Historically * $s(:)$ - is a preverb.

[] Basically an Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss. There are, however, some possible traces of the root in Lezghian languages: cf. Lezg. *al-uk-* 'to put on (clothes)' (where * k - can go back to * λ - if this is not the same root as *eki-z*, *al-k-*, Akht. *ak:i-n*, *al-k:i-n* 'to stick to, adhere' < PL * $a\lambda:e$). Another probable Lezghian parallel is Arch. *a λ a-s* 'to put on (hand, finger)' < * $a\lambda:V-$, which could be a modification of original * $a\lambda V-$ under the influence of another root, reflected in Arch. *=ub λ a-s* 'to put on (lower part of body)' < PEC * $om\lambda V$ q.v.

* $V\lambda wV$ (~ $-L-$) to hold, detain: Tsez. * $c-a\lambda$ -; Lezg. * $e\lambda:w a-$.

[Tsez. * $c-a\lambda$ - to hold: Gunz. *ca λ -*.

Attested only in Gunz., with possible Lezghian parallels.

[Lezg. * $e\lambda:w a-$ 1 to detain 2 to close in 3 to expel 4 to compel: Tab. *d-e=k-* 1; Ag. *q-ik:w-* 2; Rut. *h-e=ga-* 3; Tsakh. *al-ik:a-* 4.

The verb belongs to the weak class in PL. Delabialisation in Rut. and Tsakh. is possibly due to contamination with * $er\lambda:a-$ 'to drive, compel'.

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss; not very reliable because of the isolated nature of the Gunz. word.

* $V\lambda wV$ to sweep, clear: Tsez. * $a\lambda$ -; Darg. * $u\lambda k-$; Lezg. * $e\lambda:i$ /

* $c:e\lambda:i$.

[Tsez. * $a\lambda$ - to sweep: Tsez. *=a λ -*; Gin. *=a λ -*; Khvarsh. *h-a λ -* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *h-a λ -*; Gunz. *h-a λ -*.

PTsKh * $a\lambda$ -; PGB * $\lambda-a\lambda$ - (with another preverb cf. Bezht. *h-a λ -* id.). Initial λ - in Gunzib may represent the same root as in *la λ a- λ -* 'to crawl' (see PTs * $\lambda:a\lambda:-$).

[Darg. * $u\lambda k-$ to sweep: Chir. *=u $\lambda k-$ / *u $\lambda k-$:-*.*

Cf. also Ur. *=u $\lambda k-$ 'to clean'.*

[Lezg. * $e\lambda:i$ / * $c:e\lambda:i$ to sweep: Lezg. *sutk-*; Tab. *il- ζ i=k-*; Ag. *zik-*; Arch. *=e λ a-*.

Cf. also Arch. dur. *=er λ :u-r*, Tab. Düb. *zi= γ -*, Kand. *zi=k-* / *il- ζ i=k-*, Ag. Bursh. *zika-*. The Archi form is the most archaic; other languages reflect a form with an expressive preverb (* ζ - or * ζ -) and irregular dissimilative / assimilative developments of the second consonant. See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Note the usage of an expressive hushing preverb (leading to irregular phonetic change) both in PD and in most Lezghian languages.

* $Vm\zeta Vr$ to stand, stand up: Nakh. * $-att-$; Av.-And. * $i\zeta:-$ / * $hi(r)\zeta:-$; Tsez. * $-ar\zeta-$ / * $-e\zeta-$; Lak. *=iza-n*; Darg. * $ic:Vr-$ / $-ilc:-$; Lezg. * $ec:w\ddot{a}r-$.

[Nakh. * $-att-$ stand: Chech. *latt-*; Ing. *latt-*; Bacb. *latt-*.

For long * $-a-$ cf. Chech. pres. *lätta*, Ing. pret. *lätad*. The root reveals a complicated Ablaut pattern:

a) PN * $-itt-$ > Chech. *h-itt-* to stand upon, *\beta-itt-* to stand up (dur.);

b) PN * $-ott-$ > Chech. *h-ott-* to stand upon, *\beta-ott-* to stand up (term.), Ing. *ott-* to become, Bacb. *ott-* to stand up, stop;

c) PN * $-att-$ > Chech., Ing., Bacb. *latt-* to stand.

[Av.-And. * $i\zeta:-$ / * $hi(r)\zeta:-$ 1 to stand 2 to stand up: Av. *\zeta:e-* 1; Chad. *\zeta(Vl)-* 1; And. *=i\zeta:-* 2; Akhv. *her\zeta:-* (*Tseg.*)2; Cham. *=i\zeta-* 1; Tind. *he\zeta:-* 2; Kar. *her\zeta:-* 2; God. *hi\zeta:-* 2.

PA has variants * $i\zeta:-$ 'to stand' (reflected in Cham. *=i\zeta-*) and * $hi(r)\zeta:-$ 'to stand up' (reflected elsewhere, cf. also Kar. Anch. *he\zeta:-*, God. Zib. *hir\zeta:-*, Cham. *he\zeta-*, Gig. *hin\zeta-* - with -n- under influence of *hinz-* 'to rise'), where * $h-$ is possibly a preverb. The Av. form *\zeta:e-* reflects an old Ablaut variant with dropping of initial vowel.

[Tsez. * $-ar\zeta-$ / * $-e\zeta-$ 1 to stand 2 to stay, to be situated 3 to become, to be: Tsez. *=i\zeta-* 3; Gin. *=i\zeta-* 3; Khvarsh. *=e\zeta-* 3; Inkh. *=e\zeta-* 3; Bezht. *=e\zetae η oc-1*, *=e\zeta-2*; Gunz. *=ar\zeta-* 1, *=e\zeta-* 2.

PTsKh * $e\zeta-$. Ablaut variants * $e\zeta-$ and * $-ar\zeta-$ (< * $-a\zeta r-$) are present in PGB. Cf. also Gunz. *=e\zetae η -r-da* 'straight, vertical'; Bezht. *Tlad. =e\zeta-el-* 'to let, leave'.

[Lak. *=iza-n* to stand up; to plant (smth.).

G. pr. *=i=zu-n*. With Ablaut cf. also *haz-s:a* 'high, tall', *haz dan* 'to lift'.

[Darg. * $ic:Vr-$ / $-ilc:-$ to stand: Ak. *ta\zeta-ilz-*; Chir. *ka=arc:-* / $-urc:-$.

Cf. also Ur. *=iz(r)-* / $-ilz-$ 'to stand, stand up', Chir. *he=ic:-* / *he=irc:-* 'to stand up'. The verb reflects several old Ablaut grades.

[Lezg. * $ec:w\ddot{a}r-$ 1 to stand 2 to stand up: Lezg. *aq:w-az-* 1; Tab. *\beta-uz-* 2; Ag. *\beta-uz-* 1; Rut. *l-u-z $\ddot{a}$ -* 1; Tsakh. *ul'-o=zar-* 1; Kryz. *q:-u=zur-* 2; Bud. *q:-urzar* 2; Arch. *o=c:i-* 1; Ud. *ajze-sun* 2.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *a ζ -za-* 'to stand', Tsakh. *o=zar-* 'to become tired' (for the semantics cf. Russ. 'стоять' - 'уставать'). In Tab. there exist two synonymous variants: *\beta-uz-uz* (Düb. *uz-us*) and *\beta-ud-uz $\ddot{u}$ -uz* (Düb. *q:-uz $\ddot{u}$ -us*) 'stand up', reflecting probably proto-Tabasaran variants * $oc:V-$ (with secondary delabialisation) and * $ec:wV-$ (preserving the labialisation). Note the common prefixation (* $q:-$) in Lezg., Tab., Ag., Kryz. and Bud.

See Bokarev 1961, 65; Leksika 1971, 243; Giginayshvili 1977, 84.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root vowel is hard to reconstruct (because of complicated and rather unclear Ablaut patterns). The medial nasal resonant has caused the change *-mč- > *-tt- in PN and the deglottalisation in Lak., PL and PD; its labial character can be reconstructed on basis of the PL labialisation (although the resonant itself was regularly dropped).

[The root is used in several languages in a compound meaning 'stirrup', lit. 'foot'+stand (caus.) or '(foot)-prop'+stand', i.e. 'a place for putting feet on'. Cf. Av. *hofo-č:el* (Chad. with assimilation and distortion *honlōč*), Lak. *č:armuzi* < *č:an-b-uzi, Darg. Chir. *tuIr-birc:an*, Arch. *mol:ol-orc:i*. The Avar word, sometimes with severe distortions, was borrowed into many EC languages: Akhv. *hofoč:a*, Cham., Inkh., Tsez., Gin. *hofočel*, Cham. Gig. *hefeč* (cf. an Avar dialectal variant *hefeč:el*), Gunz. *honfočal*, Bezht. Tlad. *hałso*, Khosh. *haciyo*.]

*=V $\bar{m}$ $\bar{\lambda}$ V to go, to come: Av.-And. *=V $\bar{\lambda}$ Vn-; Tsez. *= $\bar{e}$ $\bar{\lambda}$ -; Lak. =u=ča-; Darg. *=ak-.

[] Av.-And. *=V $\bar{\lambda}$ Vn- 1 to go 2 to go away: Av. *in-* 1; Chad. *i^wén-* 2; And. =ulon- 1.

In Av. * $\bar{\lambda}$ usually yields *t*, but here it changed to *ʔ* (as an exception in a frequently used verb). The dialectal evidence points unambiguously to * $\bar{\lambda}$: cf. the Southern forms (cited from Mikailov 1959) *i^wen-zi*, *k^wen-zi*, *ʔin-zi* / *ʔ^win-zi*. Another reason for * $\bar{\lambda}$ > *ʔ* here could be a merger with another root, reflected in PA as *=V^ʔVn- (q.v.).

[] Tsez. *= $\bar{e}$ $\bar{\lambda}$ - to go, walk: Tsez. =i $\bar{\lambda}$ -; Gin. =u $\bar{\lambda}$ -; Khvarsh. =i $\bar{\lambda}$ -; Inkh. =e $\bar{\lambda}$ -; Bezht. =e $\bar{\lambda}$ -; Gunz. =e $\bar{\lambda}$ -.

PTsKh *= $\bar{e}$ $\bar{\lambda}$ -, PGB *=e $\bar{\lambda}$ -. Gin. =u $\bar{\lambda}$ - probably reflects an Ablaut variant *= $\bar{o}$ $\bar{\lambda}$ -, cf. Bezht. Tlad. =u $\bar{\lambda}$ - 'to go (away)'.

[] Lak. =u=ča- to come.

Pret. =u=kun-. Cf. Khosr. =u=ča-n, =u=kundi id.

[] Darg. *=ak- to come: Chir. =ak- / =ik-.

Cf. also Ur. =ak- / =ik- id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Both Lak. and Darg. forms can theoretically be derived also from PNC *-*arkEw* 'to go; to drive' (q.v.), because of the merger of * $\bar{\lambda}$ and * $\bar{k}$ in these languages.

*=VqV behind: Av.-And. *-Vq:(i); Lak. - $\bar{\chi}$ (- $\bar{\chi}$ -); Lezg. *qV-, *-q.

[] Av.-And. *-Vq:(i) 1 behind 2 locative suffix (series Ad): Av. *náq:a* 1, -q: 2; Chad. *maq* 1; And. -q:i; Akhv. -q:e 2; Cham. -eq:e 1, -q: 2; Tind. -q: 2; Kar. -q: 2; Botl. -q:i 2; God. -q:i 2.

The initial nasal in Av. (n- or m- in different dialects) is not quite clear etymologically. The original meaning of the morpheme ('behind') is preserved when it functions as an adverb; but as a locative suffix it had early (as early as Proto-Av.-And.) merged with another morpheme, PEC *-qV (q.v.) and thus acquired a new meaning 'at, by, close to'. In most Andian languages this meaning is preserved until now (only in And. proper the meaning of -q:i changed: it is now

confined to the plural inessive /*haq:o-ba-q:i* 'in the houses'/, and in singular is used to denote an object of verba dicendi or an inanimate ergative). The merging of *-q:i and the hypothetical *-q:i (< *-qV) was possible because of the phonetic affinity of the morphemes, but also because *-q:i must have also had an early additional possessive meaning ('at, by someone or smth.'), which is characteristic for most Andian languages and is observed also in the Lezghian counterpart *-q(a).

Av. (cf. dialectal forms like Chad. *maq*) > Lak. *maq*, *maqa* 'behind'; Arch. *naqa* 'back (of head)'.

[] Lak. - $\bar{\chi}$ (- $\bar{\chi}$ -) suffix of the locative case (series Post).

[] Lezg. *qV-, *-q(a) 1 behind 2 suffix of a locative case (series Post): Lezg. -q 2; Tab. *qa* 1, -q 2; Ag. *qa*, -q 2; Rut. *qu?* 1, - $\bar{\chi}$ /-q 2; Tsakh. -qa 2; Kryz. - $\bar{\chi}$ 2; Bud. - $\bar{\chi}$ 2; Arch. *xi-r* 1; Ud. *qo-s* 1.

As a case marker PL *-q(a) usually denotes location behind, but can be also used as a possessive case (the same development is characteristic also for Andian parallels). Somewhat problematic is relating here the Arch. translative case in - $\bar{\chi}$ -ut ('through smth.') and the comparative case in - $\bar{\chi}$ -ur. See Alekseyev 1985, 54.

PL *q(a)- is also used as a preverb ('back, behind': Tab., Ag., Rut., Tsakh. *q-*; possibly also Lezg. - $\bar{\chi}$ - with the meaning of repetitiveness ('once more'), see Alekseyev 1985, 121).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Andian evidence is in favour of reconstructing the original structure *-VCV (with changing class prefixes), but there is not enough evidence to reconstruct the precise PEC vocalism.

*=VqV to suck: Nakh. *=aq-; Av.-And. *= $\bar{i}$ q- / *qV-; Tsez. *=a $\bar{\chi}$ - (~b:-, -j-); Lak. t:-iqi-; Darg. *=elq- / *=uq-; Lezg. *^ʔo $\bar{\chi}$ ^wa.

[] Nakh. *=aq- to suck (breast): Chech. =aq-; Ing. =aq-; Bacb. =aq-.

[] Av.-And. *= $\bar{i}$ q- / *qV- 1 to suck 2 to drink 3 to gulp: Av. *χú-* 3, *χáχ-* 1; Chad. *háh-* 1; *χu-* 2; Akhv. =aq- 1; Cham. *χed-* 2; Tind. *χa-* 3; Kar. *k-eχ-* 1; Botl. *χ:u-d-* 2.

Cf. also Akhv. Tlan. -a $\bar{\chi}$ -, Ratl. -aq-.

The reconstruction is not secure - obviously because of the expressive nature of the root. It occurs either in a simple form (stem 1: *-Vq-, stem 2: *qV-), reduplicated (Av. *χaχ-*) or with a suffixed *-d- (Cham., Tind., Botl.). Av. and Botl. have irregular consonants (in Av. - $\bar{\chi}$ instead of h /Gudava 147 writes: *χ:u-j-ze* ?/; in Botl. *χ* instead of $\bar{\chi}$; cf. also Cham. Gig. *χ:u-d-*).

[] Tsez. *-a $\bar{\chi}$ - (~b:-, -j-) to suck (udder): Bezht. *χ-aš-*.

Cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *h-āš-* id. (with unclear nasalization).

[] Lak. t:-iqi- to suck.

[] Darg. *=elq- / *=uq- to suck (breast): Ak. =erq-es; Chir. =elq-/=uq-.

[] Lezg. *^ʔo $\bar{\chi}$ ^wa 1 to drink 2 to gulp down 3 swill, mash: Lezg. *χ^wa-l* 3; Tab. *uχ-* 1; Ag. *uχ-* 1; Arch. *χ:u-bus* 2.

The Arch. form is somewhat irregular (due to the expressive semantics?): we should not expect here the loss of initial vowel and the intensive *χ:*.

See Leksika 1971, 261.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The consonant *-q- gives more or less regular reflexes (with some variation in Av.-And.); however, the root vowel is quite impossible to reconstruct. This is due to the expressive nature of the root and, perhaps, to a partial contamination with PEC *ʔugwV q.v.

*=VqĒr to feed: Nakh. *daqur; Av.-And. *riqir; Darg. *=iqVr-; W.-Cauc. *p(ə)qV.

| Nakh. *dāqur forage, fodder: Chech. dōqar; Ing. doqar.
3d class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *riqir forage, fodder: Av. ra^si; Akhv. reqi; Kar. re^sir.

Av. paradigm C (gen. ro^so-l). Cf. also Akhv. Tlan. ruqer id.

| Darg. *=iqVr- to feed, to rear: Ak. =iqVr- / =ilq-.

The form is from the Ur. dialect (cited from Uslar's recordings). Cf. also Kait. =iqar- id.

| W.-Cauc. *p(ə)qV 1 to feed 2 to rear: Ad. p^wā-n 2; Kab. pā-n 2; Ub. pāqā- 1,2.

PAK *p^wā- (cf. also Ad. Khak. pāqā-n); Ub. a-s-pāqā-n. See Shagirov 2, 54.

[] PWC has a frequent labial prefix (former class marker). The verb as such is preserved in PWC and PD; other EC languages reflect a derivate *r-VqVr 'forage, fodder'. See Starostin 1985, 78-79.

*=VqVn to pound, to crush: Av.-And. *=Vq:Vn-; Darg. *=elqVn- / *=uqVn-; Lezg. *ʔeqVn (~ -ā-).

| Av.-And. *=Vq:Vn- to pound, crush, hit (with a hammer): Av. =oq:n-; Chad. =oq-; Cham. q:a-d-.

Cham. reflects stem II with a -d- suffix (*q:V(n)-d-); Avar - stem I (but cf. also stem II in q:in- 'to pulverize, make small'). Loss of the -n-conjugation (confirmed by external evidence) in Av. Chad. and Cham. must be secondary.

| Darg. *=elqVn- / *=uqVn- to pound; to grind: Chir. =elq- / =uq-.

Cf. Ur. =ilqVn- / =uq- 'to grind'.

| Lezg. *ʔeqVn (~ -ā-) to prick, stab: Arch. e=q^wVn-.

Labialisation in Archi is probably secondary (automatic in the infinitive eq^wmus < *eqn-bos and analogical in other forms). The root is attested only in Archi, but has possible external parallels.

[] Basically an Av.-And.-Darg. isogloss (the Archi form is somewhat dubious semantically), therefore the vocalism is hard to establish.

*=VrcV (~ -l-) to flow, wash: Darg. *=irc- / *=ic-; Lezg. *ʔV(r)cV; Khin. ri=c-.

| Darg. *=irc- / *ʔic- to wash: Ak. =ic-es; Chir. =irc- / ic-.

Cf. also Ur. =irc- / ic- id.

| Lezg. *ʔV(r)cV to flow: Tsakh. o=ca-.

Attested only in Tsakhur, but having probable external parallels.

| Khin. ri=c- to wash.

Perhaps we should relate here also (with reduction of Anlaut) Khin. cu-(wi) 'to drink'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is spread only in the Eastern Daghestan area (PD, PL, Khinalug). There is not enough evidence to reconstruct the vocalism.

*=VrcwĀ to dip, wash: Av.-And. *s:V(r)-; Lak. =is:u-; Lezg. *ʔors:i; W.-Cauc. *š^wV.

| Av.-And. *s:V(r)- to pour: Cham. s:ē-d-.

Attested only in Cham., thus for PA *š:- is also possible. In the latter case the Chamalal root may be a regular reflex of PA *uš:- / *s:V(r)- 'to scatter' and belong to PEC *-ušV q.v.

| Lak. =is:u- to wash.

G. pr. =i=s:u-nu. Cf. Khosr. =is:u-n id.

| Lezg. *ʔors:i to dip: Tab. k-u=s-; Arch. ors:a-.

Arch. dur. =ors:u-r.

| W.-Cauc. *š^wV to wash: Abkh. a-š^wa-rā; Ub. šā-.

Ub. a-s-šā-n.

[] Within EC we can reconstruct *-cw- or -s-; the hushing correspondence in WC suggests that it had been *-cw-. This is, however, the only example of the correspondence EC *cw : WC *š^w (in other cases WC has a voiced reflex *ž^w), thus the comparison is not very secure.

*=VrĕV to fight: Nakh. *ʔēĕ-; Av.-And. *=Vĕ-; Tsez. *eχ-; Lak. aĕu; Darg. *=Vrĕ-; Lezg. *nuĕVra-j.

| Nakh. *ʔēĕ- 1 to fight, quarrel 2 to be upset: Chech. ēĕ- 1; Ing. eĕ- 1; Bacb. eĕ- 2.

| Av.-And. *=Vĕ- to fight: Av. =aĕ-.

The Av. verb is borrowed in Tind. raĕiji-ĕa, Cham. raĕi-la 'to fight' (directly from Av. raĕ-ize with a class prefix r-).

| Tsez. *eχ- to fight, quarrel: Tsez. =ih-ud-; Khvarsh. eh- (Radzhibov); Inkh. =eh-ej-; Bezht. =eĕ- (Tlad.); Gunz. =eĕ-.

PTsKh *eχ_i-; PGB *eĕ-.

| Lak. aĕu anger.

| Darg. *ʔurĕ- 1 to scold 2 to shoot: Ak. urĕ-es 1; Chir. urĕ- 2.

With a prefixed ĕa- cf. also Chir. ĕarĕ^w- 'to shoot'.

| Lezg. *nuĕVra-j pus: Lezg. ĕura; Tab. nuĕra.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. ĕura id. The Lezg. form goes back to *muĕVraj (or directly to *nuĕVraj) with a regular loss of initial *mo-.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The verb is well preserved in Nakh, Av., Tsezian and Darg; however, the vocalism is impossible to reconstruct (probably due to distorted Ablaut).

The Lezghian languages have preserved only the old derivate *ruĕV-nV (with metathesis *nuĕVrV) 'wound' (> PL 'pus'), reflected also in Av. ruĕun 'wound' (Chad. roĕón; Av. > And. ruĕun, Akhv. ruĕu) and PTs *muĕru 'birth-mark' (PGB *muĕru > Gunz. muĕru, Bezht. Tlad. muĕro). Another old derivate from the same root is *rVrĕV 'fight, war' reflected in Av. raĕ (gen. raĕú-l) and PD

**derb* (Ak. *derb*, Chir. *derb*, Ur. *dirb*, Kub. *dīb* etc.). A variant **d-VrδVn* is probably reflected in Akhv. *dībi* 'wound'. Abdokov (1983, 188) compares WC forms: Abkh. *a-bá*, Abaz. *aḡa* 'enemy' (PAT **aḡa*), as well as Kab. (archaic) *āb* 'angry' which we were unable to locate in existing sources. The comparison is tempting, but for WC one must reconstruct **aGV*, with **G* not corresponding normally to EC **ḡ* - unless the AT forms are actually borrowed from Adygh (in which case a reconstruction **aḡV* is also possible). Additional information is required to clear up this situation.

*=*VrλĀn* to boil: Av.-And. *=*iλVn*-; Lak. *ša=ša*-; Darg. *=*elx:Vn*-; Lezg. **ʔVrλ:an*-; Khin. *x-i*; W.-Cauc. **pəλV*.

| Av.-And. *=*iλVn*- boil: Av. =*éλ-ine*; Chad. =*et(n)*-; And. =*iλVn*-; Akhv. =*iλun*-; Cham. =*iλn*-; Tind. =*iλĩ*-; Kar. =*eλan*-; Botl. =*ĩh*-; Bagv. =*ihV*- (*Kvan.*); God. =*iλĩ*-.

Cf. also Bagv. Tlond. =*ilhV*-, Akhv. Tseg. =*eλan*- etc.

| Lak. *ša=ša*- to boil.

G. pr. *ša=xu-n*. A reduplicated stem (*šaša* < **xaxa*-). Cf. Khosr. *saxa-n* id.

| Darg. *=*elx:Vn*- boil: Ak. *lux*-; Chir. =*elx:/lux*-.

Cf. also Ur. =*ilx(n)/=ulx*-.

| Lezg. **ʔVrλ:an*- 1 to boil 2 to burn (intr.): Lezg. *r(u)ga*- 1; Tab. *u=x*- 1; Ag. *ruḡ*- 1; Tsakh. *ḡ-o=x:an*- 2; Ud. *b-oḡ-/b-uḡ*- 1.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *u=x*- 'to boil', Ag. Bursh. *urš:an*- 'to burn', *urš:a*- 'to boil', Tsirkh. *urx:e-s* 'to boil'; Lezg. pret. *rga-na* (Nüt. masd. *aḡũ/ uḡũ*, pret. *aḡa-na*). See also comments to PL **ʔeλʔVr*- 'burn' (which has partially contaminated with **ʔVrλ:an*-).

| Khin. *x-i* to boil.

Term. *x-i*, dur. *x-li*.

| W.-Cauc. **pəλV* 1 warm 2 to boil: Abkh. *á-pḡa* 1; Abaz. *pḡa* 1; Ad. *pš-ta-n* 2; Kab. *pš-ta-n* 2; Ub. *pšə* 1.

PAT **pəxa* (cf. also Bz. *á-pxa*). The AK form raises some problems: it may be treated on Adygh ground as a contraction of **pš:ə-ta*- (cf. **pš:ə*- 'to swell up'), see Kuipers 1975, 92, Shagirov 2,34. In this case it does not belong here. Cf., however, Kab. *pštə-r* 'hot' and AK **pša*- 'to cook' which could also serve as basis for **pš(ə)-ta*-. We prefer (for the time being) the second hypothesis, although it is rather probable that a contamination occurred in the PAK derivate.

PAK **pša*- 'cook' is reflected in Kab. *pša-fa*- 'cook (v.)', *pša-fa* 'cook (n.)', Ad. *pša-rəḡ* (Bzhed. *pšarāḡa*) 'cook; young man serving elder', *pša-rəḡa*- 'cook (v.)' (suffixes are not quite clear both in Ad. and Kab.).

[] In some languages the root is interacting with the reflexes of *=*VwλwĒ* q.v. (which is close semantically and phonetically); the two roots are, however, certainly distinct and opposed in several subgroups. The WC form has a frequent labial prefix (going back to a class marker).

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 238.

*=*VrλwĒn* (~ -λ-) to see, look: Av.-And. *=*ax*- (~ -o-); Lezg. **ʔVrλ(:)ʔVn*; W.-Cauc. *(*pə*)*λA*.

| Av.-And. *=*axʔVn*- (~ -o-) 1 to see 2 to look: Av. =*ix*- 1; Chad. =*ex*- 1; Tind. =*aḡĩ*- 2.

Not clear is the loss of -n-conjugation in Av.

| Lezg. **ʔVrλ(:)ʔVn* to look: Ag. *ḡut:-urf*-.

Cf. also Ag. Tp. -*urfan*- id. The root is attested only in Agul, but has probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. *(*pə*)*λA* look: Abkh. *a-pš-rá*; Abaz. *pš-rá*; Ad. *pḡa-n*; Kab. *pḡa-n*; Ub. *pḡa*-.

PAT **pəšə*- (goes back to a form **pəλʔə*- with original labialisation, see below). PAK **pḡa*-; there exists also an intransitive (objectless) stem **pḡə*- in Ad., Kab. *ja-pḡə-n*. Ub. 1 p. *sə-pḡá-n*.

It is most probable that the same root is present in PAK **ḡa-bʔə*- 'to see' (Ad. *ḡa-bʔə-n*, Kab. *ḡā-bʔə-n*), although the second component is not quite clear. This would be an additional argument in favour of the historical prefixed nature of **p*-.

[] Most of the WC reflexes have the petrified prefix **p*-, with a typical dissimilative loss of labialisation after it (but the labialisation is preserved in the PAT reflex **pəšə* < **pəλʔə*). Within EC the root is known only in Av.-And. and Agul, but correspondences are regular and the reconstruction seems probable.

*=*VrλV(r)* to be scared, afraid: Nakh. **q-ērλ*-; Av.-And. **λ:Vr*-; Tsez. **əλ*-; Lezg. **jiλ*: (~ **λ:ij*).

| Nakh. **q-ērλ*- to be afraid, fear: Chech. *qēr*-; Ing. *qer*-; Bacb. *qerλ*-.

Bacb. (Desheriyev, Kadagidze) *qerλ*- (pointing to **rλ*- in PN).

| Av.-And. **λ:Vr*- to be frightened, afraid: Av. *λ:er*-.

| Tsez. **əλ*- to be afraid, scared: Tsez. =*oλ*-.

Attested only in Tsez., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **jiλ*: (~ **λ:ij*) fright: Arch. *iλ*:; Ud. *q:i*.

An archaic Archi-Udi isogloss. The root is also present in the common PL compound **λ:i-mč* 'fright' q.v.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is no doubt archaic, although not very widely spread (which is the reason for the uncertainty of the vocalic reconstruction).

*=*VrLV* to thresh: Nakh. **arL*-; Av.-And. *=*il*-; Tsez. *=*oL*-; Lak. *č:in*; Darg. *=*uk*- (/Vlk-); Lezg. **jiλ*:

| Nakh. **arL*- to thresh: Chech. *ār*-; Ing. *ard*-; Bacb. *arl*-.

In Bacb. *arl*- is Kadagidze's notation; Matsiyev has *arλ*-. A direct derivate from this verbal stem is PN **arLV*: Chech. *ēra* 'threshing-floor; grain lying upon it', Ing. *orda-l* 'sheaves ready for threshing; cattle working on the threshing-floor'.

| Av.-And. *=*il*- to thresh: Tind. =*eĩ*-.

The verb itself is attested only in Tindi. Much more widespread are derivatives:

1) **roli*. Cf. Av. *lol* (pl. *lul-bi*) 'threshing board', Chad. *lal* in *lal =oq-* 'to thresh'; And. *loli* 'threshing; threshing-floor', *loli tam-* 'to thresh'; Cham. *jal* 'threshing'; Tind. *rali* 'grain ready for threshing'; Kar. *lale* 'threshing'; God. *lali-buxi* id. In Av., And., Kar. and God. *l-* < **r*through assimilation.

2) **bilV-*, **bilV-mV*. Cf. Av. *bāla-hin* 'shaft fastened to the threshing boards and yoke while threshing', Chad. *bolō-hin* 'threshing board' (with an unclear component -hin); And. *belim*, Akhv. *meli* (Tseg., Tlan. *belan*), Cham. *belū* (Gig. *belma*), Tind. *belima*, Kar. *belun* 'threshing board'.

| Tsez. **oL-* to thresh: Bezht. =*ol-*.

The verb is attested only in Bezht. Much wider spread are the nominal derivatives:

1. PTs **roLV* A: Tsez. *reḷa-j*, Gin. *reḷa*, Khvarsh. *loḷe*, Inkh. *lolo* (PTsKh **RoLV*), Bezht. Tlad. *ral*, Gunz. *rol* 'threshing' (PGB **rol*).

2. PTs **miLə* A: Tsez. *meḷi*, Gin. *meḷe*, Khvarsh. *meḷa*, Inkh. *mulo-lo* (PTsKh **miLə*), Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *mur*, Gunz. *milu* (PGB **mil(u)*) 'threshing board'. Bezht. has here -*r*- instead of -*l*- probably because of dissimilation which occurred in the oblique base (cf. Tlad. *mur-li-*, Khosh. *mur-li-*) and later was extended to the direct base.

| Lak. *č:in* threshing board.

Khosr. *č:in* id. Lak. *č:in* goes back to **muk:i-n* (with a regular loss of the initial syllable containing a labial resonant + a narrow vowel), which is an exact match for forms like PA **bili-mV*, PTs **miLə* etc.

Another derivative from the same archaic verbal root is Lak. *č:ar* (< **k:ar*, with metathesis < **rak:*) 'threshing', used also in the compound verb *č:ar d-a-n* 'to thresh'.

| Darg. **uk:-* (/=*Vlk:-*) to thresh: Ak. (*deg*) *d-ug-es*.

The verbal stem is attested only in Ak., in a compound with *deg* 'threshing, threshing board', which itself is derived from the same root (see below). There are two nominal derivatives:

1. Chir. *alč:re* (plur. *alk:-me*) 'threshing board', reflecting PD **alk:i*. This noun is immediately derived from the verbal stem **Vlk:-* (which is itself unattested).

2. PD **dek:* > Ak. *deg*, Chir. *dek:* (cf. *dek: b-arqi* 'to thresh'), Ur. *dig* etc. 'threshing, threshing board'. The same stem is reflected in Ur. *duḡini* 'threshed corn, fodder'.

| Lezg. **jiḷ:* grain prepared for threshing; threshing: Lezg. *jug*; Ag. *ji*; Rut. *jiḡ*; Arch. *iḷ*.

Cf. also Lezg. obl. *juga-* (pointing to PL **jiḷ:a-*), Nüt. *jiḡ-arar*. This noun (originally deverbial, see below) is for the most part used in compound verbs meaning 'to thresh': Ag. *ji aqas*, Rut. *jiḡ haʔas*, Arch. *iḷ ač:as*. Agul forms meaning 'threshing board' also belong here. They contain a former plural affix *-*Vr*: *jiri*, Bursh. *jar*, Fit. *jarjar*, Burk. *jarjar-ar* (< **jiḷ:-Vr*, **jiḷ:Vr-Vj*; in Fit. and Burk. new plural affixes were added).

Another old derivative from the same verbal root is PL **miḷ:o-ra* (with metatheses: **ḷ:iroma*, **riḷ:oma*) 'threshing board' > Lezg. *rugun* (Khl. *riḡin*), Rut. *niḡrā* (Ikhr. *riḡnā*), Tsakh. *migra*, Mik. *niḡra* / *nigra*, Arch.

lorom, Ud. *muq:lal*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The verbal stem itself is preserved only in a few languages (Nakh, Tind., Bezht., Darg.). Very well represented, however, are two common EC derivatives: **r-eḷo* 'threshing, grain ready for threshing' and **m-i(r)ḷV* 'threshing board'. PA **bilimV* (corresponding to the latter form) is probably a metathesis < **mili-bV* (with *-*bV* as a former plural affix). If our analysis is right, we have here another case of the PEC instrumental prefix **m-*.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 242.

*=*Vrswe* to cut (in parts); to shear, clip: Nakh. **aš-*; Av.-And. **i(r)s:V-* / **s:V-*; Tsez. **s:us:-*; Lak. *t:-i=si-*; Darg. **irs:-* / **is:-*; Lezg. **ars:ʔa-*; W.-Cauc. **sʔV*.

| Nakh. **aš-* to shave: Chech. =*aš-*; Ing. =*aš-*; Bacb. =*aš-*.

| Av.-And. **i(r)s:V-* / **s:V-* 1 to cut 2 cut into small parts 3 cut lengthwise: Av. *s:u-1*, =*us:-* 2; Chad. *sijsi-n qut-* 2; Cham. =*is:V-* 3; Tind. =*us:ṭ-* 3; Kar. =*urs:an-* 2.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. =*us:V-*, Kar. Arch., Masht., Chab. =*is:V-* (NB: without the secondary nasal conjugation present in Kar. proper and other Andian languages). Av. *s:u-* reflects stem II; Av. =*us:-* and all Andian forms - stem I.

| Tsez. **s:us:-* to chop, cut in pieces: Bezht. *sus-* (*Khosh*).

Cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *sus-* id. Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *t:-i=si-* to cut out.

G. pr. *t:i=su-nu*. Cf. also Khosr. *t:isi-n*, and, with another morphological formation, Lak. =*urusi-n* (=urusu-nu), Khosr. =*urusi-n* 'to chop, cut in small parts'. Lak. *t:isi-* also goes back to **t:ir(i)si-*, as seen from an old Archi loanword: *diris-kes* 'to cut out'.

| Darg. **irs:-* / **is:-* to cut out: Ak. =*irs-es*; Chir. =*irs:-* / =*is:-*.

Cf. also Ak., Ur., Kub. *dis*, Chir., Kharb., Tsud., Kait. *dis*: 'knife' - an old derivative from this verbal root.

| Lezg. **ars:ʔa-* 1 to rip up 2 to cut in pieces: Tab. *kt-a=sʔ-* 1; Arch. =*ars:a-* 2.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *k-a=sʔ-* (in Tab. the verb is attested only with preverbs), Arch. Dur. =*ars:u-r*. With Ablaut cf. perhaps also Tab. *u=sʔ-*, Düb. *u=sʔ-* 'to mow'.

An old derivative from this root is PL **[h]ars:V-t:V* (with an adjectival suffix, 'cutting') > (with metathesis) > **[h]at:ers:V* 'scissors', reflected in Tab. *ubrušʔ* (with assimilation), Düb. *uruš:ʔu*, Ag. *hut:es* (Bursh. *haras:*, Burk. *hāras*), Tsakh. *ades:e* and Arch. *jat:ərsi*. We must note that this stem reveals some traces of contamination with another PEC root for 'cut', **HVrsA* (q.v.): the initial laryngeal and the irregular weak -*s-* in Archi must be traces of the other root, which otherwise vanished in Lezghian.

| W.-Cauc. **sʔV* 1 to shave 2 to shear, to clip: Abkh. *a-sa-rā* 1,2; Abaz. *sa-ra* 1,2; Ub. *sʔá-* 1.

PAT **ša-* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-ša-rā*). Here belongs also a nominal derivative: Ub. *sʔa* 'sickle'.

[] A well represented common NC verbal stem. The vocalism is hard to reconstruct: this may be due partly to the fact that in EC two verbal stems have merged together (see also *HVrsA).

*=VršĒ to rot, to ferment; to ripen: Av.-And. *aš:- (~o-); Tsez. *-iš:-; Darg. *arš:-; Lezg. *V(r)š(:*)V; W.-Cauc. *š:V.

| Av.-And. *aš:- (~o-) to ripen: Av. =arš:-; Akhv. =aš:-.

| Tsez. *-iš:- to ripen: Bezht. *iš-el-dal* (*Khaidakov*).

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. *arš- to rot: Chir. =arš- / =urš-.

| Lezg. *V(r)š(:*)V rotten: Ud. *bašIa(j)*.

Only the Udi form is attested, thus the PL reconstruction is very uncertain.

| W.-Cauc. *š:V 1 to become soft (as cheese) 2 to ferment 3 to ripen 4 ripe: Abkh. *a-š-rá* 2; Abaz. *ʿa-š-ra* 2; Ad. *ša-n* 1,3; Kab. *ša-n* 1; Ub. *š-qa* 4.

PAT *šə (in Abaz. used only with a preverb); PAK *š:a- (cf. Bzhed. *š:a-n*). The correspondence PAT *š : PAK *š: : Ub. *š* points to PWC *š:.

[] The EC-WC comparison see in Abdokov 1983, 143 (the author quotes also some other EC forms which we were unable to confirm in available sources). Not quite clear is Darg. *š - possibly a misspelling in Chir. (instead of š:)

*=VtV̄ to give: Lezg. *VtV- ?; W.-Cauc. *tA-.

| Lezg. *VtV- ? give: Ud. *tades*.

Isolated in Udi (with only WC correspondences?)

| W.-Cauc. *tA- give: Abkh. *á-ta-ra*; Abaz. *a-t-ra*; Ad. *tə-n*; Kab. *tə-n*; Ub. *ta-*.

PAT *tA-; PAK *tə- (an objectless form *tə- > Ad., Kab. *ta-n* also exists). In Ub. *ta-* is archaic and rarely used; more usual is the form *tʷə-* which must be an old variant of the same root (labialisation may reflect either old Ablaut or old class affixation).

[] The root is well preserved in WC languages; however, the only close EC parallel is the isolated Udi form (*ta-desun*), and the NC antiquity of the root (as well as its precise PNC phonetic shape) is uncertain. See Trubetzkoy 1930, 279; Abdokov 1983, 182.

*=VtʷV̄ to pour, soak: Nakh. *χ-ōbt-; Av.-And. *iʷ- / *iʷi(r)-; Tsez. *iʷ-; Lak. =u-ʷi-; Darg. *-Vrt-.

| Nakh. *χ-ōbt- to soak up: Chech. *χūd-*; Bacb. *χōpt-*.

Chech. reflects only the terminative stem; Bacbi, besides *χōpt-*, has also

the durative *χēpt-* < *χ-ēbt-.

The same root is contained in two common Nakh derivatives:

a) *b-ōti-n 'raw' (Chech. *būda*, Ing. *bijda* /irregular: *beda* would be expected/, Bacb. *bofi*; cf. also Cheb. *bwōdī*, Shar. *bū(j)dī* etc.);

b) (with reduplication) *tāti-n 'wet' > Chech. *tēda*, Ing. *tāda*, Bacb. *tafē* (cf. also Cheb. *tadē*, Shar. *tēdā* etc.). The pure stem *tāt- can be seen in Chech. *tād-ō* 'to soak, become/make wet', Bacb. *taf-dar* id., *taf-al* 'liquid'.

| Av.-And. *iʷ- / *iʷi(r)- 1 to pour 2 to drop, drip, flow: Av. *te-* 1; Akhv. =eʷ- 2; Cham. *te-d-* 2; Kar. *tor-* 2.

Stem I is reflected in Akhv. (=eʷ-), stem II (sometimes with a -r-suffix) in other languages (it also occurs in Akhvakh dialects: Tseg., Ratl. *tor-* 'to drop, drip'). There also exists a reduplicated stem *iʷVtʷ- > Tind. *toʷ-* 'to drop, drip', Cham. *teʷi-d-* id., Kar. *tʷatʷa-r-* 'to drip, flow'.

| Tsez. *iʷ- to pour: Tsez. *eʷ-*; Khvarsh. *g-iʷ-*; Bezht. =oʷ- (*Khosh.*).

PTsKh *iʷ- (or *g-iʷ- with a preverb).

| Lak. =u-ʷi- to pour.

G. pr. =u-ʷu-nu. Cf. Khosr. =u-ʷi-n id.

| Darg. *-Vrt- to pour: Ak. -Vrt- (*Ur.*).

The root is used mostly with preverbs, which makes it difficult to establish vocalism. Most probably it was *-art- / *-irt-, cf. Kub. *k-at-* / *kat-iʷ-* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root has many variants (with Ablaut and preverbs), especially in the Nakh and Av.-And. area, which makes it

difficult to reconstruct vocalism. In several subgroups it tends to contaminate with *=iʷVl 'to drop, drip' (q.v.), which makes it sometimes difficult to attribute particular forms to *=VtʷV̄ or *=iʷVl. Still the two roots are opposed in several languages, and should be distinguished, at least for PEC.

*=VtʷV̄ to lie, to sleep: Nakh. *aʷ- (~ -ā-); Tsez. *iʷ-.

| Nakh. *aʷ- (~ -ā-) to lie, lie about: Bacb. =aʷ-.

| Tsez. *iʷ- 1 to sleep 2 to lie down: Gin. =oʷ- 2; Bezht. =uʷ- 1; Gunz. =uʷ- 1. PGB *uʷ-.

[] A Nakh-Tsez. isogloss.

*=VwçĀ to plane, hew: Av.-And. *uç- / *çV-n-; Tsez. *çiç- (~ -i-); Lak. çu=çi-; Darg. *uç-; Lezg. *āwçʷa; W.-Cauc. *ç:ʷə.

| Av.-And. *uç- / *çV-n- to plane, hew: Av. =uç-; Chad. =oç-; Akhv. *ça-nu-*.

Stem I is reflected in Av., stem 2 (with a nasal suffix of secondary nature) - in Akhv. The word for 'chip, sliver' in some Andian languages may be derived from this root (as it is in other EC languages), but the problem is that it contains PA *ç: (even with some irregular reflexes): Cham. *šinš*, Gig. *ç:iç:in*, Tind. *k:ink:i* (sic!) - an irregular (expressive) transformation?

| Tsez. *çiç- (~ -i-) to plane, hew: Tsez. *çeç-*; Gin. *çoç-*.

PTsKh *çiç- (~ -i-).

| Lak. *çu=çi-* to plane, hew.

G. pr. *çu=çunu*. Cf. Khosr. *ça=çi-*. Derived words are Lak. *çuçalu*, Khosr. *çuçalu* 'chip, sliver, shaving'; Lak. *çalçi* 'chip, shaving, splinter'.

| Darg. **=uç-* to plane, hew; Ak. *=uç-* (*Kub.*).

Cf. also the derived PD **?uça-la* 'chip, sliver': Ak., Ur., Chir. *uçala*.

| Lezg. **?āwç^wa* 1 to plane, hew 2 to polish: Tab. *u=ç^v-* 2; Ag. *iç^w-*, *la-jç^w-* 1; Tsakh. *heç^w-* (*Khaidakov*) 1; Kryz. *riçar-* 1; Arch. *babça-*.

Cf. also Arch. pres. *babçu-r*. The Kryz. morphological structure is not quite clear (other languages do not point to an **-r*-conjugation), otherwise correspondences are regular. Cf. also derivatives: Arch. *abçon* 'shavings', Lezg. *ruçu-gul* 'chisel', Ag. (Bursh.) *ruçel*, (Fit.) *çela*, (Burk.) *çala* 'chip, sliver', Kryz. *çil-āp* (with an originally plural suffix **-Vp*) id., possibly also PL **q:-uça* (**q:-Vwça*) id., reflected in Lezg. Khl. *q:uç*, Rut. *q:uç*, Tsakh. *buça*. A derivative like **?V(w)çVl-* can perhaps also be observed in Kryz. *çil-kām* (and, with irregular transformations, also in Bud. *çiniḱ* < **çilnVḱ* < **çil-kVn*) 'chip', although the second part of the compound is not clear.

| W.-Cauc. **c^wə* to hew, plane: Abkh. *a-č^v-rā*; Abaz. *č^w-ra*.

PAT **c^wə*. Cf. also the derivate (reduplicated): **c^wəc^wə* 'shavings, chip', reflected in Abkh. *a-c^vāc^v*, Abaz. Ashkh. *č^wəč^w-χa*.

[] Correspondences are regular.

**=VwλwĒr* to warm up, to be warm: Nakh. **l-āl-* (~λ-); Av.-And. **=Vx-*; Tsez. **λ:e-h-*; Lak. *š:a-ra-*; Darg. **=ubx-* (~š(-)); Lezg. **?eλ(:)^wVr-*; Khin. *fa-ra*; W.-Cauc. **λ^wV*.

| Nakh. **l-āl-* (~λ-) to melt (intr.): Chech. *lāl-*; Ing. *lal-*.

The *l-* is an historical preverb.

| Av.-And. **=Vx-* 1 be warm, hot 2 hot: Av. *=ax-*; Chad. *b-āx-ra-b* 2. Isolated in Avar, but having good external parallels.

| Tsez. **λ:e-h-* 1 to burn (intr.) 2 to catch fire: Bezht. *λij-* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *leh-*.

PGB **λ[e]-h-*; judging by the external parallels, *-h-* must be a historical suffix. With another suffix cf. perhaps Bezht. Khosh. *λi-š-* 'to burn (a lamp)'.

| Lak. *š:a-ra-* to boil, seethe.

A durative stem (cf. Khosr. *š:ara-n* id.). Several forms are reduplicated: cf. imper. *š:araš:u*, as well as the noun *š:araš:i* 'spring, source', *š:araš:i dan* 'to boil (trans.)'. The latter form was probably borrowed (with some distortions) into Archi: *halrš-bos* (dur. *halrš:ar*) 'to boil'.

| Darg. **=ubx-* / **=ejx-* 1 to temper (steel) 2 to catch fire: Ak. *=ubš-es* 1; Chir. *=ejx-* 2.

Cf. also Ur. *=ubš/=ubš* 'to temper (steel)'.

| Lezg. **?eλ(:)^wVr-* 1 to burn 2 to get heated 3 warm 4 to boil: Lezg. *ife-* 2; Tab. *k-a=x-* (*Dub.*); Ag. *k-ejxi-* (*Bursh.*); Rut. *u=x^wa-* 1; Tsakh. *k-o=xar-* 4; Bud. *fe-ji* 3.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *k-ejxi-* 'to burn'. The Tsakh. form poses some problems. In the Tsakh. dialect Talibov has noted only *q-o-xan-* 'boil' which obviously must belong to another root (see **?Vrλ:an*). However, in the Mikik dialect both *k-o=xar-* 'boil' and *g-o=x:an-* 'burn (intr.)' had been written down - with seemingly reversed

semantics. This is either a result of interdialectal mixture or faulty recording.

There is a great deal of confusion in the Tsakh. recordings as to the tenseness of *-x-* (*-x:-*) in this root, thus the PL reconstruction (**-λ^w-* or **-λ:^w-*) is not clear in this point.

| Khin. *fa-ra* warm, hot.

| W.-Cauc. **λ^wV* 1 to boil 2 warm: Abkh. *a-š-rā* 1; Abaz. *š-ra* 1; Ad. *fā-ba* 2; Kab. *x^wā-ba* 2; Ub. *š^wa-dā-* 1.

PAT **šə*; PAK **x^wa-bā*. Shagirov (2,106) takes from Ubykh another root: *ša-* 'to be hot'. However, Ub. *š* can not correspond to PAK **x^w*, while Ub. *š^wa-dā-* is a perfect match for both AA and AK forms.

It is probable that Ub. *ša-* 'be hot' goes back to another PWC root, **šV* (**š:V*) which is not reflected in PAK, but in PAT merged with **šə* < **λ^wA*. This seems probable because the Abkh. root means both 'boil' and 'become hot'.

[] A reliable common NC root (although because of reductions of the initial syllable and absence of reflexes in most Andian and Tsezian languages it is hard to reconstruct the first vowel).

**=VwqV* to scrape: Nakh. **haq-* / **hēq-*; Av.-And. **q:i-*; Darg. **-arq-* / *-irq-*; Lezg. **?owχ:V*.

| Nakh. **haq-* / **hēq-* to rub, smear; to sweep: Chech. *haq-* / *hēq-*; Ing. *haq-* / *hēq-*; Bacb. *haq-* / *hēq-*.

The root demonstrates the usual PN Ablaut (term. *-a-*, dur. *-ē-*). In PN this is most probably a result of merging two PEC roots (**=VwqV* and **HārqV*).

| Av.-And. **q:i-* 1 to rake up 2 write 3 touch 4 scrape 5 to comb: Av. *q:^wa-1,2,3*; Chad. *q:^wa-1,2,3*; And. *q:e-l-* 4; Tind. *qa-* (*qē-λa*) 5; Kar. *q:a-r-* 4.

Av. has labialized *q:^w-* (probably reflecting the former cluster **-wq-*); Andian forms do not reflect labialization (most Andian forms meaning 'to write' are probably borrowed from Av.: cf. And. *q:^war-di-*, Cham. *q:^wa-d-*, Gig. *q:or-*, Tind. *q:^wa-*, Kar. *q:^wa-r-*; in Av. besides *q:^wa-ze* cf. also the frequentative *q:^wa-dar-*). Cf. also Kar. Tok. *q:a-ŋ^w-* 'to scrape' (with an expressive suffix).

All the forms mentioned above reflect stem II **q:i-* (Avar - with labialization - **q:^wV-*). The verbal stem I is not attested, but it is probably reflected in the derived form Tind. *raq:an* 'rake' (< **r-aq:an* ~ *-o-*).

| Darg. **=arq-* / *=irq-* to strip, to flay: Ak. *=arq-/=irq-* (*Ur.*).

| Lezg. **?owχ:V* to scrape, scratch: Arch. *g-obχ:a-s*.

Dur. *g-obχ:u-r*. Attested only in Arch., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive verb, so it is rather hard to make a precise reconstruction (except for the tense root consonant **q*); still it seems very probable that all the listed forms are related.

**=VwsVn* to sleep, to dream: Nakh. **-abs-* (~ā-); Av.-And. **s:^wV-*; Tsez. **-Vs-* (~s:-); Darg. **=is:Vn-/*=us:(Vn)-*; Lezg. **[a]s(:)^win-*; W.-Cauc. **sV* (~ **šV*).

| Nakh. **-abs-* (~*-ā-*) fall asleep: Chech. *th-ows-*; Ing. *th-ajs-*.

For the first part of the compound see PN **tōh-*.

| Av.-And. **s:V-* doze, slumber: Av. *s:ā-d-*; Chad. *se-n-ā:ē-*.

Isolated in Av. (stem 2), but having reliable external parallels. For the 2d part -*āe-* in Chad. see PA **ā:in-*.

| Tsez. **-Vs-* (~*-s:-*) sleep: Khvarsh. *ā-es-*.

Attested only in Khvarsh., but having probable external parallels. For the initial *ā-* see PTs **-īā-*.

| Darg. **=is:Vn-/us:(Vn)-* to sleep: Ak. *us-es*; Chir. *ke=is:Vn-/ils:*.

Cf. also Ur. *=is(n)-/ils-* 'lie down', dur. *=us-* 'sleep'.

| Lezg. **ʔ[a]s(:)w in-* 1 to sleep 2 to lie: Lezg. *k-su-* I; Tsakh. *q:-a=san-* I; Ud. *bas-k:es* 2.

The Tsakh. word is from the Mishlesh dialect. Cf. also Lezg. pret. *k-su-na*.

| W.-Cauc. **sV* (~ **sV*) to dream, slumber: Abkh. *a-č^va-r-sās-ra*; Abaz. *č^wa-sās-ra*; Ub. *-sa-*.

PAT **sāsə* (~ **sāsə* - the Bzyb. form is unknown). The first part of the compound is PAT **c^wa* 'dream' (q.v.); cf. also other compounds in Abkh.: *a-χə-r-sās-ra* 'to slumber' (perhaps the non-reduplicated form can be extracted from *a-χə-r-q^wə-s-ra* id.). Ub. Ip. s. *sə-sā-n*.

[] A common NC verb stem with good consonantal correspondences; there is not enough evidence to make a precise vocalic reconstruction.

**=VxwĒn* to curse, damn: Av.-And. **xam-* (~ *-o-*); W.-Cauc. **x^wə*.

| Av.-And. **xam-* (~ *-o-*) to curse, damn: Av. *xam-*; Kar. *šam-*. Cf. also Kar. Tok. *xam-* id.

| W.-Cauc. **x^wə* to curse, damn: Abkh. *ā-s^vij-ra*; Abaz. *s^wej-ra*.

PAT **s^wə-jə* (cf. also Bzyb. *ā-s^vij-ra*). The PWC reconstruction is tentative (PAT **s^w* can go back to **s^w*, **s^h* or **x^w*).

[] An Av.-And.-WC isogloss (acceptable only if PAT **s^w* in this case goes back to PWC **x^w*).

**=V₃V* to grow: Av.-And. **-iz(Vn)*; Tsez. **-iš-* (~*-i-*, -*ž(:)-*); Darg. **=uc:-*.

| Av.-And. **=iz(Vn)* to grow: Av. *-iz-*; Akhv. *-iz-*; Cham. *-izin-*; Tind. *-izī-*.

Not clear is -*ž-* in Cham. (z would be regularly expected): this may be either a loan from Tindi (which is rather unusual) or, rather, Avar influence (note that both Avar and Cham. have also a secondary meaning development 'to grow (trans.)' > 'to create').

| Tsez. **-iš-* (~*-i-*, -*ž(:)-*) to grow: Bezht. *-iz-* (Tlad.).

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. **=uc:-* to grow: Ak. *=uz-* (Ur.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. There is not enough evidence to make a precise vocalic reconstruction.

W

**wāčV* a k. of stone: Av.-And. **čaba-χ:V*; Tsez. **bač(a)*; Lezg. **wač(a)* (~ *p:-*); Khin. *wāč*.

| Av.-And. **čaba-χ:V* road-metal, pebbles: Av. *čabāχ:*; And. *čabaχ:e*; Kar. *čax:-da*.

Av. paradigm C (*čabχ:i-l*, *čabχ:a-l*). Cf. also Kar. Tok. *čax:a* id. (the Kar. form is a reduction < **čabχ:a*).

| Tsez. **bač(a)* rock, cliff: Bezht. *bāč* (Khosh.); Gunz. *bača*.

PGB **bač(a)* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *bāč*).

| Lezg. **wač(a)* (~ *p:-*) a thin round stone: Ud. *bačI*.

Attested only in Ud., but having probable external parallels.

| Khin. *wāč* tomb-stone.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Av.-And. reflex is metathesized and has an expressive suffix -*Vχ:* (as in **čimi-χ:V* 'small stone' etc.). It is worth noting Svan. *bāč* 'stone' (although it is not quite clear, how it is related to EC forms).

**wārtē* top: Nakh. **b(h)art*; Lak. *bart*; Darg. **burt*; Lezg. **warta*.

| Nakh. **b(h)art* 1 lips, mouth 2 kiss: Chech. *bart*; Ing. *bart*.

Obl. base **barte-* (Chech. *berta-*, Ing. *barto*). Traces of the original meaning 'top' can be seen in derivatives: PN **bart-iķ* 'mouth (of a sack or vessel); top (of a boot)' (Chech., Ing. *bertig*); **barte-l* (adv.) 'face down' (Chech. *bertal*, Ing. *bartal*).

| Lak. *bart* top; cream, sour cream.

Gen. pl. *bart-urdil*; cf. Khosr. *bart* id.

| Darg. **burt* cream, sour cream: Ak. *burt*.

Cf. Ur. *burt*, Kub. *būt* id.

| Lezg. **warta* 1 top 2 wheel set on the spindle top 3 reel, spool: Lezg. *wat* 3; Ag. *wart* 1,2 (Bursh.).

Cf. Lezg. erg. *wat-uni-*; for the oblique base cf. Ag. *warti-*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The vowel -u- in PD may be due either to progressive labialisation or to Ablaut (*a/o). The meaning 'cream, sour cream' in Lak. and Darg. is a natural development < *'top' (top of milk); it may, however, also have been favoured by the influence of the verbal root **=itwVr* 'to curdle' (q.v.) (cf. Lak. *tata-n*, PD **=ert-* / **rut-*).

If the original meaning of the root was closer to Lezghian (i.e. 'wheel set on the spindle top', whence simply 'top'), it would be possible to think of an Iranian (Indo-Iranian) source like **varta-* or **vrtti-* 'spinning, spinning object'.

**wārǰV* (~ *b-*) enclosure; corn-bin, shed: Nakh. **baǰV-l* (~*-o-*, -*č-*); Av.-And. **bVǰV-nV*; Tsez. **beǰ* B (~ -*ž:*).

| Nakh. *baʒV-l (~o-, -č-) stall, horse-stall: Chech. *boʒal*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *bVzV-nV corn-bin, granary: Av. *bežén*.

| Tsez. *bež B (~ -z:) enclosure (for sheep): Gin. *bež*; Bezht. *bež*; Gunz. *bež* (Gunz.).

PGB *bež.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The medial resonant is reconstructed to account for spirantization in PTs; without it one would expect a reflex *beč. The loss of *-r- in a cluster in Chech. and Av. is normal.

*wākV (~*b-, -ō-) skin (of animals): Av.-And. *bikʷi; Tsez. *bek.

| Av.-And. *bikʷV 1 goat skin 2 fur coat (with long sleeves): Cham. *boč* 1; Tind. *boka* 1; God. *buki* 1.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *buči* id. The word was borrowed into some Tsezian languages (with the secondary meaning 'fur coat'): Inkh., Tsez., Gin. *boko*.

| Tsez. *bek skin (of cattle): Tsez. *bik*; Gin. *bik*. PTsKh *bek.

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss.

*wēλV (~*b-) ear (of corn), spadix: Tsez. *biλV (~ -e-, -ə-); Darg. *bek.

| Tsez. *biλV (~ -e-, -ə-) spadix: Tsez. *biλo* (*Imnaishvili*); Gin. *beλo*. PTsKh *bəλo.

| Darg. *bek ear (of corn): Chir. *bek*.

Cf. also Kait. *bek* id. The root within Darg. had merged with *bek* 'head' (which may have been favoured by the same process in modern Lezghian languages, see PEC *λ[i/ɛ/ɪ]), but the Tsez. parallels show that this is a secondary process.

[] A Tsez-Darg. isogloss.

*wēmçÜ (~-ō-) liver, spleen: Av.-And. *mVçV; Tsez. *bəçə A; W.-Cauc. *çʷA.

| Av.-And. *mVçV liver: Chad. *maç*.

A dialectal Av. word, but with good external parallels.

| Tsez. *bəçə A 1 spleen 2 liver: Tsez. *boç-kori* 1; Bezht. *baço* 1; Gunz. *bəçə* 2.

PGB *bəçə. The Tsez. form is a compound with an unclear second component (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *baç-kil* 'spleen' demonstrating the same compound).

| W.-Cauc. *çʷA liver: Abkh. *a-gʷa-çʷá*; Abaz. *çʷa*; Ad. *šʷə*; Ub. *gə-cʷá-bla*.

PAT *çʷa (in Abkh. - a compound with *gʷə 'heart'). Ad. < PAK *çʷə. Ub. also has a compound with *gə* 'heart' (cf. Abkh.) + *bla* 'grey'. Note the loss of glottalization in Ub. (a misspelling of Vogt?); the normal glottalized form of the root appears in *çʷa-cá* 'gall' (-ca is probably 'burning, bitter').

See Shagirov 1977, 2, 83.

[] Correspondences are quite regular.

*wēnλwē luck, good: Nakh. *māli; Av.-And. *bVxʷi / *xʷibV-; W.-Cauc. *maλʷV.

| Nakh. *māli good deed, good (relig.): Chech. *mēla*; Ing. *māl*.

5th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *bVxʷi / *xʷibV- 1 luck 2 good: Av. *baxi* 1; And. *su-b* 2; Akhv. *šo-da-be* 2; Cham. *hō-b* 2.

Cf. Cham. Gig. *hu-b* id. (suggesting *x- in PA). In PA *-b- in *xʷibV- was reanalyzed as a class suffix (*xʷibV-b > *xʷi(b)-b).

| W.-Cauc. *maλʷV good, luck: Ad. *māfa*; Kab. *māxʷa*.

PAK *maxʷá. The root is homonymous with *maxʷa 'day' - which is obviously a secondary merger. PAK *xʷ may go back to *λʷ, *λʷ, *xʷ or *xʷ; in this case *λʷ is preferable because of external evidence.

*wēnλV beak; horn; head: Nakh. *marλo; Av.-And. *buλV (~*biλʷV); Tsez. *bōλV A; Lak. *baq*; Darg. *beq; Lezg. *woλul; Khin. *mikir*.

| Nakh. *marλo nose: Chech. *mara*; Ing. *meraž*; Bacb. *marλō*.

Obl. base *marλi- (cf. Chech. *mera-*, Ing. *mera-ž* - originally a suffixed form; cf. also Bacb. *majrλa* < *marλi-ja 'face'). 6th class in chech, Bacb., but 4th class in Ing. Cf. also Shar., Itumk. *marhō* 'nose'.

| Av.-And. *buλV (~*biλʷV) 1 head 2 horn: Av. *bejer* 1; Chad. *bejer* 1; Kar. *buλa* 2.

Av. paradigm B (*bojró-l*, *bujrú-l*; Chad. *bojró-l*, *bojró-l*). Cf. also Kar. Anch. *bulʷa*, Chab. *buʷa* 'horn'.

| Tsez. *bōλV A 1 beak 2 mouth, lip: Tsez. *buλi* 1; Gin. *miλu* 1; Khvarsh. *maλu* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *maλu* 2; Bezht. *moλo* 1; Gunz. *moλo* 1.

PTsKh *būλV (in Inkh., Khvarsh. and Gin. one must suppose a vowel metathesis); PGB *miλo. Pharyngealized articulation recorded sometimes in Tsez. (*buλi*) and Inkh. (*maλu*) must be secondary. Cf. also Gin. *miλo-qoju* 'bridle' = Tsez. *moλo-qow* id. (preserving nasalisation).

| Lak. *baq* head.

4th class. Khosr. *baq* (3d class). An archaic obl. stem *wVkv-rV- > *kara-* can be seen in the derivate *kara-lu* (Khosr. *karalu*) 'pillow' (lit. 'under head').

| Darg. *bek head: Ak. *bek*; Chir. *bek*.

Cf. also Ur., Kub. *bik* etc.

| Lezg. *woλul head: Lezg. *qil*; Tab. *kul*; Ag. *kil*; Rut. *uqul*; Tsakh. *wuqul*; Kryz. *qil*; Bud. *qil*; Arch. *λil-li-λ*; Ud. *bul*.

The initial syllable vanished in the weak position in most languages, but is preserved in Tsakh., Rut. (*uqul*, *huqul* or *qul* in different dialects) and Ud. (where *bul* < *buʷul < *woλul; cf. also *woλV-rV > Ud. *ber* 'pillow'). The Archi form is an original locative and means 'under the head'; PL *λ should have given Arch. *k*, but has been preserved in this exceptional form as a result of assimilation with the sublative *-λ:. The word belongs uniformly to the 3d class (in Rut., Tsakh., Kryz. and Bud.).

See Talibov 1960a, 295; Leksika 1971, 107; Giginayshvili 1977, 69.

| Khin. *mikir* head.

[] Reconstructed for PEC. Some languages (Av., PL, Khin.) reflect a suffixed form *wēnʎV-lV.

*wēnsĒ a cutting or chopping instrument: Nakh. *mārs; Av.-And. *bisun; Tsez. *bəz(:)ɔ; Khin. waz; W.-Cauc. *śa (~ š-).

| Nakh. *mārs sickle: Chech. mars; Ing. mars.

Obl. base *mārsē- (cf. Chech. mārsa-, Ing. marso). Cf. also Lev. mārs, Shar., Khild. mārc (with a secondary -c). 6th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *bisun knife: Av. nus; Chad. nuš; And. besun; Akhv. mešu; Cham. besū; Tind. besun; Kar. besun; Botl. besun; Bagv. besun; God. besun.

Av. paradigm C (nusó-l, núsá-l, Chad. nošó-l, núsá-l). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. bušun, Ratl. bešun, Cham. Gig. besun.

| Tsez. *bəz(:)ɔ hoc, pick: Tsez. bizo; Gin. bezo; Khvarsh. bizo (Radzhibov); Bezht. boza; Gunz. bozo.

PTsKh *bəzo; PGB *boz[ɔ]. In PGB *-ə- would be regularly expected; -o- (or, in fact, Gunz. -o- - because Bezht. -o- goes back both to *o and to *ə) can be a result of labial assimilation.

| Khin. waz knife.

| W.-Cauc. *śa (~ š-) 1 sabre 2 knife: Abkh. á-sa 1; Ad. sa 1; Kab. sa 2.

PAT *śa (cf. Bzyb. á-śa); PAK *sa. Dirr has also recorded Ub. sa 'sabre' which is most probably an Abkh. or Ad. word. The correspondence PAT *ś : PAK *s points to PWC *ś or *š. Shagirov's linking this root with PWC *śV 'to beat, hit' is most probably faulty.

[] A regular common WC cultural term. The Av.-And. form has a frequent nasal suffix (*bisu-n); the Av. form nus either reflects *mus < *wVns, or reveals a later nasal assimilation under the influence of the same suffix lost earlier (cf. Akhv. mešu < *bešun < *bisu-n). See Abdokov 1983, 126 (with some confusion of two roots: *wēnsĒ and *HVrsA q.v.). It is not quite clear whether we should also relate here Lak. Bartkh. (cited in Khaidakov 1966) marza 'some detail of a plough'; voiced -z- is quite irregular, and the word could be an old loanword from some related source (cf. the Nakh form *mārs or the voicing in PTs *bəzo).

*wēnʎV shin, haunch, knee: Nakh. *māčV (~ž-); Av.-And. *mič:V; Tsez. *bičnV; Lak. bači; Lezg. *wenč:.

| Nakh. *māčV (~ž-) limb: Chech. mēžē; Ing. māže.

A formation with a frequent *-VjV suffix. 4th class in both languages.

| Av.-And. *mič:V thigh, haunch: Av. mač:; Kar. mič:al.

Av. paradigm C (mač:á-lzul, máč:a-l). The Kar. form contains a frequent -l-suffix.

| Tsez. *bičnV 1 knee 2 shin: Tsez. bečni 1; Gin. bečnu 1; Bezht. mičnä 2; Gunz. mična 1,2.

PTsKh *bičnV (-i-), PGB *mična (with nasal assimilation).

| Lak. bači small paw.

Khaidakov cites also Ag. bač 'paw', which - if it exists - may be a Lak. loanword.

| Lezg. *wenč: 1 knee 2 corner of a sack: Lezg. met 2; Arch. bič-ni 2.

-ni in Arch. is a suffix (cf. the affixation in PTs). For the reflex of PL *č:- cf. Lezg. obl. base meči- (Khl. met, erg. met:a).

[] Reconstructed for the EC level. Correspondences are fully regular.

*wēqwV a k. of foliage tree (asp, poplar): Av.-And. *biqV-r; Tsez. *bič:V- (~ -i-, -χ-); Lak. buq; Lezg. *werχIʷ.

| Av.-And. *biqV-r 1 poplar 2 birch: Av. biháro 1; And. beχu 2; Akhv. beqo-λ.i ruša 2; Cham. beχu-λ: woha 2; Kar. berχo-λ: roša 2.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. biháro-dul). The final *-r is preserved in Cham. Gig. beχur (it passed to Inlaut in Kar. berχo- < *beχuro-).

| Tsez. *bič:V- (~ -i-, -χ-) asp: Bezht. bičola (Khosh.).

Attested only in Bezht., but having reliable external parallels.

| Lak. buq sloe.

| Lezg. *werχIʷ birch: Lezg. werχ; Rut. hluxI; Tsakh. woχI.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. wärχI, Tsakh. obl. woχIa-, Gelm., Tsakh. prop. wiχI. 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh. Within the Lezghian group the roots *merχIʷ (q.v.) and *werχIʷ are in complementary distribution (the former - in Tab., Kryz. and Bud.; the latter - in Lezg., Rut. and Tsakh.) and appear to be one root with a strange variation *m-/w- in Anlaut. Historically, however, they are two different roots having undergone contamination (the regular reflex of PEC *wēqwV in PL would have been *weχʷ which changed to *werχIʷ under the influence of PL *merχIʷ < PEC *mhērqwē q.v.).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root originally must have meant 'asp-tree' or 'poplar'; in Andian and Lezghian it changed its meaning to 'birch' - obviously under the influence of PEC *mhērqwē q.v. This fact explains the excessive -r- and pharyngealization in PL (see above).

*wēršē bull-calf, male: Nakh. *borš; Av.-And. *bišʷa; Lezg. *wV(r)š-.

| Nakh. *borš 1 bull-calf 2 male: Chech. borš 1, bōrša 2; Ing. borša 1,2; Bacb. borš 1.

PN *borš, obl. *barša- (cf. Chech. barša-n; short vowel reconstructed on basis of Chech. plur. bersaløj). Chech. bōrša, Ing. borša go back to a suffixed form *borš-e(n). The noun belongs to the 4th class in Chech., Ing., but to the 5th in Bacb.

| Av.-And. *bišʷa bull-calf: Av. basí; Akhv. buša; Tind. boha.

Av. paradigm B (basí-dul, bus-bí).

| Lezg. *wV(r)š- man, husband: Arch. bošor.

The root is isolated within Lezghian, but having reliable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Since the root means 'male, man' in Nakh and Arch., it is natural to compare also the HU material: Urart. wāšə 'men, people' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 20).

The labialisation in PA is secondary (Av. and all other languages clearly reflect

*-š-), probably under the labialising influence of *w-. The word is ultimately of Indo-European (Indo-Iranian) origin, cf. IE *uers- 'male, male animal' (> Old Ind. vr̥ṣa- 'bull' etc.), see Starostin 1988, 113.

*wēχU grass: Tsez. *bəχ;; W.-Cauc. *χ^wə (~ *χ^w, *χI^w).

| Tsez. *bəχ: 1 grass 2 hay: Tsez. biχ 2; Gin. beχ 1,2; Khvarsh. baχ 1,2; Inkh. boχ 1,2; Bezht. boχ 1,2; Gunz. bəχ 1,2.

PTsKh *bəχ; PGB *bəχ. Cf. also Bezht. Tlad. boχala-ukos 'yellow' ('hay-coloured').

| W.-Cauc. *χ^wə (~ *χ^w, *χI^w) 1 grass 2 meadow grass: Abaz. h^w-ra 1; Kab. χ^wə-n 2.

The root formally coincides with PWC *χI^wV 'to graze' (q.v.); this is probably secondary.

[] A Tsez-WC isogloss. Correspondences are regular, but the etymology is somewhat dubious - because of the root's restricted distribution and its homonymy with *χI^wə 'graze' in PWC.

*wə̃mçö moon, month: Nakh. *butt; Av.-And. *birç:^wi; Tsez. *bocV A; Lak. barz; Darg. *bac;; Lezg. *wac;; Khin. waç; W.-Cauc. *mVza.

| Nakh. *butt moon, month: Chech. butt; Ing. butt; Bacb. butt.

Obl. base *batti- (Chech. betta-, Ing. betto). 6th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *birç:^wi moon: Av. moç;; Chad. moç; And. borç:i; Akhv. boç:o; Cham. boş; Tind. boc:u; Kar. borç:o; Botl. purç:u; Bagv. boç;; God. purc:u.

Av. paradigm C (moç:ró-l, móç:a-l). The PA form reflects a former oblique base *biç:^w-rV- < *bimç:^w-rV-. Cf. also Bagv. Tlis. borç;; Cham. Gad., Gig. buç:u; Kar. Tok. purç:i. In some languages (Kar. Tok., Botl., God.) a secondary (assimilative) devoicing (b- > p-) took place.

| Tsez. *bocV A moon: Tsez. buci; Gin. buce; Khvarsh. buca; Inkh. bucu; Bezht. boco; Gunz. boco.

The PTs paradigm: *bocV, obl. *bicV-. Cf. PTsKh *bucV, *bicV- (> Tsez. buci, bece-, Khvarsh. buca, beca-lo-); PGB *boco, *bicV- (> Bezht. boco, bico-, Gunz. boco, bica-).

| Lak. barz moon, month.

3d class. The Proto-Lak. paradigm must be reconstructed as *waz, *wuz-ru-; *-r- had passed into the direct base (as in some other EC languages): *warz > barz. The oblique base underwent a regular reduction of the initial syllable with a labial resonant: *wuz-ru- > zuru-.

| Darg. *bac: 1 moon 2 month: Ak. baz 2; Chir. bac: 1,2.

Cf. also Ur. baz, Kub. bac (pl. buc:e), Tsud. bac 'moon, month'. In the Ak. dialect there exists an etymological doublet: baz 'month' - which is the original form - and bac 'moon' which is borrowed from a dialect of the Kub. or Tsud. type.

| Lezg. *wac: moon, month: Lezg. warz; Tab. waz; Ag. waz; Rut. waz; Tsakh. waz; Kryz. wāz; Bud. wəz; Arch. bac.

-r- in Lezg. warz probably comes from the oblique base PL *woc:-ra- / *wac:-ra-, cf. Lezg. wac:ra, Arch. bocro, Kryz. wuzur-. The Ablaut *-a-/o- in

the root is witnessed by Kryz. wāz : wuzur- and Tsakh. Gelm. waz : wiza-. Belongs uniformly to the 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. See Leksika 1971, 193; Giginayshvili 1977, 75.

| Khin. waç moon.

| W.-Cauc. *mVza moon, month: Abkh. á-mza; Abaz. mzə; Ad. māza; Kab. māza; Ub. mǝzǝ.

PAT *mǝzV (cf. also Bz. á-mza); PAK *mazá; Ub. def. á-mza.

[] One of the most stable common NC roots. Its oblique base in PEC may be safely reconstructed as *wūmçV-rV-; the -r- of the original suffix has in some languages penetrated into the direct base. See Trubetzkoy 1930, 275, Abdokov 1983, 89.

*wərqV(~ b-) sheep's tail: Av.-And. *bi(r)qV-miḃa; Darg. *buq-; Lezg. *wV(r)χ-mVḃ (~ p:-).

| Av.-And. *bi(r)qV-miḃa 1 sheep's tail 2 hump: Av. móχmoχ 1,2; And. beχu-muḃul 1.

A compound with *miḃa or *miḃ-ul 'tail' in the second part. The Av. form is distorted (through assimilation) and looks like a reduplication - which is of course secondary.

| Darg. *buq-mu[ḃ] sheep's tail: Ak. buq-muj.

Cf. also Kad. buq-muh, Gapsh. buq-mu?, Tsud. buq-nuḃI id. (reflexes of *ḃ are not quite regular, probably because of dissimilation with -q-). The word is a compound of *buq- (see under *wərqV) and *-mu[ḃ] (see under *mēḃV).

| Lezg. *wV(r)χ-mVḃ (~ p:-) nose: Ud. boχImoḃI.

A rather obscure Udi word. It is very similar to Av.-And. and Darg. compounds meaning 'sheep's tail' and thus may be a metaphorical reflection of this compound (cf. also in Avar, besides the original meaning 'sheep's tail', a secondary development into 'hump'). If this etymology is true, this will be the only trace of PEC *mēḃV 'tail' in Lezghian.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root occurs only within the old compound with *mēḃV 'tail' q.v. Medial -r- is lost in all languages, but is probable because of the Avar reflex -χ- (otherwise -h- would be expected).

*wbərgǝ (~ -h-) edge, tip: Nakh. *çhop (~ -ḃ-); Av.-And. *ç:ibir; Lezg. *warç;; W.-Cauc. *(p-)ça.

| Nakh. *çhop (~ -ḃ-) edge (of weapon); top: Bacb. ç^oḡp.

Attested only in Bacb., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *ç:ibir edge: Akhv. ç:ebe; Kar. ç:iber (Anch.).

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl. ç:eber 'edge', Kar. Tok. ç:ebir 'piece of bread'.

| Lezg. *warç: 1 top 2 corner, angle (external): Ag. wart: 1; Rut. wit 2; Tsakh. wut 2.

Obl. base *worç:e- (cf. Ag. /with vowel levelling/ wart:u-, Rut. witi- /with consonantal levelling: -t:- would be regularly expected/, Tsakh. wut:e-). The vocalism of the oblique stem in Rut. and Tsakh. penetrated into the direct stem. 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh.

| W.-Cauc. *(p-)ça 1 sharp 2 pointed 3 edge, end; nose: Abkh. á-çar 1;

Abaz. *çara* 1; Ad. *pā-ṗç* 2; Kab. *pā-ṗça* 2; Ub. *fa-čá* 3.

PAT **ča-rV* 'sharp' (cf. also Bzyb. *á-čar*); the same root (without the suffix) is present in PAT **pə-nə-čá* 'nose' (q.v.) - a compound, except for the linking morpheme **-nə-*, identical to Ub. *fa-čá* and PAK **pá-ṗça* (the first component see under **p^wV*).

The PAT **pənəčá* 'nose' is compared (by Shagirov 1972, Abdokov 1973) with Kab. *pančəv* 'tip of the nose'. Absence of this form in Ad., however, speaks rather in favour of this form's being borrowed from Abaz. (Ashkh.) *pənčəz^w* 'nostril(s)' - which can be probably analyzed as *pənča* 'nose' + *-z^w* 'expressive suffix'. This seems to us more probable than Shagirov's (1977) analysis of *pənčəv* as *pə* 'nose' + *čəv* 'beetle' (?). The WC compound form **p^wV(nə)-čá* spread also to the neighbour languages: Georg. *pinčwi*, Arm. *pinž* / *pinč* 'nostril', Osset. *finž* / *finž(ä)* 'nose, tip' (see Abayev 1958; Abayev lists also Megr. *piži* 'mouth' - which, according to Klimov 1963, does not belong here and descends from PK **pir-* 'edge'. On the contrary, Klimov (1963) considers the Armenian form to be a megrelism which is hardly possible; he does not list the Georgian form).

[] In PN and PA we have to assume a metathesis (**čhop* < **bhoc* with assimilation, **čibir* < **biç:i-r*), which is a rather common phenomenon; otherwise correspondences are regular.

**whiswe* (~ *-s-*, *-š-*) mountain goat; deer: Av.-And. **bisV* (~ *-š^w-*); Lezg. **wis*; W.-Cauc. **š^wV*.

[] Av.-And. **bisV* (~ *-š^w-*) mountain goat: Av. *bis*; Chad. *biš*; Cham. *bis* (*Gig.*). Av. paradigm A (*bisi-l*, *bisa-l*). If the Cham. form is inherited, the reconstruction should be **bisV*; however, it is more probable that it is a loan from Av. (in this case both **-s-* and **-š^w-* are equally possible).

[] Lezg. **wis*: 1 mountain goat 2 female mountain goat: Rut. *wasi* 2; Tsakh. *wis* 1; Arch. *bos* 1.

For PL **s*: cf. Tsakh. gen. *wis:e-n*, Arch. erg. *bas:a*. Rut. reflects a suffixed form (**wis:V-j*). 3d class in all languages.

See Khaidakov 1973, 14.

[] W.-Cauc. **š^wV* 1 deer 2 game, wild animal 3 hunting: Abkh. *á-š^wara-χ* 1; Abaz. *š^waraχ* 1, *š^war* 2; Ad. *šəha* 1; Kab. *šəh* 1; Ub. *la-s^wá* 3.

PAT **š^wV-rV* (cf. also Bzyb. *á-š^wara-x* 'deer'); PAK **šə-hV*. The Ub. word is a compound with *la* 'deer' ('deer-hunting').

The meaning 'hunting' in Ub. is secondary, being influenced by a similar (phonetically and semantically) root represented in Ub. *s^wā-ká* 'hunter', PAK **š:a-k^wa-* 'to hunt', PAT **š^wara-čá-* 'to hunt' (the latter form demonstrates a similar merger of two originally distinct roots) < PWC **š^wa-* 'to hunt'. The components **-hV* in PAK and **-xə* in PAT (**š^wara-xə*) are unclear. They may represent originally independent roots (for PAK **hV* cf. PEC **wHirχV* 'mountain goat', for PAT **-xə* cf. PEC **hānxV* 'deer' q.v.), but since they are attested only in compounds and in different subbranches of WC, such etymologies at present seem too risky. The roots for 'deer' (**š^wV*) and 'hunt' (**š^wa*) are correctly distinguished by Shagirov (1977, 2, 149) in an argument with Dumézil (1967, 160; 1969, 112). Also correct is his

separating of Abkh. *a-čá* 'female deer' and Ub. *z^wa* 'deer' (see PWC **č^wa* / **č^wə*). However, his separating PAT **š^wVrV* from PAK **šəhV* is hardly justified (the Ub. form *la-s^wá* is not even regarded).

[] EC and WC forms correspond quite regularly, and the PNC reconstruction seems reliable.

Despite Abayev (3, 15) and Shagirov (2, 149) the comparison of PAK **šəhV* with PN **sag* 'deer' is impossible for phonetic reasons. But there is an interesting parallel in Kartvelian (PK **šw-el-* 'roe, chamois'; the comparison with NC see Trombetti 1923, 370).

**wHārλwə* boar, pig: Nakh. **bur(u)k* (~ *-ū-*, *-k*); Tsez. **buλ^wV* B; Lak. *burk*; Lezg. **walλ^w*; W.-Cauc. **Lawə*.

[] Nakh. **bur(u)k* (~ *-ū-*, *-k*) pig, piglet: Bacb. *buruk*.

Attested only in Bacb. (thus **-k* or **-k̄* are equally probable), but having probable external parallels.

[] Tsez. **buλ^wV* B boar, pig: Tsez. *beλo*; Gin. *boλi*; Bezht. *buλo*; Gunz. *buλu*.

PTsKh **buλλ^wV* (cf. also various recorded Tsez. forms: Sh. *beλo*, Kh., Kid. *baλo*, Sag. (Imnaishvili) *beλλ^wa*); PGB **buλu* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *buλo*).

[] Lak. *burk* boar, pig.

Gen. *burča-l*; Khosr. *burk*, *burča-l* id.

[] Lezg. **walλ^w* 1 boar, pig 2 old fogey (deris.): Lezg. *wak* 1; Ag. *wak:1* (*Fit.*); Rut. *wak* 2 (*Khniukh.*); Tsakh. *wok* 1; Kryz. *wak* 1; Bud. *wak* 1; Arch. *boλλ^w* 1; Ud. *boq:1* 1.

Cf. Lezg. erg. *waka*, Khl. *wak*, *wak:a-la*, Ag. Bursh. *wak:*. Oblique base **walλ^wa-* (cf. Lezg. *waka-*, Rut. *waka-* / with analogical weakening instead of **wak:a-*, Tsakh. *wok:a-*). 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages. See Giginayshvili 1977, 75, 109.

[] W.-Cauc. **Lawə* pig: Ad. *Law*; Kab. *Law(ə)*.

PAK **Lawə*.

[] Loss of **-r-* in PL is secondary (probably because of pharyngealisation and the position before a lateral). Except this, and the rather usual metathesis in PWC (**Lawə* < **waLə*), correspondences are quite regular and the root seems securely reconstructable for PNC.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 241. Klimov (1971, 224-225) proposes to consider Georg. *bur(w)ak-* 'pig, piglet' as a Nakh loan which seems rather probable. Abdokov (1983, 114) compares EC forms with PAK **bLanə* 'doe' which raises serious semantic objection (Ad. *Lawə* is also cited, but only in a foot-note).

**wHenxe* (~ *-a*) udder: Tsez. **muβ:u* B (~ *-b-*); Darg. **burha*; Lezg. **χ:lewa*.

[] Tsez. **muβ:u* B (~ *-b-*) udder: Tsez. *meβu*; Gin. *βomo*; Khvarsh. *meβu* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *moβu*.

PTsKh **muβu*; the Gin. form is metathesized.

| Darg. *burha udder: Ak. burhe; Chir. bur^a.
Cf. also Ur. burha, Tsud. burhi.

| Lezg. *χ:lēwa udder: Lezg. re-βu; Tab. χlaw; Ag. Xaw; Rut. χliw; Tsakh. χlu; Kryz. hāwi; Bud. hāwi; Ud. χlo.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. re-χū, Tab. Khan. χ:lāw, Ag. Bursh., Burk. Xaw, Fit. χlaw, Tp. 'aw; Tsakh. (Tsakh.) χlo, Gelm. χl^a (< *χlēwa with reduction; this form points to the PL paradigm *χ:lēwa, obl. *χlēwā-). Lezg. reflects a form which may point to former changing class prefixes.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except for a rather frequent phenomenon of metathesis in PL₂ and Gin.).

*wHilčV calf: Av.-And. *milča; Tsez. *biš^e A; Lak. balrč; Lezg. *wilč(a).

| Av.-And. *milča bull-calf: And. milča.

A good match would be Av. bečē 'calf'; however, this form is obviously a Persian loanword (Pers. bāčē - cf. also Av. dialectal forms: Ants. behče, bečē, Chad. behsé).

| Tsez. *biš^e A calf: Tsez. mesi; Gin. meši; Khvarsh. miši; Inkh. miše; Bezht. biše; Gunz. biše.

PTsKh *miše, PGB *biše. Cf. also derived forms: Tsez. mešori, Gin. meširo 'heifer'.

| Lak. balrč calf.

Cf. gen. bulrču-lil, Khosr. balrč, bulrču-ril.

| Lezg. *wilč(a) calf: Ag. urč; Arch. biš.

Cf. Arch. erg. biši-li. PL *-l- normally gets lost in Arch. before a hushing consonant (*-r- would have been preserved).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*wHirχV mountain goat: Tsez. *buχ:-tu (~ -β-); Lak. barχ:u; Lezg. *wi(r)χ:I(a).

| Tsez. *buχ:-tu (~ -β-) male: Gunz. buχtu.

Attested only in Gunz. (with a suffix -tu), but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. barχ:u the leader in the herd of mountain goats.

| Lezg. *wi(r)χ:I(a) 1 mountain goat 2 id. (generic name): Rut. juχI (Khnov.) 1; Arch. boχI 2.

For strong *χ:I cf. Arch. erg. baχ:Ia. Rut. juχI (a form from the Khnov dialect) < *wiχI < *wiχ:I. Medial *-r- can be reconstructed on external evidence (both Arch. and Rut. do not preserve it before uvulars).

[] A Lak.-Lezg. isogloss, phonetically and semantically quite reliable. On a possible WC parallel (PAK *-hV) see notes under *whiswe.

*wHōrλwVtV (~ *b-) snake: Nakh. *b^eexul-; Av.-And. *birka (*bilka); Tsez. *bekV(IV) A; Lak. balrčalu.

| Nakh. *b^eexul- snake: Chech. bōχal-la; Ing. b^eexal.

4th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing.

| Av.-And. *birka (*bilka) snake, worm: Av. bōróx; Chad. burúx;

And. berča; Akhv. beka; Cham. beča; Tind. beka; Kar. berka; Botl. berka; Bagv. beka; God. berka.

Av. paradigm C (borxí-l, bórxa-l; Chad. burxí-l, búrxa-l). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tl., Ratl. berka, Bagv. Tlis. belča, Tlond. b^eeka [interesting forms - pointing to PA -l- or reminiscent of the original lateral quality of the second stop, and also suggesting a possibility of reconstructing an initial *bHcluster in PA].

| Tsez. *bekV(IV) A snake: Tsez. bikori; Gin. bikore; Khvarsh. bečala; Inkh. bekol; Bezht. bekela; Gunz. begala.

PTsKh *bekoR(ə), (but also *bekV, cf. Gin. bika 'worm'; reasons for *-k- > -č- in Khvarsh. are unclear); PGB *bekVla.

| Lak. balrčalu snail.

The word is recorded by Khaidakov in the Vikhl. dialect in a compound: lalχča-balrčalu 'a petrified snail' (lalχča- = lit. Lak luxč:i 'earth').

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level; one of the original trisyllabic roots. In PN we would rather expect *b²ōχVl-; the irregularity may be explained by a secondary contamination in Chech. with another root (bōχa 'dirty', bōχalla 'dirt'). Otherwise the correspondences are regular. Cf. also Hurr. fal 'worm' (read /fālə/ < HU *wāl-), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 50.

Abdokov (1983, 119) compares the root with PAK *mark^a 'helminth', which is hardly possible phonetically.

*wHōrV (~ b-) a k. of thorny plant: Tsez. *bōrV (-ə-, -l-); Lak. bulrū.

| Tsez. *bōrV (-ə-, -l-) thorn: Inkh. boru.

Isolated in Inkh., but with a probable Lak. parallel.

| Lak. bulrū thistle.

[] A Tsez-Lak. isogloss.

*wīlqə(rə) lamb, ram: Nakh. *baqe; Av.-And. *riqib-; Lak. bulr-ni; Darg. *muqara; Lezg. *wiqar; Khin. wuqar.

| Nakh. *baqe foal: Chech. beqa; Ing. baq; Bacb. baqō.

Cf. also Cheb. baqi, Shar., Ved. beqi etc. Obl. base with variations: *baqu- (Chech. boqa-) / *baqi- (Ing. beqo). Nakh > Osset. bāx 'horse' (see Abayev 1958, 255-256).

| Av.-And. *riqib- ram (2-3 y. old): Akhv. reqe; Cham. jela; Tind. relab; God. rebla.

Cf. also Akhv. Ratl., Tlan. reqeb, Tseg. re²eb, Cham. Gig. rella. All forms except the Akhv. go back to a suffixed form *riqib(V)-IV; in Tind. there occurred a metathesis (relab < *re²lab < *re²eb-la). Tind. > Inkh. relab id.

| Lak. bulr-ni deer.

| Darg. *muqara lamb: Ak. muqara; Chir. maqara.

Cf. also Ur. muqara, Kub. muqare (the latter form probably borrowed from some other dialect).

| Lezg. *wiqar 1 lamb, ram (~ 1 y. of age) 2 male (animal) 3 sheep: Lezg. qar 1; Ag. uqar-f 2; Tsakh. woqIa 3 (?); Kryz. wiqer 1; Bud. wiqer 1;

Arch. *baqari* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *jiqar* 'lamb', Ag. Bursh. *uqar* 'ram'. The root means in most languages a lamb or ram around 1 year of age; only the Tsakh. meaning ('sheep') is deviant. Since the Tsakh. form reveals also some phonetic irregularities (excessive pharyngealization, -o- in the 1st syllable), it may not belong here.

See Talibov 1960a, 286; Leksika 1971, 148.

| Khin. *wuqar* ram (~ 1-2 y. old).

[] Medial -l- is reconstructed on circumstantial evidence (Darg. m- can only be the result of nasalisation due to a loss of medial resonant), thus is not very secure. In Lak. -ni is a suffix (*buIr-* < **bV²Vr-*). The PA form is metathesized (*reqeb-* < **biqirV*); it is interesting to note that the metathesis is exactly the same as in Akhv. *ruç:u* 'sheep-flock' < PA **biç:irV*. PN has lost the final -rV syllable; however, since it is a frequent suffix in animal names, we may conjecture also that PN preserves the original situation, while other languages reflect a suffixed form.

The root must have meant originally 'young of a horned animal'; in PN the meaning has shifted to 'young of an ungulate animal' > 'foal'.

**wimqV* witness; true: Nakh. **baq*; Av.-And. **muqV* (> **nuqV*); Lak. *bara*; Darg. **biq-ri*.

| Nakh. **baq* 1 true (adv.) 2 truth, rule: Chech. *baq* 1; Ing. *boqo* 2; Bacb. *baqe*?

2. In Chech. cf. also *baqo* (= Ing. *boqo*, Bacb. *baqe*?) 'rule, right, truth'.

| Av.-And. **muqV* (> **nuqV*) witness: Av. *nu^ç*.

Av. paradigm B (plur. *nu^ç-zál* / *nu^ç-záb*).

| Lak. *bara* witness.

The Lak. form goes back to **baqara* (cf. PD **biq-ri*), as clearly seen from the old Arch. loanword *baqara-nnu* 'witness'.

| Darg. **biq-ri* witness: Ak. *biqri*.

Cf. also Ur. *biqri*, Kub. *biqe* id.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**winλVλV* (~ -IV) rodent; boar: Av.-And. **bVλVn*; Lezg. **wirλ:al* (~ -I:).

| Av.-And. **bVλVn* wild-boar, pig: Av. *bolón*; Chad. *botón*.

The word is widely spread in Andian languages, but only as a loan from Av. (cf. Akhv. *boló*, Cham. *bolū*, Gig. *bolon*, Tind. *bolon* > Khvarsh., Inkh. *bolhon* etc.).

| Lezg. **wirλ:al* (~ -I:) 1 rodent 2 wood mouse 3 rat: Lezg. *rgal* 1; Tab. *weršil* 2; Rut. *jixal* 3.

3d class in Rut. In Lezg. there occurred a regular dropping of **wi-*.

[] An Av.-Lezg. isogloss. The meaning 'boar, pig' of Av. *bolón* is clearly secondary (the word has superseded the original name for 'boar' which was **wHarλwə* q.v.), thus the comparison with the PL name for 'rodent' seems justified ('rodent' > 'animal digging earth' > 'boar'). Phonetically the correspondence is exact.

**wiqVšV* / **wišVχV* a bird or animal of prey: Av.-And. **misiχ:u* / **bis(i)ku*; Tsez. **biχ:çs* (~ -š-); Darg. **qalša* (~ -š-); Lezg. **wiš:Vχ:Vl*.

| Av.-And. **misiχ:u* / **bis(i)ku* weasel, marten: Chad. *bésku*; Cham. *meseχ:u* (Gig.).

An expressive root with some irregular transformations.

| Tsez. **biχ:çs* (~ -š-) hawk: Gunz. *biχçs*.

Isolated in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. **qalša* (~ -š-) badger: Ak. *qalša*.

| Lezg. **wiš:Vχ:Vl* / **m-* 1 badger 2 weasel 3 hamster: Tab. *uš^vqlar* 1; Ag. *bušaχlur* 1; Rut. *mešuχ^war* 1; Kryz. *wašaq:/wašaq* 3; Arch. *s:ibuχ:al* 2.

An expressive stem with some metatheses and irregular changes; cf. also Tab. Düb. *uš^vqlar*, Ag. Bursh. *usqlar*, Burk. *bišaχ^w*.

[] Irregularities are very usual in words denoting small wild animals and insects; despite these irregularities, this root seems to be archaic (although many details of reconstruction are not clear).

We should also mention Cham. (U.-Gakv.) *aχaša* 'kite', Abkh. *á-χš* 'hawk' and Kab. *wāšxa* 'badger' (see Abdokov 1983, 119). They reveal some similarity with the forms listed, but are absolutely irregular phonetically. They may be borrowed from some of the neighbouring Caucasian languages (?), or, perhaps, from an Iranian source (cf. Avest. *kahrkāsa-*, M.-Pers. *karkās* 'kite?').

**wirəqÅ* sun: Av.-And. **bV(r)q:V*; Tsez. **boq*; Lak. *barš*; Darg. **berhi*; Lezg. **wiraq*; Khin. *inq*; W.-Cauc. **(mV)-rəba*.

| Av.-And. **bV(r)q:V* sun: Av. *baq:*; Chad. *baq*.

Av. paradigm B-C (gen. *baq:ú-l*).

| Tsez. **boq* sun: Tsez. *buq*; Gin. *buq*; Khvarsh. *buq*; Inkh. *biq*; Bezht. *boq*; Gunz. *boq*.

PTsKh **buq*, PGB **boq*. The paradigm in PTs: dir: **boq*, obl. **biqV-*, cf. Khvarsh. *buq*, *beqi-*, Bezht. *boq*, *biqo-*, Gunz. *boq*, *biqa-*. In Inkh. the direct stem had been replaced by the oblique one. The obl. base serves also as basis for derived words meaning 'southern (sunny) slope of a hill': Gin. *beqa-λo*, Inkh. *biqa*, Bezht. Tlad. *biq-λas*, Khosh. *biqijo*, Gunz. *biqqu* (< **biq-²Vju*).

| Lak. *barš* sun.

3d class. Obl. base *burši-*.

| Darg. **berhi* sun; day: Ak. *berhi*; Chir. *bare*.

Cf. also Ur. *barhi*, Tsud. *bēri*, Kad. *berhi*, Kub. *bē* etc. Note that the Ak. dialect has an etymological doublet: *berhi* 'sun', but *barhi* 'day' - the latter obviously borrowed from Ur.

| Lezg. **wiraq*: sun: Lezg. *raš*; Tab. *riš*; Ag. *raš*; Rut. *wiriš*; Tsakh. *wiriš*; Kryz. *wiraš*; Bud. *wiraš*; Arch. *barq*; Ud. *bešl*.

The word shows traces of Ablaut (**wiraq*; **wiriq:V-*); belongs uniformly to the 3d class.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 82; Leksika 1971, 184; Giginayshvili 1977, 75.

| Khin. *inq* sun.

| W.-Cauc. **(mV)-rəḡa* sun: Abkh. *á-mra*; Abaz. *mará*; Ad. *təḡa*; Kab. *dəḡa*; Ub. *ndḡa*.

PAT **mArá*; PAK **t:əḡá*; Ub. def. *á-ndḡa*.

PAT and Ub. show traces of a nasal prefix (cf. 'fire' etc.). In PAT **mArAḡa* would be expected: we may suppose that the final **-ḡa* was reinterpreted as the beginning of the following verb in frequent phrases like Abaz. *amara ḡaḡiḡ* 'sun goes up', *maráḡḡarəḡra* 'sunrise', *maráḡḡarta* 'blazing sun' etc. Other ways of relating AT forms to AK (see Шагиров 1, 153 with literature) are probably faulty.

The relationship of PAK **t:əḡá* 'sun' and **t:əḡá-sa* 'yesterday' (Ad. *təḡás*, Kab. *dəḡás*) may be considered, but still remains questionable (see the discussion in Shagirov 1, 154, Abdokov 1983, 100-101).

[] The comparison of PTs, Lak and PL paradigms allows to reconstruct a PNC paradigm with Ablaut: **wirəḡā*, **wiroḡV-* (PTs **boḡ*, **biḡV-*: Lak. *barḡ*, *burḡi*: PL **wiraḡ*: **wiroḡV-*). The most archaic trisyllabic structure is preserved in PL and reflected in PWC; other languages reflect a contracted form **wVrəḡā*. This structure, and some similarity (noted long ago) with the root **Hwīḡi* 'day' (q.v.) allows to suggest that **wi-rəḡā* in PNC was actually a compound of **hwēri* 'day' + **Hwīḡi* 'day, sun'. Comparison of the EC and WC forms see in Trubetzkoy 1930, 275; Trombetti 1923, 363 (wrongly connecting also PN **malḡ* 'sun' q.v.), Abdokov 1983, 92.

**wirḡwi* place: Av.-And. **bir[ḡ]on*; Tsez. **muḡa* A (~ -ḡ:-); Lak. *ḡa-nu*; Darg. **buruḡ*; Khin. *miḡ*; W.-Cauc. **ḡa* (~ **ḡa*).

| Av.-And. **bir[ḡ]on* 1 nest 2 bed: Av. *busén* 1,2; And. *beḡon* 1,2; Akhv. *rēḡa* 1; Cham. *behā* 1,2; Kar. *berx'an* 1,2; Botl. *beḡen* 1,2; Bagv. *beḡen* 2; God. *beḡen* 1,2.

Av. paradigm B (*busá-dul*, *busá-bi*). For Akhv. Gudava (1964, p. 116) cites a form *beḡani*; the Northern form *rēḡa* (written down by MSU) is a result of metathesis (< **re(b)ḡan* < **berḡan*, cf. the Kar. form).

This is a very strange case of a correspondence Av. -s- : PA **xḡ* (quite securely reconstructed on basis of Kar. *berx'an*, Bagv. *beḡen* and Cham. *Gig. mehan*). Since the Av. and PA forms are quite impossible to separate, we have to assume some old interdialectal borrowings, when the word had spread from one dialect (where the change **ḡḡ* > **xḡ* had occurred earlier) to other dialects. The Tindi language has an altogether irregular form: *beḡan* (with uvular *ḡḡ*) - a reflex typical for PA **xḡ* only in the Kvanada dialect of Bagv., but otherwise never attested anywhere.

A possible solution would also be a contamination of two roots in PA: **birḡon* 'nest, place' and **mVrxV* 'farmstead' (reflected in Av. *márx*, but lost in Andian languages) q.v.

| Tsez. **muḡa* A (~ -ḡ:-) 1 nest 2 bed 3 horse-cloth 4 floor: Tsez. *muḡi* 1,2; Gin. *muḡi* 1,2,3; Khvarsh. *muḡa* 1,2; Inkh. *muḡe* 1,2; Bezht. *muḡo* 3,4; Gunz. *miḡe* 4.

PTsKh **muḡa*; PGB **muḡa*. PTs had here a paradigm with Ablaut, cf. in Tsez. the obl. stem *meḡe-* < **miḡe-*, which is reflected also (but already having superseded the direct stem) in Gunz. *miḡe*, Bezht. *Khosh.*, Tlad. *mūḡe*.

| Lak. *ḡa-nu* bed.

-nu is a suffix, cf. a form from the same root *ḡa-wa* 'at home' (the old meaning of the root is simply 'place'). Thus the similarity with *ḡanu* 'sleep' is purely accidental.

| Darg. **buruḡ*: bed: Ak. *buruḡ*; Chir. *buruḡ*.

Cf. also Ur. *buruḡ*, Kub. loc. *būḡ:a-na*.

| Khin. *miḡ* bed.

| W.-Cauc. **ḡa* (~ **ḡa*) 1 suffix denoting place 2 place (arch.): Ad. *ḡa* 2; Kab. *-ḡa* 1; Ub. *-ḡa* 1.

PAK **ḡa*: Ad. *ə-ḡa jəḡən* 'to get furious', lit. 'to go out of one's place' - cf. Kab. *jə-pa jəḡən* id. (where *pa* = 'place'); Kab. *naḡa-ḡa* 'place under one's eyes'. These and some other idioms allow to reconstruct the original meaning 'place'.

In Ub. cf. forms like *ḡaḡa-sḡa* 'ford, place for wading' (*ḡaḡa-* 'to wade') etc.

See Шагиров 1977, 282. Since there is no parallel in AT, it is impossible to choose between PWC **ḡḡ* or **ḡḡ*.

[] The root **wirḡwi* is accompanied by a common nasal suffix (**-nV*) in Av.-And., Tsez. (where **muḡa* < **buḡən*), probably also Khin. (with a similar development) and Lak. (with a regular dropping of the initial syllable beginning with a labial: *ḡa-nu* < **wVrḡa-nu*). All correspondences are regular (except for some unexpected things within Andian languages, see above) and the PNC reconstruction seems reliable.

Abdokov (1983, 127) compares the Adygh morpheme with PA **ḡis-* 'home, at home' (And. *iḡu*, Botl. *iḡ-q:e*, Bagv. *iḡa*, Cham. *ehi*, Gig. *iḡu*, Kar. *eḡe* - see Gudava 1964, 116). The Andian root, however, is isolated within EC, as well as somewhat more remote semantically; the comparison with EC **wirḡwi* seems to us preferable.

**wīc* mountain: Av.-And. **bica* (~-o); Lezg. **siwa*.

| Av.-And. **bica* (~-o) mountain: Akhv. *beḡa*; Tind. *besa*; Kar. *besa*; Bagv. *besa*.

| Lezg. **siwa* 1 mountain 2 mountain pass 3 mountain pasture: Lezg. *suw* (poet.) 1; Tab. *siw* 1; Ag. *su* 1; Rut. *siw* 2; Tsakh. *siwa* 1; Arch. *sob* 3; Ud. *bu-rux* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *siw* 'summer pasture', Ag. Bursh. *su* (NB: *su* in the final version of the MSU recordings is obviously a misspelling). Obl. stem **siwā-*, cf. Lezg. *suwa-* (Khl. *swa-*), Tab. *siwi-*, Ag. *suwa-*, Rut. *siwa-*. The Ud. form (with suffixed plural marker -*ruḡ*) goes back to **wisa* - which, in view of the external evidence, seems to be the most archaic variant.

See Leksika 1971, 183; Giginayshvili 1977, 133; Talibov 1980, 314.

[] An And.-Lezg. isogloss, phonetically and semantically quite satisfactory.

**wīcV* grass: Nakh. **būc*; Av.-And. **bici* (~ -s-); Lezg. **wVcVn-* (~ p:-, -s-); W.-Cauc. **wəc:ə* (~ -ḡ:-).

| Nakh. **būc* grass: Chech. *buc*; Ing. *buc*; Bacb. *buc*.

Obl. stem **bāci-* (Chech. *bēca-*, Ing. *bāco*). 4th class in all languages. Cf. also Chech. *bāccara* (Usl. *bēcciriŋ*), Ing. *bāccara* 'green' (< **bācci-ri(n)* with expressive gemination).

| Av.-And. **bici* (~ -s-) 1 grass 2 green: Cham. *besi-λ*: 2; God. *besi* 1.

| Lezg. **wVcVn-* (~ p:-, -s-) burdock: Arch. *bisni*.

Isolated in Arch., but having probable external parallels.

| W.-Cauc. **wac:ə* (~ -č:-) grass: Ad. *wacə*; Kab. *wəz*.

PAK **wac:ə*.

[] Although the root is not very widely spread, it seems quite reliable both phonetically and semantically. See Trubetzkoy 1930, 276 (who made a further hypothesis about this root's relationship to **=ōcV* 'to mow' q.v. - which can hardly be proved), Abdokov 1983, 105. Georgian parallels suggested by Rogava (1959, 66-69) (Georg. *duci*, *urci* 'names of wild plants/herbs') are hardly acceptable.

**wifwV* sheep, lamb; young of animals: Nakh. **boh*; Av.-And. **bihV*; Tsez. **buhV* B; Lak. *balʔa*; Darg. **mahV-* (?); Lezg. **wiher* (~*wo-).

| Nakh. **boh* kid: Chech. *buhig*; Ing. *bʲijg*; Bacb. *boh*.

Chech. and Ing. reflect a diminutive form **boh-ik* (Ing. *bʲijg* is a contraction < **bihik* < **bohik*). Cf. also Shar. *bihig*, Khild., Itumk. *bʲijg* etc.

| Av.-And. **bihV* 1 1-year-old lamb 2 sheep (general term): Av. *baʳáj* 2; God. *beha* 1.

An expressive root (cf. also Av. *baʳá-di-ze* 'to bleat'), but having external parallels.

| Tsez. **buhV* B bull-calf: Tsez. *moħo-di*; Gin. *boju*; Gunz. *buhido*.

PTsKh **bohV-* (or rather **buhV-*, if Tsez. *moħo-di* is an assimilation < *meħo-di*; this would better correspond to Gunz. *buhido*). One can also note Bezht. *būbūdā* 'bull-calf' - obviously < **buhūdā* under the influence of the Turkic loanword *buša* 'bull'. The Tsez. languages reflect suffixed forms **buhV-dV* and **buhV-ju*. Nasalisation and pharyngealisation in Tsez. are probably expressive and secondary.

| Lak. *balʔa* ram.

A colloquial and expressive form, but with parallels in other languages.

| Darg. **mahV-* (?) sheep (pl.):

Attested only in Kait. *mal-ni* (-ni - a plural suffix); obviously expressive.

| Lezg. **wiher* (~ *wo-) 1 ram 2 ram (about 3 years old): Lezg. *her* 1; Rut. *wihir* 2.

See Khaidakov 1973, 21.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Obviously an expressive (onomatopoeic) root. It must have originally referred to young horned animals (mostly sheep or goats), but in some languages has come to mean 'ram' or 'sheep' in general. The Darg. form (reflected only in the Kait. dialect) has an irregular m- - which is not surprising in a root of this kind.

**wīlqwč* place: Av.-And. **mokʷo*; Lak. *ka-nu*; Darg. **muqa*; Lezg. **wīnqʷ(a)*; Khin. *miq-il*; W.-Cauc. **p(ə)qʷa*.

| Av.-And. **mokʷo* 1 place 2 chair, stool 3 mattress, floor-cloth: Av. *baḵ* 1,2; And. *moḵʷo* 1,2; Akhv. *maḵʷa* (Tseg.) 3; Cham. *maḵʷa* 1,2; Tind. *maḵʷa* 1,2; Kar. *maḵʷa* 1; Botl. *maḵʷa* 1,2; Bagv. *maḵʷa* 1,2; God. *maḵʷa* (Gudava) 1,2.

Av. paradigm C (*baḵi-l*, *bāka-l*) in the meaning 'chair'; with the meaning 'place' the word has a pronominal declension (gen. *bāka-λ:ul*). Cf. also Av. *bāka-l-da* 'together', (dial.) *baḵu* 'stool'; Cham. Gig., L.-Gakv., Gad. *maḵa* 'place; chair'.

Several heterogeneous Tsezian forms (Gunz. *bəḵ* 'nest; bed'; Bezht. *muḵol* 'bed'; Inkh. *moḵo* 'place') are most probably borrowed from different Av.-And. sources.

| Lak. *ka-nu* place; chair.

Cf. Khosr. *kʷanu* 'place'.

| Darg. **muq(a)* nest: Ak. *puqa*; Chir. *muq*.

The initial p- in Ak. is quite enigmatic, but the word is hard to separate from Chir. *muq*, Ur. *muqa* 'nest'. The Ak. word means also 'pit', and is borrowed in Lak. *puqa* 'shanty, hovel'.

| Lezg. **wīnqʷ(a)* 1 nest, burrow 2 place 3 trivet 4 near (adv.): Lezg. *muqu-w* 4; Tab. *muq* 1; Ag. *muq* 2; Rut. *muq* 3; Kryz. *meqa-w* 4; Arch. *biqʷ* 2.

In Arch. cf. pl. *boqo-t* (for weak **qʷ*). The original meaning 'place' or 'nest' is preserved in Arch. (where the word also means 'case for small objects'), Tab. and Ag. (in Ag. cf. also the derived word *muqluk:en* 'chair, stool'). In several languages the meaning shifted to 'near' (a rather frequent semantic change), both adverbially and as an adjective, cf. Lezg. *muqʷa*, Ag. *muqu* 'near (adj.)', Rut. Khnov. *muqʷa-da* 'near (adv.)'. Initial **w-* is indicated by Arch. b-; m- in other languages requires reconstructing the medial nasal -n-.

| Khin. *miq-il* near.

| W.-Cauc. **p(ə)qʷa* 1 place, bed 2 sheath, scabbard: Ad. *pa* / *pʷa* 1; Kab. *pa* 1; Ub. *pqa* 2.

PAK **pʲ(ʷ)a* (cf. also Ad. Khak. *pqa*). It is quite improbable (pace Dumézil 1932, 98 and Shagirov 1977, 2, 44) that the Ub. form is borrowed from Adygh (in this case the reason for palatalisation of Ub. *q* would be unclear). The root can not be compared (against the opinion of quoted authors) with the PWC locative morpheme **q:la* (q.v.).

[] All correspondences are regular. Lak. *ka-nu* (as the similar *ša-nu* 'bed' q.v.) is a result of regular dropping of the initial syllable beginning with a labial resonant and containing a narrow vowel (*ka-nu* < **wVka-nu*). The correlation of Av. b-, PA **m-*, Lak. **w-* (**b-*), PL **w-* and PWC **P-* points to PNC initial **w-* and medial **-l-* (dropped everywhere, and exceptionally preserved as **-n-* in PL). See Abdokov 1983, 90.

The PWC-PEC comparison see in Balkarov 1964, 101; 1967, 117 (the comparison of Av. *baḵ* with other WC data - Kab. *baq* 'stable', see Acharyan 1, 907 - is unacceptable). Quite improbable is the inner analysis of the PAK form and its comparison with Kartvelian (PK **qana* 'field'), see Rogava 1956, 20-21.

**wīlɬwV* mountain pasture: Av.-And. **mizV*; Tsez. **misV* (~-Z-); Lak. *bizanu*; Darg. **muza*; Lezg. **wīnc:ʷir*; W.-Cauc. **b(ə)zʷa* (~ -žʷ-).

| Av.-And. *mizV big stone, rock: Akhv. *mizi*; Cham. *miz*^w.
 Cf. also Cham. Gig. *mizu*. The Akhv. form is cited from Abdokov (1983, 96).
 we were unable to identify its source.
 | Tsez. *misV (~Z-) earth: Bezht. *mizo*; Gunz. *miza*.
 PGB *mizV.
 | Lak. *bizanu* mountain pasture.
 3d class.
 | Darg. *muza mountain, hill: Ak. *muza*.
 Cf. also Tsud. *muza* 'shore, bank'.
 | Lezg. *winc:^wir 1 mountain pasture 2 cattle-shed 3 sheep-cot: Lezg. *c:ur/c:ür*
 2; Rut. *wizir* 3; Arch. *moc:or* 1.
 Cf. also Lezg. dialectal forms: Yark. *k:ür*, Akht. *č:ur*, Fij. *üč:ür*, Khl. *jic:ur*.
 4th class in Rut., but 3d class in Arch.
 | W.-Cauc. *b(ə)z^wa (~ -z^w-) rock, cliff, precipice: Ad. *bzā-pa*; Kab. *bza-pa*.
 PAK *bzā-pa (a compound with -pa 'front part').
 [] Correspondences are regular. An alternative comparison of the PAK
 form with heterogeneous EC forms containing laterals (Abdokov 1983, 91) can not be
 accepted, because PAK *z never goes back to PWC laterals.

*wɪnɫV oat flour, malt: Av.-And. *miɫ:a (~ -o); Tsez. *boɫV
 (~-a-, -V-); Lak. -kma; Lezg. *winɫ / *winɫij.
 | Av.-And. *miɫ:a (~ -o) a hunk of pressed oat flour: God. *miɫ:a*.
 Attested only in God., but having probable external parallels.
 | Tsez. *boɫV (~-a-, -V-) a lump of pressed oat flour: Bezht. *baɫa*.
 Attested only in Bezht., but having probable external parallels.
 | Lak. -kma flour.
 A compound word; the first part is *ini* 'oat flour'. The second part, -kma (cf.
 also Khosr. *inikma*) is not analyzable within Lak., but probably (with a metathesis)
 goes back to *mVka < PEC *wɪnɫV.
 | Lezg. *winɫ / *winɫij malt: Lezg. *iki*; Tab. *miçi*; Ag. *miki*; Rut. *qe*; Tsakh. *ki*;
 Bud. *kem-er*; Arch. *boq*.
 Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *ki*?. The initial syllable with a labial is preserved in Tab.,
 Ag., Arch. and Bud. (where *kem-er* is a metathesis < *mek-er / an originally plural
 form/); it also left a trace in lit. Lezg. (where *iki* < *jiki < *winɫij). Loss of *mV-
 in Rut. and Tsakh. is a rare phenomenon (unlike Lezg., where it is regular); in this
 case it may have been favoured by the analogy with another root, PL *ɫun: 'malt,
 flour' q.v.
 [] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root is not widely represented
 outside the Lezg. area, but is certainly archaic.

*wɪnɫwɔ (~ -ɪ) line, stripe: Nakh. *maɫu; Av.-And. *bVɫ(ɰ)V; Lak.
 š:wa.
 | Nakh. *maɫu stripe (on a cloth): Chech. *moɫa*.

Isolated in Chech., but with probable external parallels. Initial *mɪ also
 possible.

| Av.-And. *bVɫ(ɰ)V furrow; an allotment of arable land: Av. *baɫ*.
 Attested only in Av., but having probable external parallels.
 | Lak. š:wa line.
 May go back to *x:wa.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although not widely spread, the
 comparison of the Chech., Av. and Lak. forms seems to be sound both phonetically
 and semantically. Note that Lak. š:wa may go back to *x:wa < *wVɫx^wa with regular
 loss of wV- and palatalisation of the spirant.

*wise (~-a) southern slope; cheek: Nakh. *b(h)asV; Av.-And. *basV
 (~-o-, -c-); Lezg. *wisa(~-o-, -c-, -s:-).
 | Nakh. *b(h)asV 1 southern slope of a hill 2 cheek: Chech. *basē* 1, *besni* 2; Ing.
bas-ilg 2.

Both Chech. and Ing. have different suffixed forms.

| Av.-And. *basV (~-o-, -c-) cheek: Tind. *basa*.
 Isolated in Tind., but having reliable external parallels.
 | Lezg. *wisa(~-o-, -c-, -s:-) southern slope: Rut. *wis*.

Obl. stem in Rut. (*wisa-*) points to a PL paradigm *wisa, *wisä-. The word is
 isolated in Rut., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (the
 semantic correlation 'slope': 'cheek' is rather frequent in NC).

*wVdVrV child, young one: Nakh. *bader (~-ā-); Tsez. *bidurV
 (~-id-, -IV); Lezg. *wot:ura (~-o-).

| Nakh. *bader (~ -ā-) child: Chech. *ber*; Ing. *ber*; Bacb. *bader*.
 Chech. obl. base *bēra-*.

| Tsez. *bidurV (~-id-, -IV) bear-cub: Tsez. *beduro* / *bed^wiro*; Gin. *midure*.
 Initial m- in Gin. is probably secondary.

| Lezg. *wot:ura (~-o-) 1 kid (less than 1 y. old) 2 young he-goat: Tab. *mudur* 1;
 Ag. *mudur* 1; Tsakh. *widra* / *wudra* 2.

Cf. also Tsakh. Gelm. *widra* 'he-goat'. m- in Tab. and Ag. is secondary - a
 result of contamination with PL *motol 'kid' (a quite distinct root).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular, but there
 is not enough data to reconstruct vowels (the PN and Tsez vowels can go back to a
 variety of protoforms, and the Lezg. data in this case are not reliable, because in a
 long word like this vocalic assimilations were possible in the first syllable).

The word is probably an old (common EC) Indo-Iranian loan (IE *uetero- 'a
 one-year old animal', see Starostin 1988, 113).

*wVlqV a k. of cereal; flour made of it: Av.-And. *muqa; Tsez.
 *muqV B; Lak. u; Darg. *nuq-un; Lezg. *wVnq; Khin. *moβ*.

| Av.-And. *muqa 1 a sp. of barley(голозерный ячмень) 2 wheat 3 rye: Av.
bu^sa 1; And. *muGa* 2; Akhv. *muqa* 1; Tind. *muja* 1; Kar. *mu'a* 3; God. *mu'a* 1.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *bu^ol*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *mu^oa* 'barley'. Av. *bu^oá* > Cham. Gig., Kar. Tok. *bu^oa* id.

| Tsez. **muqV* B 1 a sp. of barley (голозерный) 2 grain, cereals: Tsez. *malw* 1 (*Kid.*); Bezht. *mūqo* 2; Gunz. *muqe* 2.

PGB **muqə* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *mūqe* 'grain; a sp. of barley (голозерный ячмень)'). The Tsez. form can go back to PTsKh **mūlqV*.

| Lak. *u* a sp. of barley (голозерный ячмень).

Gen. *uwa-l*; cf. also Khosr. *u*, gen. *u^oa-l* / *uwa-l* id. A derivate from the same root is Lak. *ini* (< **u-ni*) 'oat flour' (cf. the same type of structure in Darg. *nuq-un* 'flour, oat flour').

| Darg. **nuq-un* 1 flour from young sprouts 2 flour: Ak. *nuqun* 1; Chir. *nuqun* 2.

Cf. also Kub. *nuqun* 'flour from young sprouts'.

| Lezg. **wVnq* 1 caraway 2 flour from young sprouts 3 barley: Rut. *maq* (*Ikhr.*) 1; Tsakh. *uq-un* (*Mishl.*) 2; Arch. *buq* 3; Ud. *mu* 3.

The vocalism is hard to reconstruct (only dialectal forms in Rut. and Tsakh. are attested). In Arch. the word means 'a sp. of barley (голозерный ячмень)'; the original meaning is clearly 'grain, esp. barley grain'.

| Khin. *moß* roasted grain.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Lak. *u* regularly < **mu^ou* (with loss of initial **m* + narrow vowel). In many languages the root means a special sort of barley ('голозерный ячмень'), which must have been the original meaning or close to it. Note also the existence of a PEC derivate **wVlqV-nV* 'flour made of young (barley) sprouts'; besides PD **nuqun* and Tsakh. (*Mishl.*) *uqun* it is reflected in Lak. *ini* (< **mu^oV-ni*) id., cf. especially Lak. *u ini* (< **mu^ou *mu^oV-ni*) 'flour from young barley sprouts'.

**wVnsA* quick; early: Nakh. **māssa-n*; Av.-And. **bVš:-* (~s:-); W.-Cauc. **pasa*.

| Nakh. **māssa-n* quick, swift: Chech. *māsa*; Ing. *massa*.

Cf. also Chech. (Usl.) *māsaŋ* id.

| Av.-And. **bVš:-* (~s:-) to quicken, get quicker: Av. *bas:-ár-*.

| W.-Cauc. **pasa* early: Abkh. *a-pāsa*; Abaz. *pasa*; Ad. *pās*; Kab. *pāsa*.

PAT **pasa*; PAK **pāsa*. The explanation of the Adygh form as 'first, front' + 'to sow' (Shagirov 2, 8) is most probably a folk-etymology, and there is no need to assume that the PAT form (corresponding to PAK quite regularly) is an Adygh loan.

[] The WC form has a frequent labial prefix; correspondences are quite regular, and the etymology seems to be plausible.

**wVsV* hair; feather: Av.-And. **basa* (~o); Lezg. **wis-* (~o-).

| Av.-And. **basa* (~o) hair; woolen thread, string: Av. *s:ap* (?); Chad. *sab* (?); God. *basa*.

The Av. forms are very strange (with metathesis, strong s: and irregular correspondence p/b between dialects) and may not belong here at all.

| Lezg. **wis-* (~o-) feather: Tsakh. *wisin* (*Gelm.*).

Isolated in Tsakh., with possible external parallels.

[] The root is present only in two languages (God. and Tsakh.; the Av. form is very dubious); since Tsakh. *w-* can also go back to **r-* and **l-*, very unreliable.

xatV** mitten: Av.-And. ***k^wo-*lala (~ o); Lezg. ***λ[u]lal**.

| Av.-And. ***k^wo-*lala*** (~ o) 1 mitten 2 sleeve: And. *k^wolir* 1; Akhv. *k^walala* 1; God. *k^walala* 2.

A compound with ***k^wo-** 'hand' q.v.

| Lezg. ***λ[u]lal** mitten: Ag. *xuxal*; Tsakh. *xaxali*.

Cf. also Ag. Burk. *xaxal*. The word is most probably an assimilation < ***k^wi(l)-*xal***, a compound with ***k^wil** 'hand' q.v. (cf. the analogous compound in PA). 4th class in Tsakh.

[] An interesting And-Lezg. isogloss (reflecting the old compound ***kwil[?]i-xatV**).

***xaro** (~ -ə, -ə) hollow, cavity: Nakh. ***χāra**; Lak. *xulu*; Lezg. ***λar**.

| Nakh. ***χāra** 1 tree-hollow 2 grain-tub made of a hollowed trunk: Chech. *χāra*; Ing. *χara*.

4th class in both languages.

| Lak. *xulu* gate, entry.

Cf. Khosr. *xulu* id.

| Lezg. ***λar** 1 cave, cavity 2 earthenware stove for baking bread: Lezg. *xar* 2; Tab. *xar* 1; Ag. *xar* 2; Rut. *xar* 2; Tsakh. *xar* 2.

Cf. also Tab. Ulz. *xar* 'cave', Ag. Bursh. *xar* 'stove' (both forms pointing to PL ***λ-**). Obl. base ***xora-** (cf. Lezg. *xra-*, Ag. *xura-*, Tab. with vowel levelling *xara-*). 3d class in Rut.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Lak. form may belong here only if we suppose a contraction *xulu* < ***xVr-lu** (with a productive suffix -lu).

***xarsV** a k. of insect; tadpole: Av.-And. ***λars:V** (~ -o-); Tsez. ***λ:es:a** (~ L-).

| Av.-And. ***λars:V** (~ -o-) bug, bed-bug: Akhv. *λars:i* (*Ratl.*); Tind. *λas:u*; Kar. *λars:e*.

Cf. also Kar. Anch. *λas:a* id.

| Tsez. ***λ:es:a** (~ L-) tadpole: Bezht. *λesa* (*Khosh.*).

Attested only in Bezht., but having probable Andian parallels.

[] An And.-Tsez. isogloss.

***χānhi** water: Nakh. ***χi**; Av.-And. ***λ:in[?]i**; Tsez. ***λ:ī** B; Lak. *š:in*; Darg. ***xin**; Lezg. ***λ:än**; Khin. *xu*.

| Nakh. ***χi** water: Chech. *χi*; Ing. *χij*; Bacb. *χi*.

Cf. Chech. dat. *χi-na*. 3d class in all languages.

| Av.-And. ***λ:in[?]i** water: Av. *λ:im*; Chad. *λim*; And. *λ:en*; Akhv. *λ:eni*;

Cham. *λ:ī*; Tind. *λ:ē*; Kar. *λ:ēji*; Botl. *λ:eni*; Bagv. *λ:ē*; God. *λ:eni*.

Av. paradigm C (*λ:a-dá-l/λ:e-l, λ:ína-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *λ:in*, Bagv. Tlis. *λ:ēji*, Kar. Tok. *λ:in*.

| Tsez. ***λ:ī** B water: Tsez. *λi*; Gin. *λe*; Khvarsh. *λā*; Inkh. *λō*; Bezht. *λi*; Gunz. *λī*.

PTsKh ***λā**, PGB ***λī**. Cf. also PGB ***λī-ki-ju** 'liquid' (Bezht. Tlad. *λikkō*, Khosh. *λikijo*, Gunz. *λīkku*).

| Lak. *š:in* water.

4th class. Obl. base *š:ina-*.

| Darg. ***xin** water: Ak. *šin*; Chir. *šin*.

Cf. also Ur., Kub. *šin*, Sirg. *hin* (the latter pointing to PD ***x-**).

| Lezg. ***λ:än** water: Lezg. *jad*; Tab. *sid*; Ag. *xed*; Rut. *xäd*; Tsakh. *xan*; Kryz. *xäd*; Bud. *xäd*; Arch. *λ:an*; Ud. *χe*.

Obl. base ***λ:in:i-**, cf. Lezg. *c:i*, Khl. *jic:i*, Tab. *št:u-* (Düb. *št:i-i*), Ag. *xit:a-* (Fit. *xit:i-i*, Bursh. *š:iri-*), Rut. *xiji-*, Tsakh. *xine-*, Kryz. *xidi-*. 4th class in all class distinguishing languages.

Cf. Leksika 1971, 181; Gigueyshivili 1977, 128; Talibov 1980, 278-9.

| Khin. *xu* water.

Cf. erg. *xin-i*, pl. *xin-ibir*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. One of the most widely preserved and stable roots (having, however, left no trace in PWC). See Trubetzkoy 1922, 239.

Cf. also Hurr. *šijā* 'water, river' (if we suppose a palatalisation ***x-** > *š-* before front vowels in HU), see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 49.

***xelxamV** gum; lip: Darg. ***xamxam**; Lezg. ***λelλam** (~ -ä-).

| Darg. ***xamxam** lip: Chir. *xamxam*.

| Lezg. ***λelλam** (~ -ä-) 1 gum 2 chin together with the upper jaw: Lezg. *xirxam* 1; Tab. *šarxal* 2 (*Düb.*); Rut. *xamx* 1.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *xalxam* 'gum', Rut. Kich. *xalxam* 'palate'. 4th class in Rut.

[] A Darg.-Lezg. isogloss.

***x[ē]rxV** slime; spittle; snot: Lak. *xurx*; Darg. ***xir(i)x**; Lezg. ***λerλ**.

| Lak. *xurx* spittle; slime.

Cf. gen. *xurxu-l*.

| Darg. ***xir(i)x** snot: Ak. *irh-ne* (*Kait.*); Chir. *xirix*.

Kait. *irh-* < *hirh-* (***xirx-**).

| Lezg. ***λerλ** 1 spittle, saliva 2 snot 3 nose 4 moss 5 slime: Lezg. *xirx-am* 4; Tab. *šurš* 1; Ag. *xirx* 2 (*Burk.*); Rut. *xex* 3; Tsakh. *xirxi-man* 5.

Cf. also Tab. Düb. *šurš* (pointing to a week ***λ**). The meaning 'moss' in Lezg. is clearly derived from 'slime', and the meaning 'nose' in Rut. - from 'snot'. Obl. base ***λerλe-** (cf. Ag. Burk. *xirxi-*, Rut. *xexi-*). 3d class in Rut., but 4th class in Tsakh. The Tab. form (or some unattested Ag. dialectal form) was borrowed in Darg. Chir. as *šerš-ne* (plur.) 'spittle'.

See Talibov 1980.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular (except for the vowel reflex in Lak.: -a- should be expected).

*xōlnā (~ -l-) pitchfork: Av.-And. *lanV (~ -o-); Lak. xula; Lezg. *λola.

| Av.-And. *lanV (~ -o-) pitchfork: Av. *len*; Chad. *ten*; Akhv. *lanu* / *lano*.
Av. paradigm C *laní-l*, *lún-dul*; but Chad. B: *tonó-l*, *ten-bí*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan., Ratl. *lanu* id.

| Lak. *xula* pitchfork.

Cf. Khosr. *xula* id.

| Lezg. *λola pitchfork: Rut. *xilan*; Tsakh. *xewa*; Kryz. *xiner*; Bud. *xinnerd*; Arch. *lol*; Ud. *χala*.

The Rut., Kryz. and Bud. forms reflect a suffixed *λol(a)na (in Shakhdagh with addition of the plural suffix), which may in fact reflect directly the PEC cluster *-ln-. 4th class in Rut. and Tsakh., but 3d class in Shakhdagh. Cf. Leksika 1971, 169; Giginayshvili 1977, 122.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. Cf. Trubetzkoy 1922, 239.

*xV interrogative pronoun (who, what): Nakh. *χa; Av.-And. *λi-i; Tsez. *λi-u- / *λi-i; Lezg. *λi-i / *λi-i; W.-Cauc. *xA.

| Nakh. *χa an interrogative stem: Chech. (mū-)χa; Bacb. (wu-)χ.

In Nakh this stem is used only as the second part of interrogative compounds (Chech. mū-χa 'which', Bacb. wu-χ 'what').

| Av.-And. *λi-i- who (obl. stem): Av. λi-i; Chad. λi-i; And. λi-e-; Akhv. λi-o-; Cham. λi-e-; Tind. λi-o-(b)-; Kar. λi-o-la-; Botl. λi-e-; Bagv. λi-o-; God. λi-e-.

Some forms (Akhv., Tind., Kar., Botl.) reflect the labialized variant *λi-i- (having probably incorporated the class marker of the 1st class). The same stem (with a suffixed -n-) is used in some languages for the unanimate interrogative (obl. stem): Akhv., Botl., Cham., God. λi-un-. This is obviously a secondary replacement of the original *s:u-n- (q.v.) under influence of the animate λi-i-.

| Tsez. *λi-u- / *λi-i- an interrogative stem: Tsez. λi-nas; Gin. λu; Khvarsh. λu (Radzhibov); Inkh. λu; Bezht. λi-ni.

PTsKh *λu 'who, what' (Inkh. λu id., Gin. λu 'who'); the stem *λe- was used in some oblique forms, cf. Tsez. λi-nas, λi-nar 'why', Gin. λi-ni erg. 'what'. Bezht. has λō (erg.) 'who', λi-ni (erg.) 'what'.

| Lezg. *λi-i / *λi-i 1 what 2 who: Lezg. wu-č 1; Tab. fu 1; Ag. fi 1; Arch. λi-(li)2 (erg).

Labialization in some forms is secondary (*λi-i < *uV-λi-i with a class prefix). See Giginayshvili 1977, 128.

| W.-Cauc. *xA who: Ad. xat; Kab. xat; Ub. šə.

PAK *xá-tə. Abdokov (1973, 23, 72) and Shagirov (2, 104) are quite right in

comparing this morpheme with Ub. šə and rejecting Trubetzkoy's (1930, 80) comparison of Ub. šə with Bzhed., Shaps. šə-d 'what'. Semantically and phonetically the comparison šə = AK *xa- is irreproachable.

[] The vocalic reconstruction is somewhat uncertain (probably, due to old Ablaut). We may note that this interrogative stem is mostly (although not always) used in oblique cases, notably ergative.

See Trubetzkoy 1922, 239; 1930, 274.

*xwamV / *xwamxwV foam, liquid: Lak. xama; Darg. *x:amx:a; Lezg. *λamλ(a).

| Lak. xama foam.

Cf. Khosr. x:amā (a misspelling instead *xamā?).

| Darg. *x:amx:a foam: Ak. xamxa.

Cf. also Sirg. x:umx:a, Ur. xamxa, Kub., Tsud. x:amx:a id.

| Lezg. *λamλ(a) 1 mould 2 liquid 3 soup, skilly 4 damp 5 to drizzle: Lezg. xax 1; Tab. xax 1; Kryz. xāx 2; Bud. xixi 3; Arch. lamλ 4; Ud. χoχo-pesun 5.

Arch. lamλ < *λamλ by dissimilation. Oblique stem unclear. 3d class in Kryz and Bud.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level (constricted to the Eastern area). PD and PL reflect a partially reduplicated form.

*xwar?V (~ -i-, -?-) bottom: Nakh. *pχo; Lak. š:aI; Darg. *x:ar; W.-Cauc. *x(°)a.

| Nakh. *pχo (~ -ō) bottom: Ing. pχo.

Isolated in Ing., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. š:aI down, below.

| Darg. *x:ar bottom, lower part: Ak. xar; Chir. x:ar.

Cf. also Ur. xar id., xa- (preverb) 'downwards'; Chir. compound x:ar-qil 'foundation'.

| W.-Cauc. *x(°)a 1 bottom 2 behind, anus: Ad. xa 1, pxa 2; Kab. pxa 2; Ub. pša 2.

PAK *xa / *pxa.

[] The EC reconstruction is both phonetically and semantically satisfactory. See Abdokov 1983, 90 (although with some confusion of WC *x(°)a / *pxa and *χ°V 'to descend' < *HraλwV q.v.).

*xwE together, close to: Av.-And. *λi-i; Lak. -x:-; Lezg. *λi-iV; W.-Cauc. *x°a.

| Av.-And. *λi-i together, with (suffixed particle): Botl. -λi-i; God. -λi-i.

| Lak. -x:- suffix of the series Ad ('close to').

Used in cases like čira-x 'at the wall, close to the wall', čira-x:-un 'towards the wall' etc. Possibly the same morpheme can be found in Lak. x:i-č, Khosr. x:i-č 'front, in front'.

| Lezg. *λi-iV 1 together 2 near: Lezg. -w; Tab. -x (f-); Ag. -w; Rut. -x°; Kryz. -w; Bud. -w; Arch. λi-i 1, λi-i-a-k 2; Ud. -χ.

The root is an original adverb, and is preserved in Arch. in this function: λi-i 'together', λi-i-a-k 'near' (cf. perhaps also Rut. xur-baj 'in front?'). In all other

Lezghian languages it is preserved only as a case suffix (this function had been present already in PL, cf. Arch. -λ:u id.) or a preverb meaning 'near, by'.

See Alekseyev 1985, 52.

| W.-Cauc. *x^wa in favour of, for (smth.) (preverb): Ad. *fa-*; Kab. *x^wa-*; Ub. *χa-*.

PAK *x^wa-

[] A common NC particle (adverb); it is rarely preserved as an independent word (e.g. in Archi), and more frequent used as a suffixed particle, locative case marker or a preverb (a typical distribution for PWC locative adverbs). PA *-λ:i reflects a variant with early delabialisation (probably in a weak word-final position); otherwise we would expect a reflex like PA *-λ(ʷ)i. All other forms regularly go back to *xwE.

*xwīrʷi (~ -ě) a k. of tree (hornbeam, beech-tree): Nakh. *pχā; Av.-And. *λ(ʷ)VrV (~ *λ-); Lak. *x:iri*; W.-Cauc. *t-x^wV.

| Nakh. *pχā hornbeam: Chech. *pχa*; Ing. *pχān*.

3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing. Obl. base *pχā-nu- (Chech. *pχōna-*) / *pχā-ni- (Ing. *pχāno*, Chech. plur. *pχēna-s*). The Ing. direct base *pχān* is a back-building from the oblique base. In Chech. the word is glossed as 'hornbeam; plane-tree'.

| Av.-And. *λ(ʷ)VrV (~ *λ-) 1 hornbeam 2 asp: Av. *lor* 1; Tind. *λiri-λ:a roha* 2.

Av. paradigm A (*λóri-l*, *λóra-l*).

| Lak. *x:iri* lime-tree.

Cf. Khosr. *xiri* id. (probably, a faulty recording instead of **x:iri*).

| W.-Cauc. *t-x^wə* 1 beech-tree 2 plane-tree: Abkh. *á-s^v* 1; Abaz. *š^w-č^wə* 2; Ad. *tfajə*; Kab. *tx^wej*.

PAT *s^wə (cf. also Bzyb. *á-s^v*); PAK *tx^wa-jə (-jə - common suffix in names of trees). See Shagirov 2, 75).

[] Correspondences are regular. The PWC form has a dental prefix *t-. Abdokov (1983, 112) compares the WC form with reflexes of EC *rēxwV 'stick, wood' (q.v.) (with some confusion of this root and *rāšwE 'wood, beam'). Phonetically both comparisons are acceptable, but ours seems to us somewhat better semantically.

*xwīrʷV vein: Nakh. *pχā; Av.-And. *rix^wV; Lak. *x:wā*; Lezg. *λ:wij (~ -i-); W.-Cauc. *x^wa.

| Nakh. *pχā vein: Chech. *pχa*; Ing. *pχa*; Bach. *pχa*.

Obl. stem *pχā-ni- (Chech. *pχēna-*, Ing. *pχāno*). 6th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. *rix^wV 1 vein, blood vessel 2 string: Av. *rix* 1; Chad. *rix* 1; And. *rošan* 2; Cham. *hūh^wā* 2.

Av. Chad. paradigm A (*ríxi-l*, *ríxa-l*). Cham. *hūh^wā* < *jīh^wā* (< *rix^wa-n = And. *rošan*).

| Lak. *x:wā* sinew, tendon; string.

Cf. Khosr. *x:wā*.

| Lezg. *λ:wij (~ -i-) blood: Lezg. *i-wi*; Tab. *i-fi*.

Lezg. -wi and Tab. -fi as the second part of the compound point to PL *λ:wVj going back to a PEC root for 'vein'.

| W.-Cauc. *x^wa 1 vein, blood vessel 2 marrow 3 shin, shin-bone: Abkh. *a-ša-χ^wá* 2; Abaz. *ša-χ^wa* 3; Ad. *fa* 1; Kab. *x^wa* 1; Ub. *xa* 1.

PAT *x^wa in compounds with *ša 'foot, leg' and *ma 'hand, arm': *ša-x^wa > Abkh. *a-ša-χ^wá* 'marrow', *a-ša-χ^wá-r* 'metatarsus', Bzyb. *a-ša-x^wá-r* 'metatarsus, marrow in metatarsus bone; leg (from pelvis to knee)'; *ma-x^wa > Bzyb. *a-ma-x^wá-r* 'arm (from elbow to hand)'. The meaning of *x^wa may be reconstructed as 'bone from one joint to another' < 'joint' < 'sinew'. PAK *x^wa.

See Klimov 1967.

[] Correspondences are regular. The comparison of EC and WC forms see in Trubetzkoy 1930, 278, Shagirov 1977, Abdokov 1983, 80.

*xwīmčwī (~ -ě-, -ǝ) dirt; bog: Nakh. *χattV (~ -tt-); Av.-And. *x^wic:V; Lak. *xunča*; Darg. *x:anč(a); Lezg. *λ(ʷ)VmčV.

| Nakh. *χattV (~ -tt-) dirt, mire: Chech. *χatt*; Ing. *χotta*.

Obl. base *χattu- (Chech. *χotta-*); it is most probable that the Ing. direct base here reflects the original oblique one.

| Av.-And. *x^wic:V bog, marsh: Av. *xuč:*; Tind. *hic:u* (*Akn.*); Kar. *xuč:e*.

Av. paradigm B or C (gen. *xuč:í-l*). Cf. also Kar. Tok. *xēc:u*. The root should be distinguished from PA *li(r)č:V and *tič:u q.v.

| Lak. *xunča* bog.

Lak. *xunča* and *kunča* 'bog' seem to be variants, but are most probably two separate stems which underwent a partial contamination. The Khosr. dialect has here an irregular x:- (*x:unča* / *x:unčlu*).

| Darg. *x:anč(a) 1 grey 2 blue: Ak. *xanča* 1,2; Chir. *x:anč-ze* 1.

| Lezg. *λ(ʷ)VmčV bog: Arch. *lamča*.

Isolated in Arch., but having reliable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In PA and Lak. the root has partially contaminated with PEC *λwilčwV q.v.; in PD there occurred a semantic change 'dirt, dirty' > 'grey'.

*xwīrʷV (~ -h-) a k. of berry: Tsez. *Lē (~ *λ:-); Lak. *š^waj*; Lezg. *λ^wira.

| Tsez. *Lē (~ *λ:-) strawberry: Bezht. *lē*.

Cf. also Bezht. Tlad. *le* 'berry'.

| Lak. *š^waj* guelder rose, snowball-tree.

| Lezg. *λ^wira 1 blackberry 2 a k. of berry 3 raspberry: Lezg. *furuful-ar* (*Akht.*); Tab. *urx-ar* 2; Ag. *čula mexer* 3 (*Tp.*); Rut. *xur* 3; Tsakh. *xura* 3.

Cf. also Tsakh. Gelm. *fira* 'raspberry'. In Lezg. the root is reduplicated; the Ag. form means literally 'black' + *mexer*. We must note that the Agul form is a result of some analogical restructuring (there are no reasons to reconstruct *mV- in this root for PL). 4th class in Rut. and Tsakh.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*xwōlfV bosom: Nakh. *χā; Av.-And. *λVrV; Tsez. *LVrV (~ *L:-); Lak. *xu*; Darg. *x:a- (?); Lezg. *λol:(a).

| Nakh. *χā side (of body), hip: Chech. χa; Ing. χa; Bacb. χa.
Obl. base *χā-ni- (Chech. χē-na-, Ing. χāno). 6th class in Chech., 3d class in Ing., 8th class in Bacb.

| Av.-And. *λVrV bosom: Av. λor.

Paradigm B or C (loc. λoró-b).

| Tsez. *LVrV (~ *L:-) bosom: Gin. λili; Gunz. rara (Nakh.).

Consonantal correspondences are all right (Gunz. rara < *lara through assimilation), but the vocalism is hard to reconstruct.

| Lak. xu bosom, cut (of dress), collar.

| Darg. *x:a- (?) bosom: Chir. x:a-n-cara.

The form is obscure morphologically (meaning of the second component not clear), and attested only in the Chir. dialect; thus not very reliable.

| Lezg. *λol:(a) 1 armpit; armful 2 embrace: Rut. xili l; Arch. λot 2.

Arch. -t:- (morphonologically, cf. plur. λot:-or). Probably the same root may be observed in Tsakh. xit-xal 'armpit', although the meaning of the first component (xit-) is not clear.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The original meaning must have been 'bosom' with the development into 'armpit' in PL and 'side (of body)' in PN. Phonetic correspondences are regular.

*xwVmV (~ λ-,λ-) fat, grease: Av.-And. *x^wamV (~ -o-); Lezg. *λ(:)VmV-.

| Av.-And. *x^wamV (~ -o-) internal fat: Kar. x^wajmo; Botl. šamu; Bagv. χ^wam (Leksika); God. šamu.

Cf. also Kar. Anch. x^wamu. Botl. š- is irregular (x- would be expected), so a loan from God. is not excluded.

| Lezg. *λ(:)VmV- internal fat, fat crease: Tsakh. ximil'.

Attested only in Tsakh., with possible Andian parallels.

[] An And-Lezg. isogloss. Not very reliable (because within Lezghian it is preserved only in one language, and a whole variety of PEC reconstructions can therefore be proposed).

The Botl. and God. forms can not be separated from Kar. and Bagv.; thus their separate treatment as being related to PWC *š^wa 'fat, oil' (see Abdokov 1983, 85) is absolutely unacceptable.

χ

*χ^əāmV skin, cloth: Av.-And. *χ:ami (~ -o-); Lezg. *χam(a); W.-Cauc. *t-q:amə.

| Av.-And. *χ:ami (~ -o-) cloth: Av. χ:am; Akhv. χ:ani; Kar. χ:ame.
Av. paradigm A (gen. χ:ámi-l).

| Lezg. *χam(a) skin: Lezg. χam; Tab. χam; Ag. χam.

Obl. base unknown (can be any vowel).

| W.-Cauc. *t-q:amə 1 skin, fur 2 fur-coat: Abkh. a-χamə́ 2; Abaz. qamə 2; Ub. tχamə́ 1.

PAT *qamə (cf. also Bzyb. a-χamə́). Ub. has tχ- because the cluster tq- (< *tq:-) is prohibited in Ub.; PWC *q:- is reconstructed on basis of PAT *q- (a weak *q- would give PAT *h-).

[] The PWC form has a rare dental prefix *t- (*d-) which must have caused a not quite regular development *t-χ:- > *t-q:- (in PEC the initial consonant is certainly a fricative).

Cf. Kartv. *qaml- 'skin (of a sheep, goat)' (see Klimov 1963, 263, listing also the Abkh. form).

*χal^əV (/ *^əVχalV; ~ -t-) guest, kinsman: Lak. aħal-ču; Darg. *(^əu)χ:lal; Lezg. *χ:lal.

| Lak. aħal-ču bridegroom's kinsman.

Cf. also aħal-š:ar 'bride's kinsman'.

| Darg. *(^əu)χ:lal guest: Ak. aħall; Chir. χ:lul.

Cf. also Ur. uħ^wall, Kait. aχ:lal, Kub. χ:lul.

| Lezg. *χ:lal guest: Tab. χlalu-z^v; Ag. Xula-šuj; Arch. χ:lele-t:u.

In Ag. there occurred a metathesis (Xula- < Xalu-, cf. Bursh. Xalu-š:u^vj, Fit. χlalu-xūj). The root is used either as adjectival (typical for kinship terms - in Archi), or in a compound with words meaning 'man' / 'woman' (cf. in Tab.: χlalu-z^v (masc.), χlalu-š (fem.), Kand. χlali-z^v, χlali-š, Düb. χlali-z^vi, χlali-šiw; in Ag. - Xula-šuj (masc.), Xula-xir (fem.).)

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level (a possible WC match, PAK *ha-, see under *HVčwĒ). The root is typical for the Eastern area (Lak, Dargwa, PL).

*χāl^əV sinew; thread: Nakh. *χāl; Tsez. *χ:ilb; Lak. χ:al; Lezg. *χ:al(a).

| Nakh. *χāl a piece of thread: Chech. χal.

Obl. base *χāli- (Chech. χēla-). Attested only in Chech., but having good external parallels.

| Tsez. *χ:ilb sinew: Tsez. xero; Gin. χela; Khvarsh. χelo (Radzhibov); Inkh. χilo; Bezht. χila; Gunz. χilə.

PTsKh *χⁱR[o]; PGB *χil[ɔ].

| Lak. *χ:al* thread, wire.

| Lezg. **χ:al(a)* thread: Lezg. *bal*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *χal* (pointing unambiguously to PL **χ:-*). Isolated in Lezg., but having secure external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Seems quite plausible phonetically and semantically (the correlation 'sinew' : 'thread, wire' is usual). EC > Osset. *xal* / *xalä* 'thread', Balk. *xalä* id. (see Abayev 1989, 135).

**χan^əä* (~ *q-*, -*ə*) whey, milk; milk product (cheese): Av.-And. **χan(H)V* (~ *q-*); Tsez. **β:ej* A (~ **β:ij* B); Lezg. **χlan:a*.

| Av.-And. **χan(H)V* (~ *q-*) cheese: Av. *han*; Chad. *han*.

Av. paradigm A (gen. *hāni-l*; but Chad. *hāni-l*).

| Tsez. **β:ej* A (~ **β:ij* B) milk: Tsez. *βla* / *βlaj*; Gin. *βi*; Khvarsh. *βi*; Inkh. *βlē*; Bezht. *hī*; Gunz. *hī*.

PTsKh **βlēj*; PGB **hī*. Because of the combination 'nasalisation + pharyngealisation' the vocalic reconstruction is not quite certain.

| Lezg. **χlan:a* whey: Rut. *χlada-χlul*; Tsakh. *arχlane*.

The Rut. word is a compound (for the second part, -*χlul*, cf. perhaps PL **χlul* 'fat' q.v.). The Tsakh. form has a prefixed **ʔVr-* (whose meaning is unclear, as in a number of other PL etyma).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

**χarčV* blue: Darg. **χ:arčV-*; Lezg. **χarčV-*.

| Darg. **χ:arčV-* blue: Chir. *χ:arč-ze*.

| Lezg. **χarčV-* blue, dark-blue: Lezg. *χarč* (Khl.); Ag. *χarče-f* (Burk.).

[] A Darg-Lezg. isogloss.

χarVcwV* / **caχwVrV* spider: Av.-And. **χ:aracV-n* (~ *o*); Lak. *χ:allcu*; Lezg. **χarVs / **χaswVr*; W.-Cauc. **p-šaχ^wa* (~ -*s-*).

| Av.-And. **χ:aracV-n* (~ *o*) spider: Kar. *χ:arazan*.

Cf. also Kar. Rach., Anch. *χ:aracan* id. The root is subject to very irregular changes: cf. other apparently related, but absolutely distorted forms: And. *misq:ara*, God. *nusaχar*, Tind. *isq:ara*, possibly also Akhv. *q:aq:ara*, Av. *q:ānq:ra*.

| Lak. *χ:allcu* spider.

Cf. also dial. (Khaid.) *qarcu* 'spider'; Khosr. *χ:I^warcu* id.

| Lezg. **χarVs** / **χaswVr* 1 spider 2 spider's web: Lezg. *χüşre-kan* 1; Tab. *χas^v* / *χ^was^v* 1; Rut. *χas* (Shin.) 2; Tsakh. *χaws* (Gelm.) 2; Arch. *k^weł-χ^warši* 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Akht. *mihman-χas* 'spider', Rut. Shin. *χasamkal* id., Tab. Düb. *χasχas* id. The original hissing sibilant is preserved in Tsakh.; it shifted to **š* (**š^w*) in other languages due to a merger with another PL root, **χ^wärčVj* 'worm' q.v. - both roots are very actively contaminating in modern Lezghian languages.

| W.-Cauc. **p-šaχ^wa* (~ -*s-*) spider: Ub. *psáχ^wa*.

Isolated in Ub., but having probable EC parallels.

[] The root is expressive and subject to irregular changes (metatheses etc.), therefore the reconstruction is rather tentative. Some other EC forms can be regarded also as very irregular reflexes of the same root: cf. PD **qisqa* (Ak. *qisqa*, Chir. *qisqa-ne* etc.), Bezht. (Khaid.) *kala-βasqi* (with further transformations: Gunz. *koloqi* / *halaki*) 'spider'; see also comments to Andian and Lezghian reflexes.

Despite all these difficulties (rather expected in a word meaning 'spider'), the root seems more or less reliably reconstructable for PNC.

**χ[ä]ʔIV* burden, pack: Av.-And. **χirV*; Lak. *hiwu*; Darg. **χ:ala*; Lezg. **χ:äl*.

| Av.-And. **χirV* 1 sack (for carrying grain) 2 burden, load: Av. *hir* 1; Chad. *hir* 2.

Av. paradigm C (*hirí-l*, *híra-l*); Chad. *hirí-l*, *híra-l*.

| Lak. *hiwu* pack, burden.

Lak. *hiwu* < *hi^wu*; in Khosr. *hibu* -b- is obviously secondary in this case.

| Darg. **χ:ala* bundle: Ak. *χala*.

Cf. also Ur., Muir., Kub. *χala*, Tsud., Sirg. *χ:ala* id.

| Lezg. **χ:äl* burden, load: Rut. *χäl*; Tsakh. *χew*; Kryz. *χel*; Bud. *χel*; Arch. *χ:al*; Ud. *qel* / *χel*.

4th class in all class-distinguishing languages (except Kryz., where it belongs to the 3d class). Obl. stem **χ:ila-* or **χ:ile-* (cf. Tsakh. *χewa-*; Ablaut is preserved in Kryz. *χil-*).

See Leksika 1971, 170.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Possibly one of the derivatives of PEC **iχV* 'to carry' (with Anlaut reduction).

**χäʔV* stack, haystack: Nakh. **χōla*; Av.-And. **χ^wolo* (~ **q^w-*); Lezg. **χ:äl(a)* (~ -*l:-*).

| Nakh. **χōla* haystack: Chech. *χōla*; Ing. *χol*.

3d class in Chech., 6th class in Ing.

| Av.-And. **χ^wolo* (~ **q^w-*) haystack: And. *χ^wolo*.

Attested only in And., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **χ:äl(a)* (~ -*l:-*) 1 haystack, rick 2 sheaves ready for threshing: Lezg. *χäl* (Khl.) 1; Rut. *χäl* 2.

Obl. stem unknown.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Labialisation in Andian is irregular (one would rather expect a form like **χilV*). There are two possible explanations: either we should rather reconstruct PEC **χäwłV* with a cluster (yielding labialisation in And. and simplified in PN and PL), or we should assume that And. *χ^wolo* (isolated among Andian languages) is a loanword from Nakh (with labialisation rendering the Nakh narrow -*ō-* = /-*wō-*/).

We can also pay attention to Lak. *χ:ala-* in *χ:ala-baku* 'haystack' which can also correspond to the PN and PL forms - although synchronically Lak. *χ:ala-* is the oblique base of *χ:ulū* 'hay', which has a different EC origin (see **χüłV*). Both roots must have merged in Lak. for phonetic reasons.

*χēlHe (~-a) sleeve: Av.-And. *k^wo-χ:al (~-ol); Lak. ka-χ:a; Lezg. *χāla (~-l:-).

| Av.-And. *k^wo-χ:ol (~-al) 1 sleeve 2 mitten: Av. k^wérdaχ:elal 2; Akhv. k^wāχ:e l; Tind. k^waχ:al l.

All languages have a compound with *k^wo- (Av. k^wer-) 'hand'. The meaning 'mittens' in Av. (where -al is a plural suffix) is the result of contamination of two Av.-And. forms: cf. PA *k^wo-χa (~-o) 'mitten', reflected in Tind. k^waha, God. k^waχa. In Cham. both forms have also merged and k^waχa (Gig. koχa) now means both 'sleeve' and 'mitten'.

| Lak. ka-χ:a sleeve.

An old compound with k^wa- 'hand'; cf. Khosr. k^waχ:^wa 'sleeve' (with assimilation < k^wa-χ:a).

| Lezg. *χāla (~-l:-) 1 sleeve 2 branch 3 wing 4 one of a pair 5 thing: Lezg. χel l,2; Tab. χil l; Ag. χil (Tp.) 3; Kryz. χāl-χāž l,χel 4; Bud. χel 5; Arch. χala-çi l.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. χlāl 'branch; sleeve'; Tab. Ulz. χil 'feather' (< 'wing'); Ag. (Rich.) χilib 'sleeve'. Words for 'wing' in other Tab. and some Ag. dialects are also formed from this root: Tab. χl-inc.; Düb. χil-inc:i 'wing' etc. (formally cf. Arch. χalaçi). Although there is no Tsakh. form (with -a), most probable for PL is a paradigm dir. *χāla, obl. (with Ablaut) *χilā- (cf. Ag. Tp. χili-, Lezg. χile-). The semantic development in Bud. ('thing') is explained by the closely related Kryz. χel 'one piece of a pair, couple'. In Arch. this root must have influenced the development of PL *χ:il 'hand, arm' q.v. (it yielded Arch. χol instead of the expected *χ:ol). The two roots are close phonetically and semantically; therefore in some cases it is hard to attribute the reflexes precisely: such derivatives as Rut. χili-di 'mitten', χuluk 'sleeve' (= Tsakh. χuk id.) could be derived from both PL forms. See Khaidakov 1973, 93.

[] Reconstructed for the EC level. The root is close to PEC *qil'i 'arm; wing' q.v. and both forms have partially merged together in some languages.

*χemq^wV (~ *χwemq^wV) stone: Lezg. *χ^wemχ(a); W.-Cauc. *χaq:^wa. | Lezg. *χ^wemχ(a) 1 big stone, boulder 2 hump: Lezg. χ^waχ l; Rut. χ^waχ 2 (Mukhr.); Arch. χonχ l.

3d class in Arch. (pl. χonχ-ol). There's not enough evidence to establish the PL obl. stem.

See Khaidakov 1973, 71.

| W.-Cauc. *χaq:^wa stone: Abkh. χahw; Abaz. haqwə. PAT *haq^wa (Abaz. haq^wa) / *qah^wa (Abkh. a-χáh^w, cf. also Bz. a-χáh^w). Since there are no AK and Ub. data, the PWC reconstruction is only tentative. [] A Lezg-WC isogloss; correspondences are regular.

*χērǎ grass: Av.-And. *χ:VrV; Tsez. *riχ:ə (~ -i-, -ǎ-); Lak. χ:ara; Lezg. *χer.

| Av.-And. *χ:VrV grass, hay; potion, poison; powder: Av. χ:er; Chad. χer.

Av. paradigm C (χ:arí-l, Chad. χirí-l; pl. χ:úr-dul). Cf. also Av. χ:oró 'tops (of plants)', obviously derived from the same root. In Andian cf. perhaps Akhv. χ:ēda miša 'meadow' (miša 'place'); χ:ēda can be analyzed as a former plural < *χ:ir(V)-dV.

| Tsez. *riχ:ə (~ -i-, -ǎ-) grass: Bezht. hiχo.

Bezht. hiχo < jiχo (with a parasitic h-), cf. Bezht. Tlad. riχo 'grass'.

| Lak. χ:ara thick stalk of herbaceous plants.

| Lezg. *χer 1 rice field 2 meadow: Lezg. χir l; Tab. χlar 2; Ag. χlar 2.

Cf. also Tab. Kand. χir, Düb. χlar, Ag. Burk. χer 'meadow'. Pharyngealization in Tab. and Ag. dialects is automatic (before a front vowel); otherwise we would expect Ag. X-. Obl. base *χera- (cf. Tab. χlara-, Ag. Burk. χera-).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*χərHV (~ *χHərV) butter; cheese: Tsez. *χ(:)ori (~-u-, -l-); Lezg. *χ:larV.

| Tsez. *χ(:)ori (~-u-, -l-) piece of dry cheese: Tsez. χuri.

Isolated in Tsez., with a possible PL parallel.

| Lezg. *χ:larV butter: Lezg. βeri; Rut. χlara-d; Bud. harə-ž.

4th class in Rut. and Bud. All forms are suffixed (with *-Vj in Lezg., *-Vt: in Rut. and Bud.).

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss; not very reliable because of the isolated nature of the Tsez. word, and a significant semantic difference.

*χ[ə]rV (~ *-l-) ewe, ram: Av.-And. *χorV / *riχo; Tsez. *βo(r).

| Av.-And. *χorV / *riχo 1 ewe 2 sheep, sheep-flock: Chad. her l; And. χor-ol 2; Cham. riχa (Gig.); Tind. riχa; Kar. riha; Botl. riχa; Bagv. riha (Tlis.); God. riχa.

Av. Chad. paradigm C (hará-l, húr-dul/héra-l). Cf. also Kar. Anch. riχa. This root should be distinguished from PA *[?]inχa q.v.

| Tsez. *βo(r) ram: Tsez. -βu; Gin. -βu; Khvarsh. -ǎu; Inkh. -βu; Bezht. χoj; Gunz. χor.

PGB *χor; cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. χor. PTsKh *-βu in the compound *biǎ-βu (see *biǎ).

[] An Av.-And.-Tsez. isogloss. The PTs form contains a rare phoneme *β- which in this case must be just a variant of PTs *χ (*β- is reconstructed on basis of PTsKh *-βu present only in the compound *biǎ-βu; we may think of a secondary voicing in this position). There exists a chance of finding a Lezghian cognate: PL *χlap:, obl. *χlop:i-, pl. *χlop:-Vr 'sheep, sheep-flock' (collect.). This would be possible if we suppose a metathesis *χlop:Vr < *χlor-p:V in early PL, with a reanalysis of the original plural suffix *-p:(V) as a part of the root.

*χəwχV onion: Nakh. *χōχ; Tsez. *χ:ɔχu A (~ -ǎ-).

| Nakh. *χōχ onion: Chech. χoχ; Ing. χoχ.

Obl. base *χōχa- (Chech. χōχa-).

| Tsez. *χ:ɔχu A (~ -ǎ-) onion: Gin. hohu; Bezht. χaβo (Tlad.);

Gunz. $\chi\partial\theta u$.

PGB $\chi\partial\theta u$. In Gin. one would expect $\chi\theta hu$, which changed to $h\theta hu$ through assimilation.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. A similar form exists also in Georgian ($\chi a\chi wi$ 'onion') and Ossetian ($\chi a\chi wi$, see Abayev 1989, 149), where it is most probably an EC loanword.

$\chi h\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ (~ -f-) door, door-jamb, some part of house: Av.-And. $\chi:inV$; Tsez. $\chi:ina$; Lak. $\chi:anu$; Lezg. $\chi:lan$.

| Av.-And. $\chi:inV$ 1 jamb, door-post 2 board: Av. $\chi:en$ 1; And. $\chi:in$ 2. Av. paradigm A or C (pl. $\chi:un-dul$).

| Tsez. $\chi:[i]na$ ceiling: Khvarsh. χano (Radzhibov); Inkh. χina . PTsKh $\chi:[i]nV$.

| Lak. $\chi:anu$ perch.

| Lezg. $\chi:lan$ 1 yard 2 pen, enclosure: Lezg. βen 1; Tab. χlan 2; Ag. χan 1; Rut. $\chi lan-aql$ (Mukhr.) 1.

Cf. also Tab. South. (Magometov) $\chi:lan$ 'yard', Ag. Tp. χan (these forms, together with Lezg. βen , point to PL $\chi:l$). The obl. stem $\chi:lani-$ is indicated by Lezg. $\beta eni-$.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root must have meant some part of the house-structure (possibly a door-post, whence 'door' > 'yard').

$\chi h\bar{w}\bar{i}m\chi V$ cheek; buttock: Av.-And. $\chi:w[i]m(V)\chi V$; Tsez. $\chi:u\chi$ (~-o-); Darg. $\chi l^w a\chi l$; Lezg. $\chi li(m)\chi l$.

| Av.-And. $\chi:w[i]m(V)\chi V$ 1 muzzle; palate 2 nose 3 face: Av. $\chi:en\acute{e}\chi$ 1; Chad. $\chi umu\chi$ 2; Akhv. $\chi:ama\chi:ul$ 3; Cham. $\chi un\chi u$ 3 (Gig.).

Av. gen. $\chi:en\chi l$ -l (Chad. $\chi um\chi l$ -l, $\chi um\chi a$ -l). The Akhv. form belongs to the Ratl. dialect. Cf. also Av. Gid. $\chi:uma\chi$: 'face'. Some phonetic irregularities are explained both by the expressive nature of the stem and by assimilations of weak/intensive spirants.

| Tsez. $\chi:u\chi$: (~-o-) face; cheek: Tsez. $hu\chi$ / $\chi lu\chi l$; Gin. $\chi u\chi$; Khvarsh. $\chi u\chi$ (Radzhibov); Inkh. $\chi ul\chi$.

PTsKh $\chi ul\chi$.

| Darg. $\chi l^w a\chi l$ buttock: Chir. $\chi lu\chi l$.

Cf. also Kait. $\chi lo\chi l$, Kub. $\chi u\chi$.

| Lezg. $\chi li(m)\chi l$ - buttock: Tsakh. $\chi lidi\chi l$.

An isolated Tsakhur word. If it is regarded as a metathesis < $\chi li\chi li-d$ (with a suffixed -d), it can be derived from PEC $\chi h\bar{w}\bar{i}m\chi V$.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Despite some minor problems (due to the expressive nature of the root), the reconstruction seems rather secure. Cf. also Hurr. $\chi a\chi li$ 'cheek' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 61).

$\chi HakV$ bat: Av.-And. $\chi:aka-ra$; Lak. $\chi:al\check{c}ara-$; Darg. $\chi lakim-$ (~ $\chi:l$).

| Av.-And. $\chi:aka-ra$ bat: And. $\chi:akara$ (Khaidakov).

Attested only in And. (cited from Khaidakov 1973), with probable external parallels.

| Lak. $\chi:al\check{c}ara-$ bat.

The root $\chi:al\check{c}ara$ itself means 'raw hide; membrane' (thus $\chi:al\check{c}ara-\check{c}illmu$ is literally 'membrane-bird').

| Darg. $\chi lakim-$ (~ $\chi:l$ -) bat: Ak. $halkim-purt$.

The component $purt$ is unclear.

[] At least the Lak-Darg. parallel seems reliable (the And. form is known only from Khaidakov's dictionary, which is a rather unreliable source), but the original meaning is not quite clear: the meaning in Lak. ('raw hide; membrane') may be primary, or else it may be derived from 'bat' ('bat-like skin'). The word for 'bat' is not recorded in most EC languages, and we must wait for further data.

$\chi H\check{e}r\chi V$ small stone, gravel: Av.-And. $\chi ar\chi V$ (~-o-); Darg. $\chi lar\chi la$ (~ $\chi:l$); Lezg. $\chi l\check{a}r\chi l$.

| Av.-And. $\chi ar\chi V$ (~-o-) 1 gravel 2 road-metal: Akhv. $\chi a\chi i$ 2; God. $\chi u\chi a-b$ 1. Cf. also Akhv. Tlan., Ratl. $\chi ar\chi a$ 'gravel'. God. reflects an old plural.

| Darg. $\chi lar\chi la$ (~ $\chi:l$) bullet: Ak. $halrhal$.

The semantic development ('small stone' > 'bullet') is quite natural.

| Lezg. $\chi l\check{a}r\chi la$ (~-e-) small stones, road-metal: Lezg. $\chi ir\chi em$; Tab. $\chi la\chi la$ (Düb.); Rut. $\chi la\chi la$ (Khniukh.); Tsakh. $\chi la\chi la$ (Tsakh.).

4th class in Tsakh. The root is usually provided with suffixes (-m in Lezg., -l in Tab. and Rut.).

[] An expressive reduplicated root. Correspondences are, however, regular (except for a usual assimilation in PA: the expected $\chi:or\chi V$ > $\chi or\chi V$), and the PEC reconstruction seems probable.

$\chi HontV$ (~ $\chi:-$, -i-) belly, intestine: Av.-And. $\chi:inta$; Lak. $\chi:ult:u$.

| Av.-And. $\chi:inta$ 1 belly 2 rennet, abomasum: Chad. hut 2; Cham. $\chi:inta$ 1; Tind. $\chi:inta$ 1.

| Lak. $\chi:ult:u$ intestine.

[] An Av.-And.-Lak. isogloss. Lak. -t:- is secondary (an assimilation to the preceding consonant).

$\chi HVr[\acute{c}]V$ marten; otter: Nakh. $\chi e\acute{s}t$ (~ -\acute{e}-, -\acute{t}-); Darg. $\chi:lar\check{c}$.

| Nakh. $\chi e\acute{s}t$ (~ -\acute{e}-, -\acute{t}-) otter: Chech. $\chi e\acute{s}t$; Ing. $\chi e\acute{s}t$. 3d class in Chech. and Ing.

| Darg. $\chi:lar\check{c}$ 1 marten 2 squirrel: Ak. $\chi alr\check{c}$ 1; Chir. $\chi:lar\check{c}$ 2.

Cf. also Tsud., Sirg., Kait. $\chi alr\check{c}$.

[] A Nakh-Darg. isogloss with somewhat irregular correspondences (due to the root's expressive nature). The specific cluster $\chi\acute{s}t$ ($\chi\acute{s}t$) in PN is probably a result of suffixation ($\chi HVr\check{c}-\acute{t}V$; cf. an analogous dental suffix in other 'weasel' names: PN $\chi dingV-\acute{t}$, $\chi sVr\acute{t}\acute{q}V$ < $\chi sVr\acute{q}-\acute{t}V$).

$\chi Hw\acute{e}je$ dog: Nakh. $\chi\phi u$; Av.-And. $\chi^w o^?i$; Tsez. $\chi^b: w\acute{e}j$; Darg. $\chi:l^w aj$; Lezg. $\chi^b: w\acute{a}ja$; Khin. $\phi\chi ra$; W.-Cauc. $\chi l^w a$.

| Nakh. *phu 1 dog 2 male dog: Chech. *phu* 2; Ing. *phu* 2; Bacb. *phu* 1.
Obl. base *phare- (Chech. *phāra*-, Ing. *pharo*, Bacb. pl. *phar-č*). 3d class in Chech. and Bacb., 6th class in Ing.

| Av.-And. *χ^woʔi dog: Av. *hoj*; Chad. *h^we*; And. *χ^woj*; Akhv. *χ^wē*; Cham. *χ^waj*; Tind. *χ^wā*; Kar. *χ^waj*; Botl. *χ^waj*; Bagv. *h^waj*; God. *χ^waji*.

The Av. accent paradigm is irregular (*hój-dul*, *ha-bí*); the plural form is probably an innovation (the -bí suffix tends to be stressed), thus paradigm A may be considered original. Cf. also Av. dial. *h^we*, *h^wej*, Akhv. Tseg., Tl. *χ^waj*, Ratl. *χ^waji*, Bagv. Tlis. *χ^waj*.

In plural most Andian languages reflect the stem *χ^wor-, cf. Bagv. *h^wara-χ^wa*, God. *χ^war-di*, Kar. *χ^wad-di* (< *χ^war-di).

| Tsez. *θ^wəj dog: Tsez. *θI^waj*; Gin. *θ^we*; Khvarsh. *θ^we*; Inkh. *θI^wē*; Bezht. *wo*; Gunz. *wə*.

PTsKh *θI^wəj; PGB *wə, obl. *wəj- (cf. Bezht. *woj*-, Gunz. *wəj*-).

| Darg. *χ^wI^waj dog: Ak. *χIa*; Chir. *χ^wIwa*.

Cf. also Kad. *χ^wI^wa*, Kait. *χ^wI^wa*, Kub. *χ^we*, Muir. *χ^wi*, Sirg. *χI^wa*, Ur. *χ^wi* (pl. *χuri*). The Ur. plural *χur-i* and Ak. gen. *χura-la* reveal the old oblique stem *χ^wur-.

| Lezg. *χ^wəja dog: Tab. *χuj*; Ag. *θuj*; Rut. *χij* (*Khniukh.*); Tsakh. *χ^wa*; Kryz. *χ^war*; Bud. *χor*; Ud. *χIa*.

Other relevant forms: Ag. Bursh. *χI^wuj*, Tsakh. Gelm. *χ^wajä*. In PL there existed a parallel oblique base *χ^wəj-rV-, cf. Ag. Bursh. *χI^wura-ni*-, whence the Kryz. and Bud. direct forms with -r.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 85; Leksika 1971, 158; Giginayshvili 1977, 121.

| Khin. *pχra* dog.

| W.-Cauc. *LI^wa dog: Abkh. *a-lá*; Abaz. *la*; Ad. *ha*; Kab. *ha*; Ub. *wla*.

PAT *la, PAK *ha; Ub. def. *á-wla*. The Ub. pharyngealization suggests the PAT form *LI^waI; since, however, in PAT only uvulars and labials could have been pharyngealized, this probably means that we have in fact to reconstruct an early form with a cluster like *l-χI^wa or *χI^wla. It is possible that such a PAT cluster can reflect an earlier combination *χI^wr- (cf. another example of the same kind, PAT *L^wa- 'to grind').

[] One of the cases with the interesting correspondence PEC *χHw : PWC *L^w. It is not yet clear what should be reconstructed in these cases: perhaps, some cluster like *χl- or *lx-. It is also possible that in some cases PAT l- is a result of secondary lateralisation, and Ub. w : PAK *h could also point to PWC *χI^w (for which otherwise no examples are found). Most of the EC languages point to the PEC oblique base *χHwəj-rV- (cf. PN *phare-, PA *χ^wor-, PD *χ^wur-, PL *χ^wəjrV-); in some languages (Shakhdagh, Khin.) the former oblique base became direct.
See Trubetzkoy 1930, 277, Abdokov 1983, 123.

*χHwəIV (~ *χwəIV) cattle, cows: Nakh. *hāl-ij; Tsez. *θ^wəro.

| Nakh. *hāl-ij cows (pl.): Chech. *hēli*; Ing. *hālij*.

| Tsez. *θ^wəro 1 cows (collect.) 2 cow: Tsez. *buo* 1; Gin. *θ^wero* 2;

Khvarsh. *θ^walo* 1; Inkh. *θolo* 1; Bezht. *wara* 2; Gunz. *həro* 2.

PTsKh *θ^wəro, PGB *wəro (*h^wəro).

[] A Nakh-Tsez. isogloss; both phonetically and semantically quite satisfactory.

*χinčV cheek; jaw: Lak. *χ^winču*; Darg. *χ^winča.

| Lak. *χ^winču* cheek; jaw.

Cf. also Khosr. *χ^winču* 'jaw'.

| Darg. *χ^winča jaw: Chir. *χ^winča*.

[] A Darg.-Lak. isogloss, thus not very reliable for PEC.

*χimčV / *χimsV to change: Nakh. *χēbc-; Av.-And. *χ^wis-; Tsez. *χ^wis-; Khin. *sis=χ-*; W.-Cauc. *χ^wažə-.

| Nakh. *χēbc- to change: Chech. *χic-*; Ing. *χuwc-*.

Ing. *χuwc-* is an analogical building after the present *χuwc* (Chech. *χūcu* < *χēbcu).

| Av.-And. *χ^wis- to change: Av. *χis-*; Chad. *χis(n)-*.

In lit. Av. there occurred an assimilation: *χis-* < *χ^wis- (cf. the Chad. form pointing to *χ^wis-). The Avar word was later borrowed in several Andian languages: Tind. *χis-ij-*, Cham. *χis-(id)-*, Kar. *χis-* 'to change'.

| Tsez. *χ^wis- to change: Tsez. *χis-*; Gin. *χis-*; Khvarsh. *χiz-* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *χūz-* (*Tlad.*); Gunz. *χiz-*.

PTsKh *χes- (with unclear -ž- in Khvarshi: a loanword from GB?), PGB *χ^wis- (with a violation of vowel correspondences; cf. Bezht. Khosh. *χūz-* id.).

| Khin. *sis=χ-* to change.

| W.-Cauc. *χ^wažə- to change: Abaz. *h^waž-ra*; Ad. *χ^wažə-n*; Kab. *χ^wažə-n*.

PAK *χ^wažə- Ub. *χ^wažə* (*a-s-χ^wažə-n*) 'to change' should be considered as a loan from Adygh.

[] A common NC verbal root with a rare structure CVRCV. Despite numerous irregularities (variation between *č and *š, secondary voicing in PWC, metathesis in Khin.), it is difficult to separate the listed forms.

*χinkī dumpling (khinkal): Av.-And. *χ^winkV; Tsez. *χ^winkV; Lak. *hawk:u-ri*; Lezg. *χink.

| Av.-And. *χ^winkV dumpling (khinkal): Av. *χ^wink*; Chad. *χenk*; Akhv. *χ^wiki*; Cham. *χ^winč*; Tind. *χ^winkā*; Kar. *χ^winkā*; Botl. *χ^winki*; Bagv. *χ^winča* (Tlis.).

Av. paradigm B (*χ^winkī-l*, *χ^winkā-l*, Chad. *χinkī-l*, *χankā-l/χenkā-l*). The Avar word (with the typical Av. plural ending -al) was borrowed by many other Caucasian languages: cf. Gunz. *χankal*, Ag., Tsakh., Kryz. *χinkal*, Bud. *hinkal*, Ud. *χenq:al*, Khin. *χinkal*, Chech., Ing. *χingal*, Ad. *χənčəL*, Kab. *χančaL*, Abaz. *χənčal*, Georg. *χinkali*. Some Tsezian languages have borrowed also the singular form: Bezht. (Tlad.) *χink* (< Av.), Inkh. *χinke* (< Tind.). Darg. (Ak. *χinki* etc.) and Lak. (*χ^wunk*) forms are also probably borrowed from Avar (or Lezghian) sources.

| Tsez. *χ^winkV / *χ^winkV dumpling (khinkal): Tsez. *hako*; Gin. *χoko*; Khvarsh. *χiko* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *χoka* (*Tlad., Khosh.*).

Tsez. *h-* is irregular (χ- would be expected).

| Lak. *hawk:u-ri* dumplings.

Cf. also Khosr. *hawk:uri* id. The Proto-Lak. form must have been **hIamk:uri*, as seen from the Arch. loanword *haInk:ur(i)* id.

| Lezg. **χink* dumpling (khinkal): Lezg. *χink*; Tab. *χink*; Ag. *χink* (Bursh.); Rut. *χink-ar*; Tsakh. *χink-ar*; Arch. *qonk*.

3d class in Rut., but 4th class in Arch. and Tsakh. Besides the Archi form with *q-* there is a number of other dialectal forms with a uvular affricate: Ag. *q̣ʷaki*, Rut. *qinkij-bir*, Tsakh. *qink-al*, which is all rather strange (all external parallels point to a PEC fricative).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. In PA we should expect **χ:ink:V* with a tense *-k:-*, but there occurred a usual dissimilation in tenseness.

**χinχwV* lamb; young one: Nakh. **χabχV-r*; Av.-And. **χ:unχ:V*; Tsez. **χ:χV*; Lezg. **χiniχ(ʷ)*.

| Nakh. **χabχV-r* a little lamb: Chech. *χowχar*; Ing. *χowχar*.

**-r* is a former plural suffix.

| Av.-And. **χ:unχ:V* 1-year-old lamb: Av. *χ:uχ:*; Chad. *hōh*.

Av. paradigm B (gen. *χ:uχ:ó-l*; Chad. *hōhó-l*, *hūhā-l*). Cf. also Anch. *hunh/honh*.

| Tsez. **χ:χV* 1 young (of birds, animals) 2 children: Tsez. *χexow 1, χexbi 2*; Gin. *χex-be 2*; Khvarsh. *hiha 1*; Inkh. *huho 1*.

PTsKh **χ:χV*.

| Lezg. **χiniχ(ʷ)* boy: Rut. *χiniχ*.

Isolated in Rut., but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The correspondences between PN, Av. and Rut. are fairly good. The PTs form poses some problems: we should rather expect **χ:iχ:V*. We must probably reconstruct **χiwχV* for early PTs, with a development **χiwχV* > **χ:iwχV* (with regular lack of intensification after a resonant) and subsequent assimilation **χ:iwχV* > **χi(w)χV*.

**χōlʷV* (~ -ʷ-) male (animal or human): Av.-And. **χ:irHV*; Tsez. **χ:or A* (~-l); Lezg. **χ:Iol*; W.-Cauc. **χʷə*.

| Av.-And. **χ:irHV* husband: Akhv. *χ:e-we*.

The final *-r* of the root is seen in the plural form *χ:er-a*; cf. also Tseg. *χ:ew*, Tlan. *χ:uw* (pl. *χ:er-ar*).

| Tsez. **χ:or A* (~-l) husband: Khvarsh. *χol*; Inkh. *χol*.

PTsKh **χor*.

| Lezg. **χ:Iola* 1 husband 2 bull-calf 3 calf 4 young he-goat: Lezg. *bul 1*; Rut. *miχIil 4*; Tsakh. *miχIiwa 4* (Gelm.); Kryz. *läh 3*; Bud. *leh / leʷ 3*; Arch. *χ:Iili 2*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *χul* 'husband'. The initial *mi-* in Rut. and Tsakh. is secondary, on analogy with **motol* 'kid'. Arch. has a suffixed form (*χ:Iili* < **χ:IolV-*). The Shakhdagh forms have a complicated history: one can reconstruct a proto-Shakhdagh paradigm **laχ:I*, **loχ:IV-* (strong **χ:I* is indicated by Bud. voiced -ʷ; the Ablaut is preserved in the Kryz. paradigm *läh, luhu-r*). Since other languages

have no trace of Ablaut in this root, it is probable that the form **laχ:I* was an innovative back-formation after the productive model **CaC / *CoCV-* and that the earlier form was **loχ:I* - a metathesis of the PL **χ:Iol*. The early Shakhdagh form was borrowed in Khin. as *lāq* 'calf' (with *q* rendering the strong fricative *χ:I*, absent in Khinalug).

| W.-Cauc. **χʷə* 1 male 2 calf, bull-calf: Abkh. *a-hʷə-s 2*; Abaz. *hʷə-s 2*; Ad. *χʷə 1*; Kab. *χʷə 1*; Ub. *χʷə 1*.

PAT **hʷə-sə*, pl. **hʷə-ra* (cf. Abkh. *a-hʷə-ra*, Bzyb. *a-hʷə-s*, *a-hʷə-ara*, Abaz. pl. *hʷə-ra*); PAK **χʷə*.

The etymological relation of PAT **hʷə* and PAK **χʷə* is quite transparent (cf., e.g., the same combination of meanings in the reflexes of the related PL **χ:Iol*), and the attempts to relate PAK **χʷə* to the verb **χʷə* 'to ripen, to become' (Яковлев 1948, 180, Shagirov 1977,2,112) are obviously folk-etymological. Ub. *χʷə* (compared with PAK **χʷə* by Abdokov 1973, 73) may be an Ad. loan (which is the idea of T. Esenč, see Vogt 1963, 209, and of Shagirov 1977,2,112), but may well also be genuinely related (the phonetic correspondences are quite regular).

[] The comparison is quite plausible phonetically and semantically. The only problem is the vowel *-o-* in PTsKh (< PTs **-ɔ-*); however, the word is attested only in Khvarsh. and Inkh., and thus a reconstruction of PTs **i* or **ə* is also not absolutely excluded (a regular reflex would be PTs **χ:ir*).

See Abdokov 1983, 123.

**χōnV* obstacle, trap: Av.-And. **χVnV*; Lak. *χ:unu*; Lezg. **χ:on(a)*.

| Av.-And. **χVnV* snare, sweep-net: Av. *hin*.

Av. paradigm C ~ A (pl. *hūn-dul / hīna-l*).

| Lak. *χ:unu* diaphragm.

| Lezg. **χ:on(a)* 1 dam, dike 2 trap: Tab. *βun 1*; Arch. *χ:on 2*.

Obl. base not clear (Arch. erg. *χ:ana*, pl. *χ:ono-i*; Tab. *βuni-*). 4th class in Archi.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level.

**χudu(ʷV)* nephew; friend, husband: Av.-And. **χudulV* (~ *q-*); Tsez. **χ:ud-*; Lezg. **χot:ol(:)*.

| Av.-And. **χudulV* (~ *q-*) friend: Av. *hudul*.

| Tsez. **χ:ud-* B 1 husband 2 male: Tsez. *χediju / χedju 1*; Gin. *χoddo 1*; Khvarsh. *χindu* (Radzhibov); Inkh. *χundu 1*.

PTsKh **χud-iju* (Khvarsh. *χindu*, Inkh. *χundu* < (with dissimilation) < *χuddu* < **χud-iju*).

| Lezg. **χot:ol(:)* grandchild, nephew / niece: Lezg. *χtul*; Tab. *χtul*; Ag. *χut:ul*; Rut. *χidil*; Tsakh. *χidil*; Kryz. *χidil*; Bud. *χidir*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *χt:il*, Tab. Kand. *χut:ul*, Düb. *χut:ul*, Ag. Fit., Burk. *χut:ul* (voiceless *-t:-* in all the listed Tab. and Ag. forms is a result of assimilation to *χ-* after a narrow reduced vowel), Ag. Bursh. *χurul*. Kryz. > Khin. *χidil* id.

See Talibov 1960a, 295; Leksika 1971, 129.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

***χulV** (~ **g**-, -**t**-) a wooden vessel: Tsez. ***χ(:**)ulu (~ -**r**-); Lezg. ***χ:**ol(a) (~ -**l**-:-).

| Tsez. ***χ(:**)ulu (~ -**r**-) wooden dish: Gin. *χulu*.

Attested only in Gin., but having probable Lezg. parallels.

| Lezg. ***χ:**ol(a) (~ -**l**-:-) 1 wicker sledge body 2 wooden trough: Lezg. *βul 1*; Rut. *χil 2*.

3d class in Rut. Obl. base ***χ:ola-** or ***χ:olā-** (cf. Rut. Khniukh. *χila-*).

[] A Tsez-Lezg. isogloss. Attested only in three languages, but seems phonetically and semantically reliable.

***χūtV** (~ **χ**-) stalk, grass: Nakh. ***χāl**; Tsez. ***χ:alV** (~ **β**-); Lak. *χ:ulū*; Lezg. ***χalaṭ**; Khin. *χala*.

| Nakh. ***χāl** stalk (of grass): Chech. *χal*.

Obl. base ***χāli-**, cf. Chech. *χēla-*; cf. also the diminutive *χēlig* 'blade (of grass)'. Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Tsez. ***χ:alV** (~ **β**-) 1 thorn, weed 2 goose-foot: Bezht. *χalo 1* (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *χali 2*.

PGB ***χalV**.

| Lak. *χ:ulū* hay.

Gen. *χ:ala-l*.

| Lezg. ***χalaṭ** broad leaf: Bud. *χalaṭ*.

Attested only in Bud. (with a rare in Lezghian suffix ***-ṭ**), but having possible external parallels.

| Khin. *χala* burdock.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular. EC > Osset. *xal / xalā* 'grass stalk' (see Abayev 1989, 134; see *ibid.* some Georg. and Slavic parallels).

***χV̆çV** (~ **x**-) to hear: Nakh. ***χaç-**.

| Nakh. ***χaç-** hear: Chech. *χaza*; Ing. *χaza*; Bacb. *χacar*.

[] The PN root has (as far as we know) no parallels in Dagestan languages, but has good correspondences in Hurro-Urartian: PHU ***χas-** (Hurr. *χaž-*, Urart. *χaš-*) 'hear'. See Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 46.

***χwanhV** fish: Av.-And. ***χ^wam[?]i**; Lak. *hawa*; Lezg. ***χI:an:**.

| Av.-And. ***χ^wam[?]i** fish: And. *χ^wami*; Cham. *χ^wam*; Tind. *χ^wā*; Kar. *χ:^wāj* (*Anch.*).

The notation *χ:^w* in Kar. Anch. is probably a misspelling (*χ^w* should be expected).

| Lak. *hawa* fish.

Cf. Khosr. *halwa* id.

| Lezg. ***χI:an:** fish: Lezg. *βed*; Rut. *χIat* (*Shin.*).

In Auslaut it is possible to reconstruct both ***-n:** (with secondary devoicing ***-n:** > ***-d** > **-t** in the Rutul dialect) and ***-t:**, but external evidence speaks in favour of the first solution.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

***χwārē / *rāχwē** a k. of foliage tree: Tsez. ***riχ:V** (~ **-β**-); Darg. ***χ:^wiri**; Lezg. ***χ:^war**, ***χ:^war-t:**.

| Tsez. ***riχ:V** (~ **-β**-) poplar: Gunz. *riχu*.

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. ***χ:^wiri** lime-tree: Ak. *χur*; Chir. *χ:ire*.

Cf. also Tsud. *χ:ur*, Ur. *χur*, Kub. *χij* etc. Chir. *χ:^war* 'log' may reflect an old Ablaut variant (cf. the situation in Lezghian languages), but also may be a Lezg. loanword.

| Lezg. ***χ:^war**, ***χ:^war-t:** 1 lime-tree 2 log, pole 3 tree 4 ceiling 5 beam: Lezg. *β^war 2*; Tab. *β^ward 2*; Ag. *β^wad 4*; Rut. *χid 1*; Tsakh. *hala-χ:^war 2*; Arch. *χ:at 5*; Ud. *χod 3*.

An interesting root. Several reflexes contain the suffix ***-t:** (observed also in other tree names). The oblique base can be reconstructed as ***χ:or-t:V-** with a regular Ablaut ***a/o**, cf. Tab. Düb. *βurdi-* (in literary Tab. there occurred already a vowel levelling: *β^warda-*, cf. also Lezg. *β^warc:i-*, Ag. *β^wadi-*); this also explains the delabialised form Rut. *χid* (instead of **χ^wad*). The root means 'lime-tree' (whence 'tree' in general in Udi). Lime-tree logs must have been mainly used as poles for planking the ceiling, and this particular meaning obtains in Lezg. (Khliut dialect - in literary Lezghian it means already 'log' in general), Tab. (cf. also *β^warda-n* 'ceiling' - but in Düb. the root preserved the original meaning 'lime-tree'), Tsakh. and Arch. (where the root means the principal holding ceiling-pole). It is interesting that some Rut. dialects preserve the meaning 'log' in compounds (cf. Ikhr. *ala-χ^war* 'a thick log' = Tsakh. *hala-χ:^war*), while the suffixed base ***χ:^wart:** has here only the meaning 'lime-tree'. [Not quite clear is the loss of labialisation in Arch.; for the regular reflex of PL ***t:** cf. Arch. plur. *χ:at:-ur*.]

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An interesting root, denoting originally a lime-tree (or a similar foliage tree), which was used for construction (cf. the construction terms in Lezghian languages). We can reconstruct the old direct base as ***χwārē**, and the oblique one - ***χwōrV-** (cf. the situation in PL and possibly PD). Despite the metathesis in Gunz. (possibly conditioned by analogy with **rāšwē* 'tree, wood' q.v. and some other tree-names), the etymology seems quite plausible.

***χwelhe** (~ **-t**-, **-fi**-, **-a**) furrow, boundary: Lak. *χ:a*; Lezg. ***χ^wel:**.

| Lak. *χ:a* line.

| Lezg. ***χ^wel:** 1 furrow 2 plot (of land) 3 a grass-covered stripe around the ploughed field: Lezg. *χ^wal 1*; Tab. *χul 1*; Ag. *χul 1*; Kryz. *xil 1*; Arch. *χot:on 3*; Ud. *χIal 2*.

The Archi word contains a frequent nominal suffix **-n**. Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *χ^wal*, Tab. Düb. *χul*, Ag. Bursh. *χul*. Obl. base ***χ^wel:a-** (cf. Lezg. *χ^wala-*, Tab. Düb. *χuli-*). 3d class in Kryz., but 4th class in Archi. Initial **x-** in Kryz. is quite irregular - probably result of contamination with *xel* 'trace'.

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss.

*χwěrcV a k. of worm or insect: Tsez. *χ:Vrš:- (~ *b̥w-); Lezg. *χwārčVj.

| Tsez. *χ:Vrš:- (~ *b̥w-) bug, bed-bug: Bezht. χōrsōl (*Khosh.*).

Isolated in Tsezian, but having possible Lezghian parallels.

| Lezg. *χwārčVj 1 worm 2 snake 3 spider: Ag. χuč-*raχan* 3; Tsakh. χoče 2; Arch. χwārši 1.

The meaning 'spider' in Ag. (the same in Arch.: *k̥wēl-χwārši* 'spider', lit. 'skein-worm') is due to contamination with another root, PL *χarVs̥ / *χasVr 'spider' q.v. Cf. perhaps also (with expressive pharyngealization) Ag. Burk. *harčaj* 'grasshopper, locust'.

[] A Tsez.-Lezgh. isogloss; within Tsezian attested only in one language, thus not very reliable. Problematic also is the retention of -rin Bezht. (normally all resonants in clusters are dropped in PTs); this could suggest an old structure like *χwēcVrV with later reduction.

*χwērχV(IV) straw: Av.-And. *χwāχa(r) (~ o); Lezg. *χ:ārχ:āl / *ʔārχ:āl.

| Av.-And. *χwāχa(r) (~ o) straw: Akhv. χwāχa; Cham. χoχa; Tind. χwāχar; Kar. χoχa (*Tok.*).

| Lezg. *χ:ārχ:āl / *ʔārχ:āl 1 straw 2 braked, dressed straw: Lezg. *aḥal* 2; Tab. χirχil 1; Ag. ārchāl (*Shaumyan*) 1.

Cf. also Ag. Tp. (*Shaumyan*) *erbel* 'straw'. A rather strange case of partial reduplication (dereduplication - cf. the external evidence).

[] An And-Lezg. isogloss. A rather uncertain case, because of some unclear features of the stem structure in PL. Still, it seems hard to separate forms like Tab. χirχil 'straw' and Tind. χwāχar id.

*χwərVtV (/ *təχwVrV) foam, scum: Lak. χ:urt; Darg. *χ:urt; Lezg. *χ:urt; W.-Cauc. *təχwərə.

| Lak. χ:urt scum.

| Darg. *χ:urt foam: Chir. χ:urt.

| Lezg. *χ:urt 1 foam 2 scum: Lezg. χurt (*Khl.*) 1; Ag. χurt 1; Rut. χurt 1 (*Shin.*); Tsakh. χurt 1; Kryz. χiti-l 2.

Cf. also Ag. Tp. (*Shaumyan*) *ḥurt* 'foam', unambiguously pointing to PL *χ:-. Obl. base *χ:urti- (cf. Ag. χurtu-, Tsakh. χurti-). 4th class in Tsakh. and Kryz.

| W.-Cauc. *təχwərə foam: Ad. tχwərb; Kab. tχwərəmba.

PAK *tχwər-ba / *tχwərəmba. Ad. > Ub. tχwərba 'foam' (see Dumézil 1931, 211, Shagirov 2, 78). The element *-(ə)m-ba in PAK is not quite clear. Despite Dumézil (1932, 107, 108), the AK form can not be related to Ub. sχwəbā 'foam', since the latter is clearly connected with PAT *sʷaqə 'foam' (< PWC *sʷaq:V q.v.).

[] Except for the metathesis, correspondences are regular, and the EC-WC comparison seems quite satisfactory. See Abdokov 1983, 102.

*χwHōte crumb; stripe: Av.-And. *χ:VIV; Lak. χ:ull; Lezg. *χ:Iʷala.

| Av.-And. *χ:VIV a stripe of cloth (on the grave of the deceased): Av. χ:ūli.

| Lak. χ:ull gravel, road metal.

| Lezg. *χ:Iʷala 1 crumb 2 to break, destroy ('to crumb'): Lezg. *ḥwel* 1; Rut. χilil 1; Tsakh. χliwa 1; Kryz. χʷal jeriž 2.

The PL paradigm can be reconstructed as *χ:Iʷala, *χ:Iolä- (whence the -i-vocalism in Rut. and Tsakh., reflecting the shift of the oblique base to direct). 4th class in Rut. and Tsakh.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The root probably meant some small piece in general (a stripe of cloth, crumb, small stone).

*χwīlL̥V (~ -ā-, -ī-, -ā-) a k. of clothes: Tsez. *ḥiʷlu A; Lak. harč:ala; Lezg. *χIVl̥:V-l(:a).

| Tsez. *ḥiʷlu A trousers, breeches: Tsez. *ḥeʷlu*; Gin. *ḥeʷlu*; Khvarsh. *ḥeʷlu*; Inkh. *ḥiʷlu*; Bezht. χiʷlo; Gunz. χiʷlu.

PTsKh *ḥiʷlu; PGB *χiʷlu.

| Lak. harč:ala cuff; trouser's leg.

| Lezg. *χIVl̥:V-l(:a) fur coat, sheepskin coat: Ag. *χak:ul*.

Cf. also Ag. Burk. *χak:ul* id. Attested only in Ag. (thus the vocalic reconstruction is uncertain), but having probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Although not very widely represented, the etymology seems phonetically and semantically reliable.

*χwīlʔV (~ -fi-) pretence, hypocrisy; whim: Nakh. *χuw (~ū-, -b); Av.-And. *χ:VIV.

| Nakh. *χuw (~ū-, -b) 1 anger 2 whim: Chech. χū 1; Ing. χuw 2.

4th class in both languages. The quality of the final consonant is impossible to establish without Bacb. data.

| Av.-And. *χ:VIV pretence, hypocrisy: Av. χ:ʷel.

Av. paradigm B ~ C (gen. χ:ʷali-l).

[] A Nakh-Avar isogloss. Cf. perhaps Osset. *xil* / *xilä* 'quarrel' (Abayev 1989, 258: the Iranian etymology does not look convincing, and a Caucasian source is probable).

*χwīlʔi (~ -t-, -s-, -c) fat (n.); meat: Tsez. *χ:o A; Lak. hal; Darg. *χIʷali; Lezg. *χIul (χI:-, -o-, -l:).

| Tsez. *χ:o A meat: Gin. χu; Bezht. χo; Gunz. χo.

PGB *χo.

| Lak. hal a skin crease (filled with fat).

4th class.

| Darg. *χIʷali fat (n.): Ak. *halli*; Chir. χIule.

Cf. also Sirg. *hʷale*, Gapsh. χIali etc.

| Lezg. *χIul (χI:-, -o-, -l:) fat: Tab. χIul; Ag. *χal*.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. *χul*, Burk. *χel*. Insufficient data to establish the vowel base or the degree of intensity of initial *χI-.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*χwim(i)(-ə-) sharp stick: Av.-And. *χ:ontV (~a-); Lak. χ:ut̃i; Lezg. *χu(m)̃t̃.
| Av.-And. *χ:ontV (~a-) hook (made of a piece of pine with lopped branches): Tind. χ:aña.

Attested only in Tind., but with probable external parallels.

| Lak. χ:ut̃i fang.

Note also the meaning in the Vikhl. dialect: 'a sharpened stick for separating threads'.

| Lezg. *χu(m)̃t̃ sting: Ag. χut̃; Rut. χud.

Cf. also Ag. Bursh. χut̃. Rut. χud (instead of χut̃) - a contamination with χud 'fist'. The obl. base Ag. χutu- may go back to PL *χute- or *χuti-.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*χwim(V)p̃V gulp, mouthful: Lak. χ:up̃; Lezg. *χump̃(a); Khin. χob;
W.-Cauc. *χʷəm(ə)p̃a.

| Lak. χ:up̃ gulp, mouthful.

| Lezg. *χump̃(a) gulp, mouthful: Lezg. χup̃; Tab. χump̃; Rut. χup̃ (Khniukh.).
3d class in Rutul.

| Khin. χob gulp, mouthful.

| W.-Cauc. *χʷəm(ə)p̃a 1 gulp, mouthful 2 to gulp, lap up: Ad. ja-χʷəmp̃a-βʷ 1;
Kab. χʷəp̃ə-n 2.

PAK *χʷə(m)p̃V- (with irregular deglottalisation in Kab.).

[] An expressive root; however, chance correspondence between Adygh and EC is hardly possible.

*χwīrkV tree, oak-tree: Av.-And. *χ:ʷVrkV; Lezg. *χ:ʷi(r)k.

| Av.-And. *χ:ʷVrkV acorn: Av. hirk.

| Lezg. *χ:ʷi(r)k 1 tree 2 forest: Rut. χuk 1; Arch. χ:ʷak 2.

Cf. also Arch. loc. χ:ʷak:a (characteristic for the reflex of *-k-). Medial *-r- can not be reconstructed on Lezghian ground (*-r- disappears before velars both in Rut. and Arch.), but has to be supposed on external evidence.

[] An Av.-Lezg. isogloss. Probable, but represented only in three languages, and thus not very reliable (note also phonetic problems: if we reconstruct medial *-r-, as suggested by the Av. form, we would rather expect *χʷ, not *χ:ʷ in PL).

*χwōrfiV (/r̃fiōχwV) village, farmstead: Av.-And. *riχ:ʷV-; Lezg. *χlora.

| Av.-And. *riχ:ʷV- 1 village block 2 farmstead: Av. roχ:én 1; God. riχ:ʷal 2.
Av. gen. roχ:á-dul.

| Lezg. *χlora 1 village 2 stone pillar (boundary): Lezg. χūr 1; Ag. Xur 1; Tsakh. χl̃ĩje 2 (Mishl.); Arch. χlor 2.

Cf. also Ag. Fit. χlur, Burk. Xar, Tp. hūr, Lezg. Khl. χūr. Obl. base *χlorā- (cf. the Tsakh. form and also Ag. Xuri-). 4th class in Arch., but 3d class in Tsakh. The meaning in Tsakhur is interesting and, perhaps, archaic.

See Magometov 1966, 342; Leksika 1971, 200.

[] An Av.-And-Lezg. isogloss. Except for metathesis (rather a frequent feature), all correspondences are regular.

An interesting form is Arch. duχ:ur 'farmstead': this is probably an old loanword from Av.-And. with a later Arch. change r- > d- (duχ:ur < *riχ:ʷV-r), thus constituting an etymological doublet with Arch. χlor 'village'.

*zō I (1-st p. pr.): Nakh. *sō; Av.-And. *di-n; Tsez. *dā; Lak. t:u-; Darg. *du; Lezg. *zo-n; Khin. zi; W.-Cauc. *sA.

| Nakh. *sō I: Chech. so; Ing. so; Bacb. so.

The PN paradigm is *sō (nom.), *sa- (gen., cf. Chech. sa-n, Bacb. sa-jī), *as (erg., cf. Chech. as, Ing. az). The length in *sō is regularly shortened, but has been preserved in derivate forms like *sō-nu (dat.) > Chech. sū-na.

| Av.-And. *di-n I (1st p. pr.): Av. dun; Chad. dun; And. din; Akhv. dene; Cham. dī; Tind. de; Kar. den; Botl. den(i); Bagv. dē; God. den.

| Tsez. *dā I (1st ps. pronoun): Tsez. di; Gin. de; Khvarsh. da; Inkh. do; Bezht. do; Gunz. dā.

The paradigm of PTs 1st person pronoun is dir. (nom., erg.) *dā, obl. *di-: cf. Tsez. di, de-, Gin. de, di- (*de-ji-), Inkh. do, di-, Gunz. dā, di-, Bezht. do, di-.

| Lak. t:u- I (obl. base).

| Darg. *du I (1st p. pr.): Chir. du.

Cf. also Tsud., Sirg., Kait., Kub. du.

| Lezg. *zo-n I (1-t p.pr.): Lezg. zun; Tab. uzu; Ag. zun; Rut. zi; Tsakh. zu; Kryz. zin; Bud. zin; Arch. zon; Ud. zu.

The paradigm of PL *zo-n is: dir. *zo(n), obl. *za-, gen. *=iz. Cf. Lezg. zun, za, gen. zi(n); Tab. uzu, gen. jiz; Ag. zun, za-, gen. jaz; Rut. zi, za, gen. iz-di; Tsakh. zi, za-, gen. jiz-in; Arch. zon, za-, gen. -is: (with a specific phonetic development); Kryz. zin, zā-; Bud. zin, zā-; Ud. zu, za-, gen. bezi.

Another archaic PL stem, dative *=ez, has been preserved only in Arch. (as =ez) (although it is possible that Ud. gen. b-ezi is a result of merger of PL *=iz and *=ez).

Cf. Leksika 1971, 228; Giginayshvili 1977, 70.

| Khin. zi I.

The pronoun has a specific paradigm: nom. zi, erg. jā, gen. i/e, dat. as. It is most probable that the erg. form was *jāz and gen. - *iz/*ez with loss of the rare Auslaut *-z (dat. as should be treated as *az + dat. marker *-s).

| W.-Cauc. *sA I (1st p. pr.): Abkh. sa-rá; Abaz. sa-ra; Ad. sa; Kab. sa; Ub. sā-bʷá.

PAT *sa(-ra) (cf. also Bz. sa-rá), PAK *sa. The root (in the Ablaut grade *s(ə)) is used in all languages as a pronoun prefix of the 1st person sing.

[] Cf. also the HU evidence: HU *(j)es- (nom./erg. > Hurr. iš-te nom., iža-s erg., Urart. ješə), *so- (obl. > Hurr. zo-/zu-, Urart. šo-).

The PNC 1-st p. pronoun needs some comments. Like other personal pronouns, it is characterized by unique phonetic features (voiced fricative in PNC, the development *z > *d in Av.-And.-Tsez., Darg. and Lak. /where *d > t:/). However, forms with *d- certainly can not be kept apart from forms with *z, since morphologically they match each other very well.

The direct stem may be safely reconstructed as *zō, sporadically with a

pronominal suffix *-n - *zōn (cf. PA *di-n, PL *zo-n; on Lak. nu and Darg. nu see *ni). A possible trace of *-n is also the -ə vowel in PC: it probably reflects *-ə < *-ō-n with loss of nasalization (without it *-i would be expected in PC). The vowel -u- in Av. (du-n) and Darg. (du) should best be explained by the influence of the 2-d p. pronoun q.v.

The evidence of PN, PHU, PL and Khin. allows to reconstruct three different oblique stems for the 1-st p. pronoun. The one is *zā- /PL *za- = PN *sa-(*sā-)/, the other - *ez(V) /PL *-ez = PHU *(j)es- = PN *as = Khin. as/; finally, the third is *iz(V) /PL gen. *-iz = Khin. i/e/. It is most probable that the third stem is reflected in Darg. *di-, PC *di-, PA *di- (where it lost the initial vowel and became the general oblique stem). In Lak. and HU, where the obl. stem is t:u- and *so- respectively, it is probably due to a merger of PEC dir. *zō- and obl. *zā-.

We may present the following solution for this very complicated picture. The original ergative was *ez(V), preserved in PN as *as; in PHU it became also nominative (merging of erg./nom. in pronouns is rather usual in ergative languages). In PL and Khin. this stem shifted to dative - which is parallel to the general shift of the PEC ergative case in *-sV > PL dative *-s: (note, however, that in Khin. the erg. form jā probably still reflects the same stem *ez(V)). The obl. stem *zā- then took upon itself ergative functions in PL. Finally, the original genitive stem *iz(V) was preserved as such in PL, Khin and (with vowel loss) in PD, PA and PC; in all other languages it was superseded by the general oblique stem *zā- (sometimes even by the dir. stem *zō-).

To sum up: PEC (PNC) dir. stem *zō(-n); erg. stem *ez(V); gen. stem *iz(V); general oblique stem *zā-.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 273; Abdokov 1983, 137.

*zawrV ice: Av.-And. *zari; Tsez. *ž:ara; Lak. zuru-q:alni; Lezg.

*c:or.

| Av.-And. *zari ice, hail: And. zar; Akhv. žari; Cham. zā; Tind. zari; Kar. zare; Botl. zari; Bagv. zar; God. zari.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. zari. In Akhv. the same root served as a basis for the noun and adjective 'cold': *zar-λ^wi / *zar-h^wi > North. Akhv. žaho, žahu-dabe, Tseg. žoler, žola-b, Tlan. ž^warler, ž^warla-b, Ratl. žaλ^wer, žaλu-dab.

| Tsez. *ž:ara 1 ice 2 to get cold: Bezht. za-λ- (Khosh.) 2; Gunz. žara 1.

PGB *zar(a). Bezht. za-λ- (< *ž:ar-λ- with an auxiliary verbal morpheme -λ-). The Bezht. root is superficially close to Andian forms like Tind. saλ- 'to get cold' (< PA *so²-λ-), but the correspondence PA *s- : PTs *ž:- (or *ž:-) is irregular.

| Lak. zuru-q:alni icicle.

The meaning and origin of the component -q:alni is not clear.

| Lezg. *c:or glazed frost: Lezg. c:ur.

An isolated Lezg. word, but having good external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Labialised vowel in Lezg. and Lak. makes us reconstruct a cluster with *-w- in Inlaut.

*zwe you (2d p. plur. pron.): Nakh. *šu; Av.-And. *b-iš:- / *uš:-; Tsez. *miž(:) A; Lak. zu; Darg. *nu-š:a; Lezg. *ž^w[e]; Khin. zu-r; W.-Cauc. *s^wV.

| Nakh. *šu you (2d p. plur.): Chech. šu; Ing. šu; Bacb. šu.

For the short vowel in PN cf., e.g., Chech. dat. šu-na. The PN ergative can be reconstructed as *ʔasV (Chech. aša, Bacb. ajš; Ing. aša has been transformed on analogy with oxa 'we').

| Av.-And. *b-iš:- / *uš:- you (2d p. plur.): Av. nuž; Chad. muž; And. bis:i-l; Akhv. uš-ti / uš-di; Cham. biti; Tind. bis:a; Kar. bišdi; Botl. bišti; Bagv. bišti; God. bitte.

Andian languages reflect a complex stem *b-iš:-di- (or *b-iš:-ti-), with exceptional development of the medial cluster *-š:d-. The stem is originally oblique (< PEC *w-ižwV- with a class marker; cf. also Akhv. ušdi < *u-ižwV- with another class prefix), and the morpheme *-di- most probably reflects the PEC attributive suffix *-dV.

| Tsez. *miž(:) A you (2d p. plur.): Tsez. meži; Gin. meži; Khvarsh. mižo; Inkh. mižo; Bezht. miže; Gunz. miže.

PTsKh *miže / *mižo; PGB *miže. To judge from the Inkh. evidence, originally the stem *miž(:)e was used as ergative (Inkh. miže), and the stem *miž(:)o - as nominative (Inkh. mižo).

The initial labial in PTs *miž(:)e is hard to separate from PA *b- in

*biš:-di-, Av. m- in muž 'you'. This means, that the original oblique (genitive) base *-ižwV- (with the class prefixes *w- or *u-) changed its function to direct as early as in Proto-Avaro-Ando-Tsezian. See below for more details.

| Lak. zu you (2d p. plur.).

Cf. Khosr. z^wi (gen. zu-l) id.

| Darg. *nu-š:a you (2d p. plur.): Chir. nuš:a.

On initial nu- see under PEC *nī. Other Dargwa dialects also reflect the stem -š:a, but synchronically it must be already analyzed as a plural marker (cf. Ak. nu 'I' - nuš:a 'we', hu 'thou' - huš:a 'you'). In Chirag the situation is different - nu- is a collective morpheme, prefixed to -s:a 'we (excl.)' (nus:a), -x:a 'we (incl.)' (nux:a) and -š:a 'you' (nuš:a).

| Lezg. *ž^w[e]-n you (2d p. plur.): Lezg. kū-n; Tab. uč^wu; Ag. ču-n; Rut. we; Tsakh. šu; Kryz. wi-n; Bud. wi-n; Arch. ž^we-n; Ud. wal-n.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. čū-n, Ag. Bursh. č^wu-n, Fit. kū-n. The PL paradigm can be reconstructed as *ž^w[e]-n (nom.), obl. *ž^wa-, gen. *-iž^w: cf. Lezg. kūn, obl. k^we- (Khl. čūn, č^we-, gen. žū < *(u)iž^w-); Tab. uč^wu, gen. ič^w; Ag. čun, erg. če-š, gen. če (Bursh. č^wun, gen. ič^w; Fit. nom./erg. kūn, dat. k^wa-s, gen. kū-t); Rut. Shin. we, gen. uš-di; Tsakh. šu, gen. wuš-; Arch. ž^we-n, loc. ž^wa-t, gen. wiš; Kryz. obl. wā-; Ud. waln, gen. efi.

The original dative stem *-ež^w is preserved only in Archi (wež).

See Bokarev 1961, 66; Talibov 1960a, 301; Giginayshvili 1977, 114.

| Khin. zu-r you (2d p. plur.).

Obl. base sur- (with devoicing).

| W.-Cauc. *s^wV you (2d p. plur.): Abkh. s^wa-rá; Abaz. s^wa-ra; Ad. s^wa; Kab. fa; Ub. s^wə-š^wá.

PAT *s^wa- (cf. also Bzyb. s^wa-rá); PAK *s^wa.

[] The PEC paradigm can be reconstructed as *žwē (dir.), *ežw- (erg., cf. PN *ʔasV, and PL *-ež^w /shifted to dative, the same as with other pronouns/), *ižw- (gen., cf. PL *-iž^w), *žwā- (obl., cf. PL *ž^wa-). PWC *s^wV (as seen from the non-palatalised *s^w) reflects rather one of the non-direct stems.

As with other plural pronouns, Avaro-Ando-Tsezian languages also reflect a non-direct stem (gen. *ižw- or dat. *ežw-) with the class prefixes *w- or *u- (in Akhv. uš-di). The initial nasal in Avar, PTs (and also PD) may reflect the original EC pronominal stem *nī (q.v.) (which could have possibly denoted collective plural); labial m- in some Avar dialects (cf. Chad. muž) and PTs *miž(:)e is probably due to the influence of the 2d person singular pronoun (Av. mun, PTs *mā).

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 273; Abdokov 1983, 137-138.

*žwV a pronominal (demonstr.) stem; thing: Av.-And. žo; Tsez. *žV (~*ž:-); Lak. za.

| Av.-And. žo (Av.) thing: Av. žo; Chad. žo.

Accent paradigm unclear (gen. žo-l, pl. ža-l). Cf. also žá-ni-b, Chad. žá-nu 'inside' (*'in the thing'). Av. > Gin., Gunz. žo, Bezht. (Tlad., Khosh.) žó.

| Tsez. *žV (~*ž:-) a demonstrative pronoun: Tsez. žo; Khvarsh. zi-du (Radzhibov); Inkh. zi-du.

The PTsKh paradigm may be reconstructed as *zo, *zi-, cf. Tsez. zo (nom./erg.) 'that (far away but seen)', pl. *že-di*. In Inkh. only the plural form *zi-du* 'those, they' is preserved.

| Lak. *za* thing.

[] A not quite clear case. The Av. and Lak. forms probably belong together; it is less clear with the PTs pronominal stem *zV-. Still, the etymology seems possible, because abstract words denoting 'thing' in EC languages are quite frequently derived from pronouns (mostly, however, interrogative: cf. cases like Tsez. *šebn*, Inkh. *himon* 'thing' etc.). It seems worth noting also an obscure element in some East Daghestanian pronominal stems: Lezg. *wu-č*, Tsakh. *hi-žo* 'what'; Khin. *sä* 'that' (inanim.); Darg. -š in *i-š* 'this' - possibly reflecting (with some distortions) the same pronominal stem.

*ži we (excl.): Av.-And. *ʔiš:i; Lak. *žu*; Darg. *š:a / *s:a; Lezg. *ži-n; Khin. *jir*; W.-Cauc. *šə.

| Av.-And. *ʔiš:i we (excl.): Av. *niz*; Chad. *niz*; And. *iš:il*; Akhv. *is:i*; Cham. *is:i*; Tind. *iš:a*; Kar. *iš:i*; Botl. *iš:i*; Bagv. *iš:i*; God. *iš:i*.

| Lak. *žu* we.

| Darg. *š:a / *s:a 1 we 2 we (excl.): Ak. *nu-ša 1*; Chir. *nu-s:a 2*.

In PD there existed an opposition *nu-š:a 'we (excl.)' - *nu-x:a 'we (incl.)', directly reflected in Chir. (although the reasons for *š:- > -s: are not quite clear). The 1st part of these compounds is *nu T q.v. Most Darg. dialects - except Chir. - have lost this opposition and have only one pronoun 'we', cf. Ur., Muir. *nuša*, Kait. *nis:a*, Tsud. *niš:a*, Kub. *nis:a*. Moreover, in most dialects the second part of the compound was reinterpreted as some kind of plural marker and influenced the formation of the 2d p. pl. pronoun (Ak., Ur. *huša* etc.).

| Lezg. *ži-n we (excl.): Lezg. *čun*; Tab. *uču*; Ag. *čin*; Rut. *zi* (Shin.); Tsakh. *ši*; Kryz. *zin*; Ud. *b-eši* (gen.).

PL paradigm: dir. *ži-n, obl. *ža-, gen. *-iž, cf. Lezg. obl. *ča-*, gen. *či(n)*; Tab. gen. *ič*; Ag. gen. *ič*; Rut. (Shin.) gen. *iš-di*; Tsakh. gen. *iši-*; Kryz. obl. *žā-*; Ud. gen. *b-eši*. In some languages, where exclusive and inclusive forms merged, this has become the only pronoun of the 1st person plural (thus in Rut. Shin., Tsakh.; in Udi the stem was preserved in genitive, while in other forms the original inclusive base is used). See Bokarev 1961, 66; Giginishvili 1977, 114.

| Khin. *jir* we (excl.).

Khin. *jir* obviously goes back to *zi-r: cf. the obl. base *šir-*. The opposition *jir* - *šir-* is wholly parallel to the opposition *zur* - *sur-* 'you' (2d p. pl.).

| W.-Cauc. *šə we: Ub. *šə-šwá*.

The Ub. 1st p. pl. pr. is the only one which has reliable EC parallels (the EC exclusive 1st p. pl. pr.); despite Dumézil 1932, PAT *ha and PAK *t:a have no connection with it.

[] The common NC exclusive 1st person plural pronoun. Some languages have preserved traces of alternating stems *zi(-n) (dir.), *za- (obl.), *izV (gen.). [There may have also existed an ergative form *ez-, but since the Nakh languages, usually preserving the archaic ergative pronominal stems, have lost this pronoun, it can not be reconstructed.]

In some languages (Lak., Ub., some Lezg. languages and Darg. dialects) this has become the only form of the 1st person plural pronoun (having superseded the old inclusive forms); in other languages (Nakh, Tsezian) the process was reversed and original exclusive forms were superseded by inclusive ones.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 273. Abdokov (1983, 137) strangely enough compares the Ubykh form *šə-* with the PEC inclusive *Lā, which is quite impossible for phonetic reasons.

*3alHṼ fist: Av.-And. *zarhV; Lak. za-k:ana; Lezg. *c:al (?); Khin. c:il.

| Av.-And. *zarhV fist: Av. zar; Chad. zor; And. za; Akhv. zari; Tind. zā; Kar. zaj.

Av. paradigm C (zarú-l, zára-l; Chad. zoró-l/zorí-l, zór-dil).

| Lak. za-k:ana fist.

Cf. also Khosr. zak:ana, dial. (Khaid.) zaknu, zač:ana.

| Lezg. *c:al wing, feather: Arch. cal.

Isolated within Lezghian. (cf., perhaps, Ud. Nidzh. c:ail 'pen' - although there exist phonetic difficulties with this comparison). Phonetically the word corresponds well to the PEC root meaning 'fist' ('bird's extremity?').

| Khin. c:il fist.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The Av.-And., Khin. and Arch. forms correspond well to each other (although there is some doubt about the Arch. meaning 'feather'). The Lak. form raises some problems: first, the second component (-k:ana) is not clear etymologically. Second, we should normally expect Lak. c:- or s:-; z- is a normal reflex of labialised *3w - however, no other language points here to any kind of labialisation. Perhaps the second component was *-k:ana (which would also account for lack of palatalisation k: > č: in literary Lak. and Khosr.) and there was an early assimilation *3a(l)-k:ana > *3a(l)-k:ana in Lak.? Any way, until the nature of the second component will be cleared, the question will remain open.

*3ā3ě thorn, prick: Nakh. *3ē3; Av.-And. *zaza; Tsez. *z:iZV; Lak. c:ac; Darg. *c:a(n)c:i; Lezg. *c:ac:a; W.-Cauc. *c:ac:a.

| Nakh. *3ē3 larch: Chech. zez.

Obl. base *3ē3u- (Chech. zōza-). Attested only in Chech., but having reliable external parallels.

| Av.-And. *zaza 1 blackthorn, thistle 2 thorn, prick: Av. zaz 1,2; Chad. ziz 2; And. zaz 2 (Khaidakov); Akhv. zaža 2; Cham. zaza 2; Tind. zaza 2.

Av. paradigm C (zazí-l, zāza-l; Chad. A is probably secondary: zizi-l, ziz-dal). Av. > Bezht. zaz id.

| Tsez. *z:iZV thorn, prick: Gunz. ziza (Nakh.).

Attested only in Gunz., but having good external parallels.

| Lak. c:ac sweetbrier, eglantine.

Obl. base c:uc:u-. Cf. Khosr. c:ac, c:uc:u- 'thorn, prick'.

| Darg. *c:a(n)c:i thorn, prick: Ak. zanzi; Chir. c:ac:e.

Cf. also Ur. zanzl, Kub. c:ac:e, Kharb. c:anc:i id. -n- in some dialects must be explained by a contamination with the reflex of PEC *3l[1]3V q.v.

| Lezg. *c:ac:a thorn, prick: Lezg. c:az; Tab. zaz; Ag. zaz;

Rut. zaz; Tsakh. zaza; Arch. cac; Ud. cac.

Cf. Lezg. erg. c:ac:uni, Tab.Düb. zaza 'thorn', Tsakh. prop. zaza 'a thorny plant'. Obl. stem *c:ac:ā-, cf. Tsakh. zaza, Tab. zazu-, Ag. zazi-. 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Leksika 1971, 164, Giginayshvili 1977, 84, Talibov 1980, 293.

| W.-Cauc. *c:ac:a spit: Ad. cāca; Kab. zāsa; Ub. caca.

PAK *c:ac:ā (~ *c:asā). Shagirov's (1, 164) morphological analysis of this word is probably faulty: if it really meant 'lance for grilling', the PAK form would be *sasā (cf. PAK *sā- 'burn' and *sa 'knife, lance'). This analysis is also not supported by another meaning of the word, 'table fork' (in Ad., Mozdok dialect of Kab.). We can, however, suppose a secondary influence of the root *sa on the Kabardian form (one would regularly expect *zāza there). External parallels also discredit Kuipers' suggestion about progressive assimilation in Ad. (cāca < *casa); it is rather the Kab. form that underwent an innovation.

Ub. caca may be a loan from Ad., but - if we do not consider the PAK form a composite - it may as well be genuinely related (the correspondence PAK *c: : Ub. c is regular).

[] The correspondences between PEC and PWC are quite satisfactory, both phonetically and semantically. The non-palatalized second *c: in PWC is due to assimilation (in a reduplicated stem; otherwise we would rather expect *c:ā3V). See Trubetzkoy 1930, 276 (with a probably wrong WC etymology, see under *ā3ā3V), Abdokov 1983, 113 (basically correct, but with many superfluous EC forms).

There is a similar root in Kartvelian: PK *3e3w- 'blackthorn, thorny plant' (see Klimov 1964, 234-235, 1971, 229-230; Klimov, however, attracts quite different WC data, namely, PWC *3a 'cornel' or PWC *d^wVd^wV 'awl' - both in fact having other EC parallels). There are also similar forms in Iranian languages (Osset. zaz 'yew', Pers. zāz 'a k. of thorn' et al. - see Abayev 1989, 289 - but despite Abayev, the Iranian source of all these forms is highly dubious).

*3ānk^wV skin: Nakh. *čoka; Av.-And. *č:ik^wV; Lezg. *č:āmk / *kāmç:.

| Nakh. *čoka skin: Chech. čoka; Ing. čoka.

4th class in Chech.; 3d or 4th class in Ing. (3d class - generally, 4th class - 'skin of a wolf, dog, hare etc.'). Cf. also Pharch. čoka, Lev. čwōka.

| Av.-And. *č:ik^wV 1 skin 2 skin (of small animals, but not of sheep): Av. č:okó 2; Chad. čoko 1; And. č:uku 2; Akhv. č:oko 1; Tind. c:oka 2; Kar. č:oko 2; Botl. č:uku 2. Av. paradigm B (č:akí-l, č:aká-l).

| Lezg. *č:āmk / *kāmç: 1 feather, down 2 goat skin, goat wool: Lezg. čakul 1; Tab. zikw 1; Arch. kenç 2.

The Lezg. and Tab. forms point to *č: in PL (conf. the correspondence Lezg. lit. čak-ul : Khl. ck^wal without glottalisation, and the Tab. Kand. form c:ik^w). Archi also has č: (cf. the erg. kenç:i, pl. kenç:um) which is a strong point in favour of the comparison (despite the rather frequent metathesis). The Inlaut nasal must have been labial (to account for its loss in Tab. and lesg. - the dental would have been preserved - and the compensating labialisation of the velar).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Lak. *çuku* 'goat' does not belong here (see **z̥ikV* 'goat'); however, Lak. *çuku-ls:a* 'goat skin' can represent a merger of these two roots. The PL form presupposes rather *-mkthan *-nkw-, thus variants may have existed.

**zəʳV* colostrum, beestings: Av.-And. **çirHV*; Tsez. **c̥* B; Darg. **za*; Lezg. **ç:a²*.

| Av.-And. **çirHV* colostrum, beestings: Av. *ç:o*; And. *ç:iru*; Akhv. *ç:iri*; Cham. *sedʷ*; Tind. *c:ē*; Botl. *ç:ira*; Bagv. *şer* (*Leksika*); God. *c:ira*.

Av. paradigm A (gen. *ç:ó-dul*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *ç:iru* (the U.-Gakv. form contains a specific reflex *-rH- > -d-).

| Tsez. **c̥* B colostrum, beestings: Tsez. *co* (*Kid.*); Gin. *çi*; Khvarsh. *ce* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *cē*; Bezht. *cā*; Gunz. *caj*.

PTsKh **c̥*; PGB **cā(j)* (cf. also Bezht. Tlad., Khosh. *ca*). In PGB we would regularly expect **c̥*; -a- in Gunz. is probably a joint effect of nasalisation and the position before -j. The -j itself is taken from the oblique stem (Gunz. *cija-*, reflecting PTs **c̥ijV-*).

| Darg. **za* colostrum, beestings: Ak. *a*; Chir. *za*.

| Lezg. **ç:a²* 1 colostrum, beestings 2 colostrum cheese: Lezg. *ta-n* 1; Tab. *c:aw* 1; Ag. *t:aʳ* 1; Rut. *daʳ* 1; Tsakh. *da* 1 (*Khaidakov*); Kryz. *täʳ* 2; Ud. *čIain*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *t:an*, Tab. Düb. *zaw*, Ag. Bursh. *t:a²*, Fit. *t:e²*, Burk. *t:ä²*, Ud. Nidzh *čIaji*. 4th class in Rut. and Kryz. In Lezg. and Ud. a suffix -n is present.

See *Leksika* 1971, 204; Talibov 1980, 297.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are fully regular.

**zəIV* plain, plateau: Av.-And. **çir-dV*; Lezg. **ç:ol(:)*.

| Av.-And. **çir-dV* 1 plain 2 plateau: Av. *ç:or* 1; Cham. *ç:edo* 2.

Av. paradigm B ~ C (loc. *ç:oró-re*).

| Lezg. **ç:ol(a)* (~ -l-) plain, plateau: Lezg. *tul*; Rut. *dil* (*Shin.*); Kryz. *tul*.

Cf. also Lezg. Akht. *t:il* id. Obl. base **ç:ola-* or **ç:olä-* (Lezg. *tula-*).

[] An Av.-And.-Lezg. isogloss.

**zəw* sky: Av.-And. **zibu*; Lak. *s:aw*; Darg. **c:ab*; Lezg. **c:aw*; Khin. *c:w̥a*; W.-Cauc. **zʷV*.

| Av.-And. **zibu* 1 sky 2 day: Av. *zob* 1; Chad. *zob* 1; And. *zubu* 2; Akhv. *zō* 2; Tind. *zebu* 2; Kar. *zebu* 2; Botl. *ziwu* 2; Bagv. *zeb* 2; God. *zibu* 2.

Av. paradigm C (*zo-dí-l*, *zoba-l*; but Chad. A: gen. *zobi-l*). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *zobo*, Kar. Tok. *zobi* (with vowel metathesis). Tind. > Inkh. *zebu* 'day'.

| Lak. *s:aw* sky.

4th class. Cf. Khosr. *s:aw* id. There exists also an archaic form *s:uru* 'sky' reflecting the old plural (cf. PD **c:ub-ri*).

| Darg. **c:ab* 1 sky 2 rain: Ak. *zab* 2; Chir. *c:ab* 1.

PD **c:ab* 'sky; rain' (cf. also Kub. *c:ab* 'sky', Ur. *zaw* 'rain' etc.). The plural form **c:ub-ri* is used generally with the meaning 'heaven' (Ak. *zub-ri*, Ur. *zuw-ri* etc.). There exists also a derivate **c:ubar(i)* meaning 'star': Ak. *zubar*, Mek. *zubari* etc. (this is probably also a former plural building).

| Lezg. **c:aw* sky: Lezg. *c:aw*; Tab. *zaw*; Ag. *zaw*; Kryz. *zaw*; Bud. *zəw*.

Obl. stem **c:awi-*, cf. Lezg. *c:awu-*, Tab. *zawu-*, Ag. *zawu-*. Cf. also Tab. Düb. *zaw*, Kryz. Al. *zow*. 4th class in Kryz. and Bud.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 83; *Leksika* 1971, 190; Giginayshvili 1977, 84; Talibov 1980, 293.

| Khin. *c:w̥a* sky.

| W.-Cauc. **zʷV* 1 sky 2 star: Abkh. *á-zʷ-ʷan* 1; Abaz. *zʷ-ʷand* 1; Ad. *zʷā-ðʷa* 2; Kab. *vā-ðʷa* 2; Ub. *zʷa* 1.

PAT **zʷā-ʷanə* (the final -d in Abaz. is secondary). -nə here is a common nominal suffix, and **zʷā-ʷanə* corresponds exactly to PAK **zʷa-ðʷá*. Ub. def. *á-zʷa*.

The meaning 'star' of PAK **zʷa-ðʷá* is obviously secondary (it was acquired after the original 'star' morpheme, **cʷa*, shifted to 'sky' in the compound **wa-cʷa* - see **çʷA*; the two roots have thus 'changed places' in PAK). Abdokov (1983, 93) compares the AT and AK forms with PAK **zə* 'wind, air', which is improbable for phonetic reasons (see PWC **ʃə*).

[] One of the most stable and widely spread roots in NC. Correspondences are regular (labialisation in PWC reflects the original *-w-).

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 276, Abdokov 1983, 93.

**z̥h̥ergwV* (~ **g̥h̥w̥erzV*) beak: Nakh. **zʰok*; Av.-And. **gʷorzV*.

| Nakh. **zʰok* beak: Chech. *zʰok*; Ing. *zʰok*; Bacb. *zok*.

4th class in all languages. Obl. base **zʰak-ar-* (cf. Chech. *zʰakara-*, Ing. with vowel levelling *zʰokaro*). Nakh > Osset. *zix* / *zux*, *çux* 'mouth' (see Abayev 1958, 408-409).

| Av.-And. **gʷorzV* 1 beak 2 cheek: Av. *gozó* 1; Chad. *gozó* 1; And. *gʷorzu* 2; God. *gʷaza* 1.

Av. paradigm B (pl. *goz-bál*; Chad. *gozó-l*, *gazá-l*). Cf. also God. Zib. *goza* 'beak'.

[] A Nakh-Av.-And. isogloss with regular correspondences, but metathesis (usual for roots of this type) in one of the subgroups. Besides -ə- it is also possible to reconstruct -ɨ- or -ə-.

**z̥H̥emVk̥A* ant: Nakh. **z̥h̥Vnka-t* (~ -g-); W.-Cauc. **z̥əməkʷa*.

| Nakh. **z̥h̥Vnka-t* (~ -g-) ant: Chech. *zingat*; Ing. *zungat*.

Cf. also Shar. *zingat*, Itumk. *zʰongat*, Lev. *zingat* / *zintag*. *-t is probably an expressive suffix.

| W.-Cauc. **z̥əməkʷa* ant: Abkh. *a-šəš-kaṃsa*; Abaz. *č-klams* (*Ashkh.*); Ub. *zəngʷá*.

PAT **kaṃəšə* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-šəš-kaṃs*, *a-šəš-klams*). The first component

(Abkh. *šas-*, Bzyb. *šās-*, Abaz. *č-*) is not clear. The PAT form can be related to Ubykh if we assume a metathesis (**kaməšə* < **šVmVkv*) and assimilative / dissimilative processes - which is not surprising in an expressive root like this (cf., e.g., numerous irregularities in the IE root for 'ant' - **morm-* / **morw-* / **bhorm-* etc.).

[] A Nakh-WC isogloss; the reflexes are highly irregular (because of the root's semantic), but the presence in all forms of a front sibilant, a nasal and a velar make the comparison rather likely.

See Abdokov 1983, 124 (Nakh:Ub.; the author adds also several other EC and WC forms which belong to other roots).

**3HVtV* woman, female: Nakh. **3huʃ*.

| Nakh. **3huʃ* 1 bitch 2 woman: Chech. *zud 1, zuda 2*; Ing. *zud 1*.

PN **3huʃ*, **3hute-* (3d class) 'bitch' (for the obl. base cf. Chech. *zuda-*, Ing. *zudo*; cf. also Pharch., Akk. *zud*, Lev. *zʕud* id.). The derivative **3ʕutan* 'woman' exists only in Chech. (cf. Usl. *zudan*, Akk. *zudā*; note that the Lev. dialect in Imnaishvili's notation has no laryngeal here: *zuda* - perhaps a faulty transcription?).

[] The root has no parallels in Dagestan languages, but has a probable match in Hurr. *šid-u/ori* 'maid(en)' (PHU **siʃ-*, see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 28). Urart. *ašti* 'woman; wife' was compared (see *ibid.*, 39) with EC forms like Darg. Chir. *cade* 'female', but in fact may be a prefixed variant of the same HU root.

**3ikV̄* / **kī3V̄* (~ -ā-) goat, kid: Av.-And. **ciiki-r* / **ciḱi-r*; Tsez. **ciḱə* (~ -i-); Lak. *čuku*; W.-Cauc. **kVḱə* (~ k-, -č-).

| Av.-And. **ciiki-r* / **ciḱi-r* kid: And. *ciḱir*; Akhv. *čeke*; Cham. *šeči*; Tind. *ciḱar*; Kar. *ciḱer*; Botl. *ciḱir*; Bagv. *ciḱer*; God. *cekir*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *čekər*, Ratl. *ciḱer*, Cham. Gig. *ciḱir*. Without the suffix -r cf. Bagv. pl. *ciḱi*, Cham. Gig. pl. *ciḱa*, Kar. pl. *ciḱi*; cf. also Kar. Tok. (with irregular vocalism) *ciḱu*. The variant **ciḱir* (reflected in Akhv., Tind., God.) is a result of secondary assimilation (< **ciḱir*).

| Tsez. **ciḱə* (~ -i-) kid: Tsez. *ceki*; Gin. *ceke*.

PTsKh **ciḱə* (~ -i-). This root should be distinguished from PTs **ciḱe* 'kid', although they have actively contaminated with each other.

| Lak. *čuku* goat.

| W.-Cauc. **kVḱə* (~ k-, -č-) kid: Ad. *čaça*; Kab. *čaḱ*.

PAK **kVḱə*. Since there are no AT or Ub. parallels, both plain and palatalised consonants can be reconstructed for PWC.

[] Lak. *čuku* is assimilated from **ciḱu*; on the partial reflection in Lak. of another root, PNC **čūhnV̄* see above. The second consonant, which should have been reflected as **-k-* in Av.-And.-Tsez. languages, became early assimilated to the reflex of initial **3* (**č:* in Proto-Av.-And.-Tsez, > **c* in PTs). Assimilations and metatheses are quite usual in roots of this type (containing two or more stops), thus the unity of all listed forms does not raise any doubts.

**3i[1]3V* hook; buckle: Nakh. **čas̥to*; Darg. **c:anc:i*; Lezg. **c:i[l]ḱ-*; W.-Cauc. **zarəza* (~ ẓ, z̥).

| Nakh. **čas̥to* 1 copper, brass 2 red copper: Chech. *časta*; Ing. *časta*; Bacb. *čas̥t*.

3d class in all languages. Cf. also Cheb., Shar. *čosto* (pointing to **-o* in PN).

| Darg. **c:anc:i* buckle: Ak. *zanzi-bul*; Chir. *c:ac:e*.

Ak. *zanzi-bul* = Chir. *c:ac:i-p:ul* 'belt' (the second component is PD **p:ul* 'loop').

| Lezg. **c:i[l]ḱ-* belt buckle, fastener: Tab. *zic:i-bul* (*Dub.*); Ag. *zaz*; Rut. *zirze-n*.

Cf. also Rut. Khniukh *c:irz-am* < **zirc-*. The quality of the medial liquid is not quite clear. The irregularity of the Ag. form is explained by a contamination with *zaz* 'thorn, prick' (see PL **c:ac:a*). Note the parallelism of Tab. *zic:i-bul* = Darg. **c:anc:i-p:ul*.

| W.-Cauc. **zarəza* (~ ẓ, z̥) hook: Abkh. *a-zarzá*.

Attested only in Abkh., with probable EC parallels.

[] The PN form can be linked with other EC and WC forms, if we assume the original meaning 'brass buckle, smth. made of brass' (with a typical semantic shift 'name of a metal' > 'name of smth. made from this metal'). The quality of the medial resonant is not quite clear; otherwise correspondences are regular.

**3im3V* a k. of berry (or flower, blossom): Nakh. **3a3V* / **3ē3V*; Av.-And. **ci:ci:i*; Tsez. **ciḱi*; Darg. **3i3V* (~ -e-); Lezg. **c:imc:-*.

| Nakh. **3a3V* / **3ē3V* 1 blossom 2 flower: Chech. *zaza 1, zēzig 2*; Ing. *ziza 2*.

An expressive root; the variants *zaza* and *zēzi-g* in Chech. hardly should be kept separate.

| Av.-And. **ci:ci:i* flower: Akhv. *c:ic:i*; Kar. *c:ic:i*.

| Tsez. **ciḱi* flower: Inkh. *ciḱi*.

An expressive root, attested only in Inkh., but having probable external parallels.

| Darg. **3i3V* (~ -e-) blackberry: Kub. *ziza-*.

Musayev cites the word in the locative form *ziza-l*. Since PD **3* usually gives Kub. *s*, the form may be a loanword (cf. Lezghian forms below).

| Lezg. **c:imc:-* 1 mulberry 2 raspberry 3 strawberry 4 buttercup: Lezg. *c:emc:er 1* (*Nūt.*); Tab. *zimz-ar 2*; Ag. *ziwz-ar 3* (*Burk.*); Rut. *zizä*; Kryz. *zarzar 4*.

The word has been partially mixed up with **c:imc:* 'ant' (in Tab., Ag.), but is certainly different historically.

[] An expressive root with numerous irregularities; the reconstruction is rather tentative.

**3ōtV* healthy, whole: Av.-And. **=Vḱ:Vl-*; Lak. *čullu-*; Darg. **zara-*; W.-Cauc. **bəza*.

| Av.-And. **=Vḱ:Vl-* wholly, entirely: Av. *=uḱ:ala-b-go*.

| Lak. *çullu*- healthy; whole, undamaged.

| Darg. **zara*- healthy, whole: Ak. *ara-si*.

Cf. also Ur. *ara*, Tsud. *zara-se*.

| W.-Cauc. **bəza* alive, living: Abkh. *a-bzá*; Abaz. *bza*.

PAT **bəza* (cf. also Bzyb. *a-bzá*).

[] Correspondences are regular (except -r- in PD, which is not clear). The WC form has a frequent labial prefix.

Cf. also Hurr. *šawlə* 'health, prosperity' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 38), suggesting perhaps PEC **ʒōwtV*.

**ʒōnʔū* navel: Nakh. **čan-ku*; Av.-And. **ç:unHV*; Tsez. **cō/B/-t̃/A/*; Lak. *çun*; Darg. **zu*; Lezg. **ç:an*; Khin. *çum*.

| Nakh. **čan-ku* navel: Chech. *çonga*; Ing. *çong*.

Cf. also Chech. It. *çang*. 3d class in Chech., 4th class in Ing. The form contains a suffix *-*ku* (probably a variant of the more usual diminutive *-*ik*).

| Av.-And. **ç:unHV* navel: Av. *ç:inu*; Chad. *çinu*; And. *ç:unno*; Akhv. *ç:un*; Cham. *šūj*; Tind. *c:ū*; Kar. *ç:undu-l*; Botl. *ç:uni*; Bagv. *ç:uni*; God. *c:ini*.

Av. paradigm C (*ç:inā-lzul*, *ç:inā-bi*; Chad. *çinā-ldul* /but also *çinu-l/*, *çinu-jal/çina-l*). Cf. also God. Zib. *c:una*, Kar. Anch. *ç:ūj*. In And. and Kar. (Karata proper; cf. also Rats. *ç:undi*, Tok. *ç:undul*, *ç:unʔul*) there is a dental suffix (usual in words with former *-nH- clusters).

| Tsez. **cō/B/-t̃/A/* navel: Tsez. *co-ʔori*; Gin. *çi-ʔo*; Khvarsh. *ce-ʔona* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *ce-ʔon*; Bezht. *co-ʔaro*; Gunz. *co-ʔor*.

The word is originally a compound ('navel'+nipple, pimple). The PTs paradigm may be reconstructed as **cō-t̃*, **cō-ʔorə* > PTsKh **cō-ʔō*, **cō-ʔoRə*, PGB **ʔor(ə)* (direct base from oblique).

| Lak. *çun* navel.

| Darg. **zu* navel: Chir. *zu*.

| Lezg. **ç:an* 1 navel 2 fruit stone: Rut. *dan* 1; Tsakh. *dan* 1; Arch. *çan* 1; Ud. *c:an* 1,2.

In Rut. and Tsakh. the root has merged phonetically with PL **t:an* 'cheek' (q.v.) and is used now only in compounds (Rut. *uxnid dan*, Tsakh. *wuxnen dan* 'belly's navel'). 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh., 4th class in Arch.

See Giginishvili 1977, 73.

| Khin. *çum* navel.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are fully regular.

**ʒ[u]r3V* to tremble, be afraid: Nakh. **ʒu3*; Av.-And. **zurz-*; Tsez. **z:ir-* / **z:iz-*; Lak. *zurzu*; Darg. **c:erc:er* (~ **z*); Lezg. **zorza-*; Khin. *çiza*; W.-Cauc. *(p)-*ʒV3V*.

| Nakh. **ʒu3* 1 itch; tremble, quiver 2 to itch: Chech. *zuz* 1; Ing. *zuwz-* 2.

Ing. *zuwz-* < **zōbz-*; cf. also Ing. *zowza* 'timid, cowardly', *zowz* 'coward', Chech. *zijz-* (< **zēbz-*) 'to have cramps, convulsions'.

| Av.-And. **zurz-* 1 to lose heart, be cast down 2 to be shivering: Av.

zúrzu-d- 1; Akhv. *zuzu-laχ-* 2.

An expressive reduplicated stem (cf. also Av. *zurzúr* 'dejection, low spirits'), which explains the irregular preservation of *z* in Akhvakh (*ʒ* would be expected regularly).

| Tsez. **z:ir-* / **z:iz-* to shake, tremble: Bezht. *zir* =*eʔäl* (TL.); Gunz. *zizi-ʔ-*.

PGB **z:ir-* / **z:iz-*.

| Lak. *zurzu* tremble, quiver.

Cf. Khosr. *zurzu* id.

| Darg. **c:erc:er* (~ **z*) to tremble, shake: Ak. *zerzer-biķes*.

| Lezg. **zorza-* 1 to tremble, shake 2 ache, pain: Lezg. *zurza-* 1; Ag. *zurz-* 1;

Ud. *zizi* 2.

Cf. also Ag. Tp. *zurza-* 'to tremble, shake'.

| Khin. *çiza* tremble, quiver, shaking.

| W.-Cauc. *(p)-*ʒV3V* to tremble: Ad. -*zazə-n*; Kab. -*zazə-n*; Ub. *bzabzá-*.

PAK **zazə-* (only in the compound **ka-zazə-*; its reflexes, as well as traces of this root in Abkh., see under **kV(-3V)*).

[] An expressive reduplicated stem (both nominal and verbal in most languages). The correspondences are, however, for the most part regular (except for emphatic glottalisation in Khin. and preservation of voiced **z:* in PTs; one would rather expect **s*), and the root can be safely reconstructed for PNC. See Trubetzkoy 1930, 279 (with some confusion of this root and PNC **HlaswA* q.v.), Abdokov 1983, 176.

**ʒwālV* (~-ā-, -t-) god: Nakh. **dāli*; Lak. *zʔal*.

| Nakh. **dāli* god: Chech. *dēla*; Ing. *dāla*; Bacb. *dal*, *dalē*.

| Lak. *zʔal* god.

Labialisation is not marked in Khaidakov 1962, but is marked in some dialectal notes.

[] An interesting Nakh-Lak isogloss (probably having parallels in ancient languages of Asia Minor, cf., e.g., the Hurrian god *Zawalli*). It is possible that the stem goes back (with an -VI- suffix) to PNC **ʒəwī* 'sky' q.v.

**ʒwēre* (~ **rēʒwe*) urine: Darg. **dac:i*; Lezg. **c:ʔera*.

| Darg. **dac:i* urine: Ak. *dac:i* (*Kait.*).

| Lezg. **c:ʔera* urine: Lezg. *c:ʔar*; Tab. *ʒʔur*; Ag. *zur*; Rut. *zur*; Tsakh. *zej*; Kryz. *zir* / *ʒir*; Bud. *zire*; Arch. *cor*.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. *c:ʔar*, Tsakh. Gelm. *zojā* (the Tsakh. Tsakh. and Mik. form *zej* is a later contraction). Obl. stem **c:ʔerā-*, cf. Gelm. *zojā*, Tab. *ʒʔura-*, Ag. *zura-/zuri-*, Rut. *zurú-*. 4th class in all class-distinguishing languages. Arch. *co-ka-* (dur. *co-ku-r*) 'to urinate' is an old compound **c:ʔera* + **ʔekʔi-* (*to put urine) > **c:ʔerʔi-* > *co-ka-* (with regular loss of medial -r-).

See Leksika 1971, 118.

[] A Darg.-Lezg. isogloss.

***zwerhi** name: Nakh. ***ce**; Av.-And. ***çiri**; Tsez. ***c^wā** A; Lak. **ça**; Darg. ***z^we**; Lezg. ***ç^wer**; Khin. **çu**; W.-Cauc. *(P)**ça**.

| Nakh. ***çe** name: Chech. **çe**; Ing. **çi**; Bacb. **çe**.

Obl. base ***çari-** (Chech. **çera-**, Ing. **çero**, Bacb. **çari-**). 4th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. ***çiri** name: Av. **çar**; Chad. **çar**; And. **çer**; Akhv. **çeri**; Cham. **şē**; Tind. **c:era**; Kar. **çeri**; Botl. **çeri**; Bagv. **çer**; God. **c:eri**.

Av. paradigm C (**çarú-l**, **çára-l**). Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tl., Ratl. **çe** (without -ri probably by analogy with the obl. base **ç:e-de-** < ***ç:er-de-**), Cham. Gig. **çeri**, Gad. **çej**, Kar. Tok. **çer**.

| Tsez. ***c^wā** A name: Tsez. **ci**; Gin. **ce**; Khvarsh. **cā**; Inkh. **cō**; Bezht. **caro**; Gunz. **cōru**.

The PTs paradigm: dir. ***c^wā**, obl. ***c^warV-**. Cf. PTsKh ***cā**, ***cāRo-** (reflected, e.g. in Tsez. **ci**, **ciro-**), PGB ***cō**, ***cōrV-** (reflected in Bezht. Khosh. **cā**, **cāra-** - although the nasalisation in the oblique base is here secondary). In Bezht. Tl. and Gunz. the oblique base has replaced the direct one. The vowel correlation PTsKh ***ā** : PGB ***ō** points unambiguously to PTs ***ā** with a preceding labialization.

| Lak. **ça** name.

4th class; obl. base **ça-ni-**.

| Darg. ***z^we** name: Ak. **u**; Chir. **zu**.

Cf. also Ur., Muir. **i**, Kait., Kharb., Tsud., Sirg. **zu**, Kub. **di-bala** (a former 'double' plural form).

| Lezg. ***ç^wer** name: Lezg. **ɬ^war**; Tab. **č^wur**; Ag. **t:ur**; Rut. **dur**; Tsakh. **do**; Kryz. **tir**; Bud. **tur**; Arch. **çor**; Ud. **c:i**.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. **t^war**, Tab. Düb. **zur**. Oblique base ***ç^weri-**, cf. Tab. Düb. **zuri-**, Ag. **t:uri-**, Tsakh. **doji-**. 4th class in all class distinguishing languages.

Cf. Leksika 1971, 142; Giginayshvili 1973, 68, 106; Talibov 1980, 297.

| Khin. **çu** name.

| W.-Cauc. *(P)**ça** name: Ad. **ça**; Kab. **ça**; Ub. **pça**.

PAK ***ça**.

[] A good common NC root. In PWC labialisation was lost, as often, after the preceding labial (which, in this case, is a prefix). Not quite clear, however, is the absence of palatalisation in PWC (expected before an original front vowel); perhaps, we deal with a case of old vowel alternation.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 278; Abdokov 1983, 189-190.

***zwhārī** / ***zwhārī** (~ -ē) star: Nakh. ***ɬhari** (~ -ā-, -ē-, -e); Av.-And. ***ç^warhi**; Tsez. ***c^wā**; Lak. **çu-ku**; Darg. ***zuri**; W.-Cauc. ***ç^wa** (/ ***c^wa**).

| Nakh. ***ɬhari** (~ -ā-, -ē-, -e) star: Bacb. **ɬejri**.

The root is preserved only in Bacbi, but is no doubt archaic.

| Av.-And. ***ç^warhi** star: Av. **ç^wa**; Chad. **ç^wa**; And. **ç:a**; Akhv. **ç^wari**; Cham. **şā**; Tind. **c:aru**; Kar. **ç^waj**; Botl. **ç:aj**; Bagv. **ç^wara**; God. **c:aji**.

Av. paradigm B (**ç^wajī-l/ç^wa-dū-l**, **ç^wa-bī**). Cf. also Cham. Gad. **ç:ā**.

| Tsez. ***c^wā** star: Tsez. **ca**; Gin. **c^wa**; Khvarsh. **ca**; Inkh. **cā**; Bezht. **cā**; Gunz. **ca**.

PTsKh ***c^wā**; PGB ***cā**.

| Lak. **çu-ku** star.

3d class. The root is **çu(r)**, as is clearly seen from the plural form **çur-t:i**. The final -ku may be regarded either as an old diminutive suffix, or as a result of contamination with the PEC root ***çwiko** 'brilliance, spark' q.v.

| Darg. ***zuri** star: Ak. **ur[?]i**; Chir. **zure**.

Cf. also Ur., Kad. **ur[?]i**, Sirg., Kait., Tsud. **zuri**, Kub. **dī/di[?]i**.

| W.-Cauc. ***ç^wa** (/ ***c^wa**) 1 star 2 sky: Abkh. **á-jeç^wa** 1; Abaz. **jaç^wa** 1; Ad. **wā-s^wa** 2; Kab. **wā-fa** 2; Ub. **çwa(n)k** 1.

PAT ***ja-ç^wa**; Ub. **ç^wa(n)-k** with the old singulative suffix ***-kə** (q.v.). Vogt lists also the variant **jaç^wa** (with secondary loss of glottalisation). In PAK the roots 'star' and 'sky' (***z^wA** q.v.) had 'changed places': ***-s^wa** (going back to ***c^wa** with loss of glottalization like in Ub.) meant originally 'star', but lost this meaning in the compound ***wa-s^wa** (where ***wa-** means 'sky' by itself, see ***wa**).

[] One of the most widely spread common NC roots. Despite some variation of the place of the laryngeal, correspondences are basically regular.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 275; Abdokov 1983, 103.

***zwilerz^wŵ** (/ ***zwīnerz^wŵ**) spleen: Darg. ***zilerz**; Lezg. ***c^wilerc^w**; W.-Cauc. ***z^wanVz^wV** (~ **z^wV**).

| Darg. ***zilerz** spleen: Chir. **zilaz**.

Cf. also Kharb. **ur-clerc** 'kidney' - which is a contamination of this root with PD ***urcec** 'kidney' q.v.

| Lezg. ***c^wilerc^w** spleen: Lezg. **c:ūlez**; Tab. **z^welerz^w**; Ag. **z^welez**; Rut. **ziliz**; Tsakh. **zilzam**; Ud. **zizam**.

Cf. also Lezg. Khl. **c:ilaz**, Tab. Düb. **zilirzi**, Ag. Bursh. **zulerz**. Tsakh. and Ud. reflect a form with a plural suffix ***-Vm**. Cf. Talibov 1980, 293.

| W.-Cauc. ***z^wanVz^wV** (~ **z^wV**) 1 spleen 2 rennet, abomasum: Abkh. **a-vanāza** 1; Abaz. **zanāza** 1; Ad. **žanaž** 2.

PAT ***z^wanāza** (~ **-ž-** - because the Bzyb. form is not known); cf. also Abaz. Ashkh. **vanāza**. The Ad. form **žanaž** points to PAK ***žanažā**. It is possible that we should compare also Kab. **žanfa-n** 'intestines (of animal); entrails'. This will support the reconstruction ***ž** (Ad. **ž** : Kab. **ž**), but we will have to reconstruct PAK variants ***žanažā** / ***žanās^wa** (< ***žanāz^wa** with different dissimilational processes).

A regular correspondence for PAK ***ž** would be PAT ***ž** (***ž**) < PWC ***z^w**. Therefore for PAT we must suppose a metathesis of labialisation: ***z^wanāza** < ***žanaž^wa**. The correlation PAT ***žanaž^wa** : PAK ***žanaž^wa** would unequivocally point to PWC ***z^wanVz^wV**. However, the Ad. form **žanaž** allows for still another possibility of reconstruction: PWC ***z^wanVz^wV** (regularly > PAK ***žanažā** > Ad. **žanaž**; > PAT ***z^wanāza** - since /see above/ ***-ž-** is also possible in PAT).

Pace Shagirov (1977, 277), it is absolutely impossible to analyze the PAT form as ***z^wa** + ***nāza**.

[] The root has a complicated structure which causes some dis-/assimilatory processes. Nevertheless, the comparison seems quite reliable both phonetically and semantically.

*3wVmḵV (~ z-) a k. of stone or stone device: Tsez. *z:uḵV B; Lak. zunḵlu.

| Tsez. *z:uḵV B 1 mill funnel 2 mill-race: Tsez. zek-do 1; Gin. zok-da 1; Bezht. zuḵ-la 2; Gunz. zuḵ-la 1 (Gunz.).

PTsKh *zuḵ-dV; PGB *zuḵ-la. Both forms contain rather productive PTs suffixes.

| Lak. zunḵlu a stone plate for fastening roof edges.

Cf. Khosr. zunḵlu id.

[] A Tsez-Lak. isogloss (phonetically and semantically rather probable - taking into account the fact that different mill parts are usually made of stone).

*3wVnč(w)V snow-drift; snowstorm: Nakh. *darc (~ -ā-); Lak. zanc.

| Nakh. *darc (~ -ā-) snowstorm: Chech. darc.

Obl. base darca-; vowel length unclear.

| Lak. zanc snow-drift (in the mountains).

[] A Nakh-Lak. isogloss.

*3ăthī (~ -ō) mane; nap, pile: Av.-And. *zali (~ -o-); Tsez. *z:ā; Lak.

zulū.

| Av.-And. *zali (~ -o-) 1 mane 2 fringe, forelock: Av. zal 1; Kar. zale 1; God. zali 2.

Av. paradigm B (zalā-l, zāla-l). Resemblance to some Turkic forms (< PT *jal 'mane') is purely accidental (Kumyk and Azeri - two languages from which the word could have been loaned - both have jal, not zal or žal).

| Tsez. *z:ā horse's mane: Bezht. zaro (Tlad.); Gunz. zāru.

The PN paradigm must have been *z:ā, *z:aru-, and the PGB form *zāru can only be explained as a merger of the former direct and oblique stems - otherwise there is no way to explain the Gunz. nasalisation (impossible in PTs before -r-).

| Lak. zulū nap, pile.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*3āmV / *mă3V relative, kinsman: Nakh. *3amV; Av.-And. *mVzV;

Lak. mač:a; Lezg. *č:am.

| Nakh. *3amV best man: Chech. zam-ō; Ing. zam-e.

| Av.-And. *mVzV third cousin: Av. máz-iḷ.

Variants máz-iḷ and máz-biḷ are attested.

| Lak. mač:a relative, kinsman.

Lak. > Arch. mač:a-t:u id.

| Lezg. *č:am 1 bride-groom 2 brother-in-law 3 brothers' wives: Lezg. č:am 1; Tab. 3am 1; Ag. zam / 3am 1; Rut. q̄lu-žām 2; Tsakh. q̄la-3am-ar 3.

The Rut. and Tsakh. forms reflect a compound with *q̄l'ā- 'two'. Obl. base unclear (the only vocalic obl. base is Ag. Fit. zamu-).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. It is hard to reconstruct the original meaning of the root: most probably it denoted an in-law in general.

*3ă / *čă a negative particle: Nakh. *ca; Av.-And. *č:i; Tsez. *č;

Lezg. *č:V.

| Nakh. *ca not (negative particle): Chech. ca; Ing. ca; Bacb. ca.

| Av.-And. *č:i not (negative particle): Av. -č:o; And. -č:i; Kar. -č:e; Botl. -č;

Bagv. -če.

One of PA negative particles. In Av. it is used in the past tense (and as a general negative in the compound -he-č:o); in Andian it is rather rare, but it is the most common negative particle in Botl., God., Bagv. and Kar.

| Tsez. *č not (negative particle): Tsez. -č; Khvarsh. -č; Bezht. -eče; Gunz. go-č.

PTsKh *č (used only together with other negative particles). In Gunz. and

Bezht. the morpheme is used only within the negative predicate 'is not' (cf. also Khvarsh. *go-b-či* id.).

| Lezg. *č:V not (negative particle): Lezg. -č; Rut. ž-; Arch. -ču-gu.

This particle forms the negative past in Lezg., general negative in Rut. and dubitative (in conjunction with another particle -gu) in Arch.

See Алексеев 1985, 101.

[] A common EC negative particle; it is still used as a separate word in Nakh, but mostly as a suffix (or in conjunction with other negative particles) in other EC languages. A certain instability of laryngeal features is characteristic for auxiliary morphemes.

*žigV (~ -ā-) hail; rain: Tsez. *z[i]gV / *ʒ[i]gV; Lak. zig.

| Tsez. *z[i]gV / *ʒ[i]gV hail: Tsez. *zigolu*; Khvarsh. *zangeru* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *holo-sigi*; Gunz. *helu-sige*.

PGB **helu-sige* (with **helu-* 'pea(s)'); the Tsez. and Khvarsh. forms (with irregular transformations) probably reflect an analogous compound, but with a reversed order of components. The variation of hissing/hushing reflexes is possibly explained by the original palatal affricate in PEC.

| Lak. zig to rain.

[] A Tsez-Lak. isogloss; not quite regular (in PTs we would rather expect *ž:-), and an old loan is not excluded. Cf. also Osset. *zāγ* 'rain' (from Caucasian rather than from Turkic **jag*, despite Abayev 1989, 292).

*žī self, oneself: Av.-And. *ži-; Tsez. *ž:V; Lezg. *iž; W.-Cauc. *zə (~ z-).

| Av.-And. *ži- (one)self: Av. *zi-*; And. *zi-*; Akhv. *zi-*; Cham. *zi-*; Kar. *ze-*; God. *zi-*.

The reduplicated stem serves as a quantor pronoun ('all') in Cham.

| Tsez. *z:V (one)self: Tsez. *zo*; Gin. *zo*; Khvarsh. *zu* (*Radzhibov*); Bezht. *žu*; Gunz. *žu*.

PTsKh *zo, PGB *zu.

| Lezg. *iž (one)self: Lezg. *žuw* (1-2 pers.); Tab. *žuw* (1-2 pers.); Rut. =iž; Tsakh. =iž; Kryz. *iž* (2d cl.); Arch. *inž*.

The stem originally referred only to the 1st/2d classes (the 3d and 4th had a separate reflexive pronoun), and this situation persists in Tsakh., although other languages have modified it in different ways.

The obl. base of this pronoun must be reconstructed as *z^wi- (1st cl.), *ze- (2d cl.), cf. the Lezg. and Tab. forms (going back to the original oblique base) and Rut. *žu-* (1), *ži-* (2), Tsakh. *žu-* (1), *že-* (2), Arch. *žu-* (1), *že-* (2).

See Giginayshvili 1977, 114; Алексеев 1985, 73-74.

| W.-Cauc. *zə (~ z-) self, oneself: Ad. *jaž*; Kab. *jaza*.

PAK *ja-zə. The first part goes back to the demonstrative pronoun *ja (q.v.). The Ad. form is ingeniously explained by Shagirov (1, 172) as a contraction from the erg.-obl. case *jaz-š < *jazə-š (-š is the normal ending of this case in Ad. pronouns, but *jaž* in the Bzhedugh dialect has no ending either in the erg.-obl. case or in the nominative case).

Because of an obvious connection in EC, Yakovlev's etymology of *zə (= *zə 'one', see Yakovlev 1948, 69, 143, Shagirov 1, 173) should be abandoned.

[] A common NC reflexive pronoun; the EC and WC forms were first compared by Trubetzkoy (1930, 274). See also Abdokov 1983, 140. PL preserves the paradigm of this pronoun in the most detailed form: as seen from the Lezghian evidence, *žī was originally an oblique stem (followed by class and case suffixes), while the direct stem was *ižV - i. e., most probably, the same *žī, but with prefixed class markers. Av.-And.-Tsezian languages use the stem *HinV- (q.v.) as the oblique stem. It is possible that *žī was a general oblique stem, while *HinV- was used in the dative/genitive cases.

*žVgwV spindle: Lak. *zuka*; Lezg. *č:uk:.

| Lak. *zuka* spindle.

Cf. Khosr. *zuka* id.

| Lezg. *č:uk: spindle: Ud. *žluk:*.

Isolated in Ud., with a possible Lak. parallel.

[] A Lak-Lezg. isogloss; the reconstruction is tentative, because the presence of the root only in two languages (of which one is Udi with a rather poorly preserved phonology) allows for many variants of reconstruction.

*žw[ē]t twig, rod; sheaf: Av.-And. *ž^wala; Lezg. *č:āl; Khin. c:al.

| Av.-And. *ž^wala 1 broom, besom 2 branch 3 rib 4 rod 5 root, carrot: Av. *zul* 1; Chad. *zul* 1; And. *zala* 2,4 (*Gudava*); Akhv. *zala* 4; Cham. *zala* 4; Tind. *heλ:ab* *ž^wala* 5; Kar. *eseboλ*: *ž^wala* 3; Botl. *zola* 3,4.

Av. paradigm B (*žulī-l/žulá-l*, *žulá-l*; Chad. *žulī-l/žulú-l*, *žulá-l*). Tindi has preserved only a compound with *heλ:ab* 'root'. Cf. also Cham. Gig. *zala* 'rod, stick, rib'; Kar. *eseboλ*: *ž^wala* 'rib' (lit. 'side stick') = Cham. *esib-zala* (Gad. *esi-zala*) id.

| Lezg. *č:āl 1 sheaf 2 fringe, tassel: Lezg. c:ul / k:ul 1; Ag. *ž^wal* (dial.) 1; Rut. *ž^wal* 1; Tsakh. *žol* 1; Arch. *č^wal* 2.

Cf. also Lezg. Nüt. *k:ul*, Khl. *č:ul*, Tsakh. Gelm. *ž^wel* 'sheaf'. The Ag. form is cited from Magom., and the dialect is uncertain. 3d class in Rut. and Tsakh., but 4th class in Archi. To judge from Tsakh. Gelm. *ž^weli-*, the oblique base can be reconstructed as *č:ālī-.

| Khin. c:al sheaf.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. The vocalism is not very secure (if the Andian form with -a- - *zala* - could be regarded as a loanword from some other Andian language, and we could reconstruct *-o- for PA, it would be possible to reconstruct *-ē- for PEC).

*žwēmV (~ -ə-, -ō-) mouth; chin: Av.-And. *ž^wina (/ *ž^wima); Lak. *zuma*;

Lezg. *č:Vm-.

| Av.-And. *ž^wina (/ *ž^wima) chin: And. *zuna*; Akhv. *zono-λ:i*; Tind. *zina-λ:u*; Kar. *zono*; Bagv. *zuna* (*Tlond.*).

Cf. also Kar. Anch. *zomo*, reflecting the more archaic variant with *-m-; in all other languages *-m- > -n- through dissimilation.

| Lak. *zuma* edge, end; mouth.

Cf. also the derived *zumu-r* '(horse-)bit', Khosr. *zumur* id.

| Lezg. *č:Vm- mouth: Ud. *zoImox*. The Ud. form (where -ox is obviously an original plural suffix) is isolated within Lezghian (thus not allowing for a proper vowel reconstruction), but with good external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Correspondences are regular.

*ǰw[ǰ]n?i (~ -ē) wine; honey: Av.-And. *zono; Tsez. *š(:)aj (~ -ā-); Lak. *zini*; Lezg. *č:on (~č:~-, -i-, -n:); W.-Cauc. *s^wa(nə).

| Av.-And. *zono 1 wine 2 grape juice 3 syrup: Av. *za* 1; And. *zono* 2,3; Tind. *zana* 1; Botl. *zana* 1,2; Bagv. *zana* 1 (*Kvan.*); God. *zana* 1.

Av. paradigm B ~ C (gen. *za-dúl*). Av. > Bezht. *za* 'wine'.

| Tsez. *š(:)aj (~ -ā-) wine: Tsez. *šaj*; Khvarsh. *ša*.

PTsKh *šaj (~ -ā-).

| Lak. *zini* brewer's yeast.

| Lezg. *č:on (~č:~-, -i-, -n:) wine: Arch. *čon*;

The Archi word is cited from Dirr 1908 and seems to be already extinct by now; however, it has very probable cognates outside Lezghian.

| W.-Cauc. *s^wa(nə) honey: Ad. *s^wawə*; Kab. *fow*; Ub. *s^wanə*.

PAK *s^wawə. The AK-Ub. comparison see in Rogava 1956, 87, Dumézil-Esenç 1975, 148, Shagirov 2, 100-101. Although none of these authors could offer a satisfactory explanation of the strange correlation AK *-w- : Ub. *-n-, the parallel still seems satisfactory. All other suggestions (comparison with PAT *cəxa 'honey' in Abdokov 1973, 71; comparison with PAT *c^wa 'wax' and PK *c^wil- / *c^wid- id. in Rogava 1956, 87, Klimov 1969, 291) should be rejected for phonetic reasons.

[] The EC-WC parallel seems quite probable both phonetically and semantically. The first vowel is not quite clear (because of assimilations and labialisations in EC reflexes); to judge from PWC *s^w-, it must have been a short back vowel.

*ǰagV a k. of shrub: Av.-And. *ǰaga; Tsez. *ǰ:agV.

| Av.-And. *ǰaga cherry-tree: Av. *ǰagá*; And. *ǰaga* (*Khaidakov*); Akhv. *ǰaga* (*Tlan.*); Cham. *ǰaga/ǰaga* (*Gig.*); Tind. *ǰaga/ǰaga*; Kar. *ǰaga/ǰaga*; God. *ǰagá*.

Cf. also Akhv. Tseg. *ǰaka* (with an irregular k). Some of the forms may be borrowed from Avar.

| Tsez. *ǰ:agV 1 raspberry 2 a thorny bush: Bezht. *ǰagi ordo* 1 (*Khosh.*); Gunz. *ǰagi* 2.

PGB *ǰagi (Bezht. *ordo* 'berry').

[] An Av.-And-Tsez. isogloss. It contains a rare PA phoneme (*ǰ), thus may be ultimately a loanword - although the source is not clear.

*ǰāq^wV a k. of small bird: Nakh. *ǰaq; Av.-And. *čiq^wa(ra); Tsez. *čeq; Lezg. *č:aq^w(a).

| Nakh. *ǰaq a k. of small bird: Chech. *maz-ǰaq*.

The 1st component of Chech. *mazǰaq* 'жулан' is *maz-* 'yellow' q.v. The word is isolated in Nakh, but has good external parallels.

| Av.-And. *čiq^wa(ra) 1 quail 2 sparrow 3 bird: Av. *zužuk* (*Mikailov-Saidov* 1951) 2; And. *čaq^wara* 1; Akhv. *čīqa* 2,3; Kar. *č^wa[?]ara* 1.

The Av. word is attested in the Russian-Avar dictionary; it is reduplicated, but otherwise phonologically regular. In Proto-Andian an assimilation (*ǰ- > č-) had occurred; note also the irregular preservation of labialised q^w (which should have passed into -k- like in Av.), and the irregular nasalisation in Akhv. All these features must be explained by the expressive character of the root.oot.

| Tsez. *čeq bird: Gunz. *čeq*.

Isolated within Tsezian, but with good external parallels.

| Lezg. *č:aq^w(a) bird, small bird: Tab. *ǰaq^w*; Ag. *ǰaq^w*.

Oblique base vowel and class unknown. Cf. also forms: Tab. Kand. *ǰaq^w*, Düb. *ǰāqa*, Ag. Bursh. *ǰaq^w*.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. There are certain phonetic irregularities (assimilation *ǰ- > *č- in PA and PTs, with following dissimilation *čeq > čeq in Gunz., absence of velarisation *q^w > k in PA) which must be explained by the expressive nature of the root.

*ǰa[r]qV sow, pig: Nakh. *ǰarba (~ -ā-); Darg. *ǰaqa; Lezg. *ǰaqV-j.

| Nakh. *ǰarba (~ -ā-) sow, pig: Chech. *ǰarba*; Ing. *ǰarba*.

4th class in both languages. There are not enough data to establish vowel length. Nakh > Osset. *ǰārɣ* / *ǰārɣä* (see Abayev 1958, 395).

| Darg. *ǰaqa pig, boar: Chir. *ǰaqa*.

Cf. also Muir., Gapsh., Kait., Kub., Kharb., Tsud. *zaqa*.

| Lezg. **zaqV-j* piglet: Lezg. *zeqi*.

Attested only in Lezg., thus the PL reconstruction is not quite certain (although there are secure external parallels).

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Except for a somewhat irregular behaviour of the medial resonant (we should expect its preservation in Lezg.), correspondences are normal. At least the PN-PD comparison is quite valid; the Lezg. form, since it is quite isolated in Lezghian, may be an old loan from Darg.

**žawV* kidney; gall: Nakh. **žim*; Av.-And. **žV(bV)*; Tsez. **žebu* B; W.-Cauc. **žə*.

| Nakh. **žim* kidney: Chech. *žim*; Ing. *žim*; Bacb. *žĩ*.

Obl. base **žamu-r-* (cf. Ing. *žomar-*) / **žima-* (Chech. *žima-*). 6th class in all languages.

| Av.-And. **žV(bV)* kidney: Av. *ba^šar-žo*.

Cf. also *úrhis:a-žo* id. In modern Av. the component *-žo* here is perceived as *žo* 'thing' ('red thing', 'inner thing'); this is obviously a folk etymology, and Av. *-žo* = PTs **žebu* etc. It is interesting to note also Arch. *žan* 'spleen' which must be a borrowing from old Avar (but contaminated with Av. *žan* / < Pers. / 'soul').

| Tsez. **žebu* B liver: Tsez. *žubi*; Gin. *žubo*; Khvarsh. *žiba* (*Radzhibov*); Inkh. *žubu*; Bezht. *šebo*; Gunz. *šebu*.

PTsKh **žubə*, PGB **šebu*; a metathesis of vowels must be assumed for PTsKh.

| W.-Cauc. **žə* gall: Abkh. *á-z*; Abaz. *az*; Ad. *zazə*; Kab. *zaz*; Ub. *-ca* (?).

PAT *(a)*žə* (cf. Bzyb. - in Marr's notation - *á-ž*); PAK (reduplicated) **zazə*. Ub. *-ca* may be observed in *č^wa-cá* 'gall' - assimilation from **č^wa-zá* (?); note that Ub. *zaza* 'gall' (recorded by Dirr), as well as Abaz. *zaz* (coexisting with the genuine *az*), is an Adygh loanword.

The correspondence PAK, Ub. *z* : PAT **ž* points to PWC **ž*.

See Trubetzkoy 1930, 86; Shakryl 1968, 25; Abdokov 1973, 52; Shagirov 1977, 205.

[] The PN form has been transformed under influence of **stim* 'gall' q.v. Otherwise the correspondences are regular.

For phonetic reasons, as well as because of another quite satisfactory etymology, one must give up the comparison of PWC **žə* with Av. *c:in*, PN **stim* etc. 'gall', proposed by Trubetzkoy (1930, 278; see also Shagirov 1, 205).

**žaršV* tambourine: Nakh. **žiršə*; Av.-And. **žiršin*; Lak. *č:iršillu*.

| Nakh. **žiršə* tambourine: Chech. *žiršə*; Ing. *žaršə*.

4th class in both languages; *-a-* in Ing. is not clear.

| Av.-And. **žiršin* tambourine: Av. *žerbén*; Akhv. *žibi*; Tind. *žibin*; God. *žiršin*. Av. paradigm B (*žerbá-dul*, *žerbá-bi*). Initial *ž-* in modern Andian languages

is rather strange and makes one suspect that the word can be in fact a borrowing from a Nakh source (in Chech. and Ing. the literary spelling is with *ž-*, but in fact many dialects have preserved the common Nakh *š*, whereas in Av.-And. the shift **ž* > **ž* occurred very early).

| Lak. *č:iršillu* tambourine.

[] An expressive root; the PEC antiquity is somewhat dubious, because in fact we deal with a Nakh-Lak. isogloss (the Av.-And. forms may be borrowed from Nakh, see above).

**žāžV* meat: Nakh. **žič-ik*; Lak. *č:ič:i*.

| Nakh. **žič-ik* meat: Chech. *žizig*.

An isolated Chech. word, but with some external parallels.

| Lak. *č:ič:i* meat (nursery word).

[] A Chech.-Lak. isogloss; a reduplicated nursery word, thus the PEC antiquity is quite dubious. Cf. also Osset. *žizə* 'meat' (see Abayev 1958, 397) < Cauc.

**žhōžV* inner fat or pus: Nakh. **ž^ož* (~ -č); Tsez. **ž:ž:ž:* (~ -ž).

| Nakh. **ž^ož* (~ -č) inner fat: Chech. *ž^ož*.

Obl. stem *ž^oža-*.

| Tsez. **ž:ž:ž:* (~ -ž) inner pus: Bezht. *žož*.

Cf. also Bezht. Khosh., Tlad. *žož* id. Attested only in Bezht., but having a probable Nakh parallel.

[] A Nakh-Tsez. isogloss.

**žhūmV* bush, grass; a k. of fruit: Nakh. **ž^olVm* (~ -ā-); Av.-And. **žumi* / **žimi*; Tsez. **žumal* (~ š-, š:-); Lak. *žunaw*; Darg. **č:unab*; Lezg. **žulm* (~ -o-).

| Nakh. **ž^olVm* (~ -ā-) small bushes, shrubs: Chech. *ž^olam*.

Attested only in Chech., but having probable external parallels.

| Av.-And. **žumi* / **žimi* 1 cornel 2 grass; powder: Av. *žulám/žulán* 1; Akhv. *žomi* 2; Tind. *žimi* 2; Kar. *žimi* 2; Bagv. *žim* 2.

Av. gen. *žulámu-l*. Cf. also Akhv. Tseg., Tlan. *žumi*, Kar. Tok. *žumi*. Av. *žulam* is a reflex of the old derivate **žum-Vl* < **žhūmV-tV*.

In Akhv. and Tind. the word for 'green' is derived from 'grass' (Akhv. *žomo-ā:i*, Tind. *žimi-ā:a*).

| Tsez. **žumal* (~ š-, š:-) bushes, shrubs: Gunz. *šumal*.

Attested only in Gunz., but having probable external parallels.

| Lak. *žunaw* cornel.

Cf. also Khosr. *č:unaw* id.

| Darg. **č:unab* cornel: Ak. *žunab*.

Cf. also Kait. *č:imbe* (plur. tant.), Tsud. *č:unab*. Chir. *žunaw* is obviously a loan (either from another Darg. dialect, or from Lak.).

| Lezg. **žulm* (~ -o-) 1 quince 2 cornel: Lezg. *žum* 1, *č:umal* 2; Tab. *čimil* 2; Ag. *žimil* 2; Rut. *žim* 1; Tsakh. *šum* 1; Kryz. *žum* 1, *žimel* 2; Bud. *žumal* 2.

Lezghian languages reflect a suffixless **žuIm* 'quince' and a suffixed form **žuIm-al* 'cornel' (both forms have parallels in other EC languages). Forms with voiced *ž-* (*ž-*) in Lezg., Tab. and Ag. dialects must be due to interdialectal borrowing (cf. also Lezg. Kur. *žumal*, Kuba *č:umal* id., Tab. Düb. *čimil*, Ag. Burk. *žimil*, Bursh. *čumel*, K. *čimail* 'cornel'). 3d class in all class-distinguishing languages.

See Talibov 1980, 271.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Several subgroups reflect a PEC derivate **žhūmV-tV* (sometimes, with metathesis > **žhūtVmV*). Because of a specific and identical metathesis of nasality, it is highly probable that either the Darg. forms are borrowed from Lak., or vice versa - although it is difficult now to establish the direction of loan. The form **žhūtVmV* (or **žhūtVm-bV*, with a plural suffix) is attested already in Hurr. *zilumba* 'date of the Phoenix dactylifera' (whence it was borrowed into Sum. *zulum(m)a*, Akkad. *suluppu*, see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 41).

Despite Khaidakov 1973, Kum. *čum* 'berry, cornel' can not be the source of Caucasian forms (although it is a probable source of the isolated And. (cited from ibid.) *čum* 'cornel'). Within Turkic the root is known only in modern Kumyk, Balkar and Turkmani, thus with high probability is itself borrowed from some Caucasian (or closely related) language. Caucasian origin is also quite probable for Osset. *cim* / *cumā* 'cornel' (see Abayev 1958, 321).

**žikwÄ* / **kīžwÄ* short: Av.-And. **čik:V-*; Lezg. **č:ikV-*; W.-Cauc. **kačwə*.

| Av.-And. **čik:V-* small, short (in height): Cham. *čik:u-b*.

Attested only in Cham., but having possible external parallels.

| Lezg. **č:ikV-* short: Tab. *ziq:i*; Ag. *zaq:e-f*; Rut. *žik-di*; Tsakh. *?žiṭa-na*.

There are difficulties with the second consonant: the Tsakh. form may be explained as a contraction of **č:ik-t:V-* (with an old adjective suffix); but the uvular in Tab. and Ag. is unclear.

See Khaidakov 1973, 107.

| W.-Cauc. **kačwə* short: Abkh. *a-kač*; Ad. *čačə*; Kab. *čaš*.

PAK **kačə*. Identifying **ka* as 'tail' and treating the PAK form as 'empty-tailed' (thus in Shagirov 2, 134) is obviously a folk etymology. The Abkh. word may be, but not necessarily is, an AK loanword (phonetic correspondences are quite regular here).

[] An expressive root with two stops; in such cases metatheses and assimilations are common in NC languages (although this makes the reconstruction less secure). Cf. also Hurr. *zugə* 'small, short' (see Diakonoff-Starostin 1986, 41).

**žiIV* (~ -ē-, -ā-, -t-) wattle; pen: Nakh. **žēlu*; Tsez. **ž(:)irV* (~ -i-, -l-); Lezg. **žVI-* (~ ž:-).

| Nakh. **žēlu* sheep-fold: Chech. *zōla*; Ing. *žel*.

4th class in Chech., 6th class in Ing. Cf. also Cheb. *žjēlo*, Ved., Itumk.

žjēla.

| Tsez. **ž(:)irV* (~ -i-, -l-) wattle-fence: Tsez. *želi*.

Attested only in Tsez., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **žVI-* (~ ž:-) wattle-fence: Lezg. *žalan*.

The word is isolated in Lezg. and its PL antiquity is rather questionable; we do not know, however, the source from where Lezg. could have directly borrowed the word.

[] The PN, Tsez. and Lezg. words are no doubt connected, but the PEC antiquity of the root is dubious: Tsez. could have borrowed it from Nakh, Lezg. - from some other source (PL reconstruction is dubious because the word is attested only in Lezg. proper, and because PL **ž-* is a rather rare reflex of **ž-*; if the word were genuine, we would rather expect PL **č:-* > Lezg. *č:-*). Therefore the PEC reconstruction is very tentative in this case.

**žimžV* (~ ž) a biting insect; leech: Av.-And. **žunžu* (~ **ž'inžV*); Tsez. **žužV* (~ ž:); Lezg. **žimžVrV* (~ -n-).

| Av.-And. **žunžu* (~ **ž'inžV*) 1 bug 2 insect 3 ant 4 fly: Av. *žinžra* 1; Akhv. *zožo* 2; Cham. *žuž* 3; Tind. *žunžu* 3; Kar. *žužun* 4; Bagv. *žunžu* 3.

Cf. also Cham. Gig. *žužu*, Gad. *žunž* 'ant'.

| Tsez. **žužV* (~ ž:) 1 ant 2 wasp: Khvarsh. *žuž* 1; Inkh. *žuža* 1.

PTsKh **žuž(a)*.

| Lezg. **žimžV* 1 leech 2 spider 3 cicada: Ag. *žimžaχ* 2 (Burk.); Kryz. *žinžira* 3; Arch. *žinžru* 1.

Both Ag. and Arch. have suffixed forms (in -aχ, -ru); cf. also Ag. Fit. *žinžaχ* 'spider'.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. An expressive reduplicated root, but with quite satisfactory correspondences. Cf. a similar root in Kartvelian: **žinčwel-* 'ant'.

**žwātV* dung, excrements: Av.-And. **č:witi* (~ **č:-*); Tsez. **žinṭu* (~ ž:-, -i-); Lezg. **č:wāt(a)* (~ -a-).

| Av.-And. **č:witi* (~ **č:-*) diarrhea: Chad. *čweti*; Cham. *šet*.

Av. Chad. paradigm B or C (gen. *čweti-l*). Cf. also Cham. Gig. *č:eti*. Unfortunately, the root is not attested in other languages, and we can not distinguish here between PA **č:* and **č:*.

| Tsez. **žinṭu* (~ ž:-, -i-) sheep's dung: Tsez. *ženṭu*.

Attested only in Tsez., but having probable external parallels.

| Lezg. **č:wāt(a)* (~ -a-) dry dung: Arch. *čwāti*.

The root is attested only in Arch., but has probable external parallels.

[] Reconstructed for the PEC level. Some irregularities (weakening or deglottalisation of the first consonant) are conditioned by the root's structure (two stops) and expressive semantics.

**žwě* now, today: Av.-And. **ži*; Tsez. **ž:e* A; Darg. **ža-^sal(i)*; W.-Cauc. **žwə*.

| Av.-And. **zi* today: Av. *zá-q:a*; And. *ze-^sal*; Akhv. *ze-^sla*.

Kar. *ze-li* (Tok.).

Cf. also And. (Khaid.) *ze* 'today' (representing the pure root); Akhv. *ze-reše*, Kar. Tok. *ze-rexina* 'this year'. Except the Andian form, all the reflexes are compounds with **q̣:wi* 'day', **laHi* 'day, time' or **rišin* 'year'.

| Tsez. **z:e* A 1 now 2 today: Tsez. *za-qluλ* 2; Gin. *zi-qu* 2; Khvarsh. *ze-qu-λ* (Radzhibov); Bezht. *ze-nsa* (Khosh.) 2; Gunz. *ze* 1.

PTsKh **ze-qu* (for the second part see PTs **qu*); PGB **ze*. Cf. also another PTs derivate: **z:e-n(ɔ)* 'and now' > Tsez. *zin*, Gin. *zin* 'again, once more', Bezht. *zena*, Gunz. *zen* 'still, once more'.

| Darg. **za-ʕal(i)* 1 today 2 tomorrow: Ak. *zaʕall* 1; Chir. *zaʕle* 2.

A compound with an unclear second part.

| W.-Cauc. **zʷə* now: Abkh. *wažʷə*; Abaz. *uzʷə*.

PAT **wa-zʷə* (cf. also Bzyb. *wažʷə*). For the component **wa-* cf. PAT **waçʷə* 'tomorrow', **waqV* 'night, tonight' etc.

[] A common NC monosyllabic adverb (frequently used in compounds, but also attested independently). Correspondences are regular. See Abdokov 1983, 185.

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 bunch(of grapes) *kVdwa
 bundle *kwingwV, *kwačV, *k'wēc(w)V, *xorosV, *mōxV
 bundle (of onions) *kwīncV
 bundle of sheaves *ʔilsV, *qurʔV
 bundle (stack) of sheaves *lār3V
 burden *qōgV, *x[i]ʔiV
 burdock *panGVihV, *apāiqwē(-, *uelyV, *ʔāmqV
 burn *-ōgwV, *-iēwV
 burrow *Gwōʔi
 burst *-ēxwV(i)
 bush *kwēnVdV, *Gwāji, *qwaiv, *kVdwa, *ʔhūmV, *hākwV
 butt *-adV
 butter *rēnχwA, *lənV, *dāizV, *kāmpā, *H3ēmi, *xarHV
 butterfly *pārVpāiv, *pōrV, *čimVčV
 buttermilk *lārHV
 buttock *xhwiwχV
 button *ilcwV
 cabin *pa3ō
 cake *kVrkV, *yimgwV(IV), *bVmkwE(IV), *kwikwV
 calf *qōmkā, *wHilčV, *qHarčV, *GačV
 call *-ēxwV
 cane *Hnācwē, *čāʔV
 canine tooth *gāmčwV, *gōl3wē
 canyon *qāqā
 cap *qHapE, *jāiV, *xarqwē
 caraway *hwa3māwV
 carcass *GanχV
 carpet *jamāV, *člraq
 carriage *hwākwē
 carry *-iχV, *-āčwV, *-HigV(r)
 cartilage *qām[i]zV, *hričV, *čaxV
 cat *gātut(JV)
 catch *-ācE(n), *-igwV
 catch fire *-HēwχV(n)
 caterpillar *clrvχV
 cattle *bhārgwV, *rVxwV, *xHwōiV
 cattle (horned) *pān3wV
 cattle-shed *bēxV
 cauldron *kumkV

cave *rīgwa, *ʔēnirgwV
 cavern *ʔēnirgwV, *cwarχV
 cavity *xāro
 ceiling *GawV
 cereal *q[i]rV, *mōhwV, *bhēičlnV, *rho3V, *wVičV, *hwaVgabV, *č[e]hiv, *čHoiqV, *sūli, *dičwi,
 *čwiʔe, *xhiwja, *gwVnV, *hwa3i, *qumqV
 cereal (oats, barley) *hnārqwē
 cerement *musurū
 chaff *nēgwē, *čHwckē
 chain *lēxV
 change *χimčV, *-HirfVr
 charcoal *LahV
 cheek *xhwiwχV, *čwVihV, *kalwV, *wīse, *dānʔi, *χinčV
 cheese *Hnāwē, *xarHV
 chest *kirV
 chew *-ēčV-m-
 child *wVdVrV, *hVičV, *dwirχE, *qVlē, *nanV
 chin *3wēmV, *kalwV, *kVčV, *čānV
 chip *xhwaχV, *cwēxV
 chisel *Hā3zV
 choose *-ōrčV
 chop *-ōrqV, *HirgwVr
 chopped piece *qāiwV
 churn *kwVmdarV
 chute *mVqViV, *gwim(V)gV
 circle *girgwV, *gwērV
 clay *māičV, *čHādV, *hēn(V)swi, *pāipV, *čHēpl, *lu3zV
 clean *Hā3ē-m-, *Hā3ē-m-
 clear *-Vlww
 clear up (of weather) *-Hu3Vn
 clearing *HēVrē
 cleave *-ičwēn
 cleft *kīsV, *qViV
 cliff *qwiā, *xwēhlu
 clip *-VrgwE, *-VGAl
 close *HōGwē(n)
 close to *xwE
 close up *ʔēmšwV, *-ōnčwV
 cloth *xāmwV, *nimswV
 clothes *gwīrdwV, *xwīlV, *kūčwV, *šlāatV
 clothes (for legs or feet) *HpādV
 cloud *diliwV, *mārāwA, *kwimhV, *ʔāmsa, *rēnāwV
 cluster *GhimbV
 coal *kārV, *HāmpV
 coat *qērVqww
 coat of mail *qērVqww
 cobble-stone(s) *xānχwV
 cobweb *nimswV
 cock *dadV, *dVGV(w)V
 cock's comb *HincwV
 cold *mhēlāe, *ʔwēni, *čwErHV, *swāHV
 collar *qHwōiwV
 colostrum *3ōrV
 colour *wārčwō, *lōli

comb *qwanɿV, *hrɛ̃wɛ, *HɛrɿwA
 come *-ɜɪV, *-ɪɿA, *-VʔwV(r), *-ɪɿwV, *-VmɿV, *-ɪɿwɛ, *-HuqŮn
 (coming of age >) marriage *mhɛngV
 compensate *-ɪɿA
 conceal *Hɪrɿwɛ, *-unɜɛ
 concealment *ɛwəɿ
 conifer *daro
 coniferous tree *hwmɿɿɛ, *hwɿɿɛ
 cookie *kwɿkwɿ
 copper *HVRɛɿV
 copulate *-ɜɿV, *-chwV
 cord *ɿhwɜrV
 corn *ɛɔdwi, *qHwɔɜɿA
 corn-bin *wɛrɜɿV, *qunɿ
 corner *mɪrɜɿwɛ, *kwɛkɛ, *bVɿɿV, *ɛɔmV
 cottage cheese *Hnɿwɛ
 cough *qɛɿV
 count *-ɪɿwɛɪ
 cousin *qarɿHɿV
 cover *hGunu, *ʔapVɿV, *Hɔɿwɛ(n)
 coverlet *ɿɿrɿ
 cow *ɿHwɔɿV
 crack *-ɿrkɿr
 cradle *ɛwɔpV
 crane *qɜrɔqɿwV
 crawl *ɛɿwɿV, *kwVrV, *GwɛɿV
 crawl *ʔVɿV(r), *HVɿwɿA
 create *HVɿU
 crib *hwɿɿɿV(nV)
 cripple(d) *cHɔɿɿGV
 crooked stick *hmɿhwɿ
 crop *ɛɿwɿV, *kwVrV, *GwɛɿV
 crossbeam *ɿwɛɿɛ
 crow *qHwɿV, *bHɔɿV, *Ghɿwɿmɔ, *qɛnɿɜ
 crowd *qɿhwɿɿɜ
 crown of a tree *kwɛnVdɿ
 crumb *ɿwHɔɿɛ, *ɛɿmɿV
 crumble *-ɪɜwVɿ
 crush *-VɿVn
 crust *qwaɿV
 cry *-ɛɿwV, *HmɿɿwV
 cubit *rɛmɿɛ
 cuckoo *gugu
 cucumber *nVɿwɿA
 curdle *-ɿwVr
 curd *Hɜɛmɿ
 currants *awɿɛ
 curse *sVrdV, *sVrdV, *-Vxwɛn
 curved *ɛɿkwV, *kɿɿwɿ, *qHwɛmɿV
 curved body part *kɛmhV
 cut *-ɿwV, *HVrɿA, *-ɿɿV, *-VɿɿA, *-ɿɿwɛn, *-ɔrɿV, *HɿrɿwVr, *HamɿV
 cut (in parts) *-Vrɿwɛ
 cutting instrument *mɿɿV
 cutting or chopping instrument *wɛnsɛ

damn *-Vxwɛn
 dance *-ɿɿwV, *HɔɿV
 dandruff *kɛnmɔ
 dangle *-aɿVɿ
 dark *mɿɿV, *ɛVndV, *ɿɿwɿV, *-VɿV
 daughter *-ɿwɛ
 daughter-in-law *nɿsA
 dawn *hwɛrɿ
 day *rɿhV, *mɿɿwɿA, *ɿɿɿV, *HwɿɿV, *ɿwɛmɿV
 day after tomorrow *swVH(r)V
 dead body *rɿqɿwɿ
 deaf *bHɛsɿwV
 debt *nHɿɿV
 deceive *-ɿ(r)ɿwVr
 deep *ʔwVrɿV
 deer *bHɛmɿɿ, *whɿswɛ, *ɿHwɔrɿɿɔ, *ɿɿHmV
 defeated *-HurɿV, *-aGwV(n), *ʔɿsV
 defecate *-ɔɿwɿVr
 defect *ʔunɿV
 demonstrative pronoun *ɿV, *ɿwV
 demonstrative pronoun (that) *ʔu
 demonstrative pronoun (this, that) *mV
 dense *GwɿmV, *ɿɿɿmV, *HɿrɿV, *-Hrɿɿɛ, *ɿVɿsV
 descend *-ɿsV
 destroy *HarG(w)V, *-ɿɿV, *HɔɿVn-
 detail of a spindle *ɿɿɿV
 detain *-VɿwV
 devil *qhwVrɿV
 dcw *ɿɿɿmV, *ɿɿɿ(w)V
 diarrhea *pɿɿwV, *ɿɿV, *ɿHɿwV
 die *-ɿwɿɛ
 die out *-ɿɿwV-
 die (plur. subject) *-ɿɿwV-
 dig *-HarɿwV, *HrɿkwV
 dip *-VrɿwA
 dirt *GoɜV, *bHɿV, *nɛqɿwɿ, *kwɔpɿ, *ɿɛmɿV, *ɿɛmVɿɿ, *swɜrɛ, *ɿwɿɿwV, *ɿwɿmɿwɿ,
 *ɿHrɿwV, *bHɿncwɿ, *pɔɿpV, *pɿdV, *pHulɿɿ, *qɿnVɿwV, *rɔɿɿ, *pHɿɿwɿ, *ɿHɿwɿA,
 *mHɿqɿwV, *mHrɿwV, *bɔqɿwV, *HkɔɿV, *ɿɿwɿV
 discharge *Hɿɿ-tu(j)V
 distribute *-ɿɿV
 ditch *ɿHɛrɿwɿ
 divide *-ɿɿV, *-HmɿV
 do *-ɿwV(r), *-Hɔɿɛ
 do up *-ɔnɿwV
 dock-tailed *qanɿɜ
 doe *GwɿɿA
 dog *ɿHwɛɿɛ, *gwaɜɛ, *ɛɔrbV
 doll *nɿnV
 donkey *gwaɜɛ, *hɿmV, *dHogwɿ
 door *rɛɿwV, *ɿhɿnɿ, *ʔɔnɿwɜ, *HrɔmɿA, *mHɿɿnɛ
 door-fold *rɛɿwV
 door-hinge *HrɔmɿA
 door-jamb *ɿhɿnɿ
 door-mat *kVmɿwV

dough *hāwāi
 down *pīdwV
 down (adv.) *HVqV, *āi
 drag *-HigV(r)
 dragonfly *čHa[i]χV
 dream *-VwāVn, *hēmāā
 drink *uqV, *HVqVr, *-VčV, *-āmzū, *-Hoāāi
 drip *-iV
 drive *-ārēw, *-VčV, *-aθV
 drizzle *čōwqi
 drizzling rain *čādV
 drop *iHānō, *kanjV, *ōngwV, *-iV
 dry *iGwā, *-i[i]čwē, *-iGwā
 dry stalks as fuel *čīndV
 duck *bHōmV
 dull (of weather) *HōrčwVn
 dumpling (khinkal) *χīnkī
 dumplings *guri
 dung *iūrV, *čHīqāwā, *k[u]rčV, *buV, *mVčwV, *GHīGī, *āwāiV, *θwerV
 dung of sheep *āi
 dungwash *čāwnV
 dust *kwōpī, *ičmīV, *laqū, *āaxwA, *pāipV, *pHāχV, *Hrēmkwī, *gwītV, *qīdV
 eagle *čwāmōV
 ear *wānV, *ičHīc
 ear (of corn) *χ[i]jī, *wēχV, *iugV
 early *wVnā
 ear(of corn) *kVdwā
 earth *čHāiū, *nēcwi, *čHādV, *iōmVāi, *jōmčV, *ihēmLwī, *hēn(V)āwī, *gwanzū, *qārē, *āniV
 earthenware vessel *kārV
 eat *-i?wV, *-VčV, *i?kwVn
 edge *bāihō, *māwīē, *māāčē, *dōmpe, *mūrāwē, *-āhV, *mhōrčū, *kwēkē, *whōrāi, *āVmV
 egg *gīlīgV, *qVwVqV, *qWāqW(-iV), *qWōrnV, *kVrčV(-nV)
 eggplant *hānēwē
 eight *būnē
 elbow *gīlī, *qHwāniV, *āwīV
 embryo (of an egg) *āraaV
 emit *-āwēā
 emphatic deictic particle *bV
 emphatic demonstrative stem *hā
 empty *hāčē, *āāV, *qHōrV
 enclosure *bVrkV, *LwēiV, *čhāle, *hāāāV, *wārāV, *qōnV, *xwVrV, *kīrt(w)V, *HdūrV
 end *bāihō
 end (of loaf) *Ghwanāwā
 enemy *hāGā
 enough *āwqV, *-āqVn
 enter *-āāū, *-iχwV
 entrails *kīrV
 equal *-ā[r]āwā
 erect *-āGV
 ermine *darqV
 even *nāwčV, *-ā[r]āwā
 evening *hāičwV, *bVāV, *āwēV, *rVmāā, *bāgā

ewe *χ[i]rV
 excrements *čēxwA, *pidV, *k[u]rčV, *āwāiV, *θwerV
 excrement *mījwī, *hūnī, *bhečV
 extinguish *-Hī[i]wVn
 extremity *HāpV
 extremity (anat.) *mēhōwV
 eye *wīlī?
 eyebrow *nHēmōV, *Hārāwā, *čhōwē
 eyelash *nHēmōV
 eyelash (in comp.) *čīV
 face *hwVmVī, *nHāiV, *jHāiāē(-nV), *-āhV, *māje, *māāwV, *Hārāwā, *šumVāV
 fade *čVχV
 faeces *bHāiV, *hūjV, *bōqV, *čīV, *Hrēmkwī, *GHīGī
 fall *Hraāwē, *-aχV, *-ēxV, *-ačwV, *-ā[r]kV, *-iāwV, *-ūāV, *-ākāw
 fallow *qVrē
 fang *gāmčwV, *gāiāwē, *qāmčV
 far *-āχV, *-inčwV, *qāVrV
 farmstead *kīū, *māxwē, *xwōrāV
 fat (n.) *māhV, *hānhV, *āēnV, *xwVmV, *χwīlī?
 fat (adj.) *čēnāV, *-HrVjē, *-ūčē(rV)
 father *ōbV(jV), *bābāV, *dāV, *ēemV
 fear *hVmčV
 feather *pīdwV, *pVhVīV, *wVāV
 feed *-Vqē
 feed on *-i?wV
 feeding-trough *iwonē
 feel pain *jVkVr-, *āāē
 felt cloak or boots *qē[r]V
 female *ā(w)īrV, *āināV, *āVkwV, *āHōjV, *čwōjV
 female breast *nānV, *biāā, *kīkī
 fence *qWīndō, *kāuV, *LwēiV, *čhāle
 ferment *-HīčV, *-Vrē
 few *čwāqV
 fiancé *mVxwA
 fibre *māčū
 field *qWīrV
 fight *-Vgā(w), *-VrV, *LēiV, *-Hāxwān
 fill *-āōčV
 filter *iāur-, *āā[m]čV, *-iāwVn
 find *-HārāV(n)
 finger *iīV, *kāā, *iwiī, *bōšV
 finger-nail *māāā
 fire *čāi
 firewood *āwīndV, *dūčV
 first cousin *qar[i]V
 flash *xwānhV, *čēχV/, *bVāwA, *čHārV, *kVm(V)čV
 flat *āāHō, *fīmkV
 five *iā
 flame *HmVrā
 flash *iāpV
 flat surface *qWānV
 flea *čwīnhV
 flesh *rāāi
 flight *pīrV

flint *mHōK(V)čV
 flock *čwīlV, *γwār(V)īŃ, *HlīžwŃ
 floor-cloth *kVmšwV
 flour *hāwāi, *qHwārčV, *wVlqŃ
 flow *-l̥xwV, *-VrcV, *HVqVr, *čHaχV
 flower *dVh̄wV, *kVkwV, *iVjV
 flowing *nVkwV
 fluffy hair *pabE
 fly *-Hl̥χV, *pirV, *-ōrsA, *jōmjo, *bīnžē
 foam *xwamV, *χwārVīV
 fog *k̄wīm̄hV, *rēnāwŃ, *mūsi
 fold *-ig(w)Vr
 foliage tree *χwārē, *nūlxV, *wērxi, *philV, *moāorV, *čwhēil, *burVzV, *HšwimV
 foliage tree (alder) *mīhV
 foliage tree (asp, poplar) *wēqwV
 foliage tree (linden, asp) *qērHV
 foliage tree or shrub *w̄mārčō
 food *HārēāpV, *iwerjV
 food made of milk *māswV
 foot *lēihV, *čV(i)k̄wV, *kHwanēV, *iwiāV, *GēbV, *bīmiŃ
 foot-wear *jiriχV
 footwear *šwakV
 forefoot *iwiāV
 forehead *čēndū, *HāāwV, *hārāwē, *nHājV
 foreign *HVq̄wV
 forelock *k̄olēwi, *kwējV
 forge *žākŃ
 forget *-eqwVn
 form *kwījēV
 fortification *bōicE
 foundation *lerjwe
 four *hēmōi
 fox *chwōlē
 frame *bVrk̄wV
 freckle *k̄wim̄je, *jēmīV, *iVn̄kō
 freckles *qVrjwV
 freeze *-Hl̄GĀ, *-lrGwVr, *-oēōr-, *-HōχwV
 fresh *-VčwV
 friend *χudu(i)V, *čūqā
 fright *hVm̄čV, *nVhV
 fringe *čōiči, *šimīšŃ
 frog *q̄wVrVqŃ, *čHwājV
 front *wī(-rV)
 fruit *pīrgwā, *k̄urmāšV, *žhūmV, *cwīrV, *žēqV, *čwājnV
 fruit (apricot, damson) *k̄urVk̄V
 fruit stone *lēkV, *k̄am̄k̄V, *q̄wamV, *gagV
 fruit-garden *žēqV
 fry *-l̄(i)čwē
 full *-hōčV
 fumes *w̄l̄nḠV, *čl̄iχwV
 funeral stretcher *bV̄m̄l̄Vrē
 fur-coat *gār̄pV
 furrow *χweihē

gadfly *k̄arā, *n̄hāāwŃ
 gall *žāwV, *čwājmē
 game *čwēn?V, *čHwōr(i)lo
 gap between stones *q̄VjV
 garlic *lēmžl, *k̄wīnčV
 gate *kāuV
 genitals (mostly female) *pūi
 get cold *-Hl̄GĀ, *-lrGwVr, *-HōχwV
 get into *-agwV
 get lost *-čwVn, *-lgwVī
 get sour *žēčwā
 ghost *q̄hwVrīV
 girder *čhwiū
 girdle *jērāwV
 girl *ril̄wi
 give *-l̄ēV, *-l̄ēA, *-VīŃ
 give birth *-Hl̄q̄wā(n), *HVλU
 glide *V̄V̄V(r)
 glitter *iapV
 glue *-aswVn, *-HVl̄k(w)Vn
 gnaw *-ččV̄m̄
 go *-žīV, *-HimGwV, *-l̄xwV, *-gr̄l̄Ń, *-V?wV(r), *-l̄xwV, *-Vm̄l̄V, *-V?wVn, *-ac̄Ān, *-Huq̄Ńn, *-ār̄k̄ēw
 go down *HraāwE
 go out (of light) *-Hl̄(i)wVn
 go to ruin *-arčwV
 goat *čūhnV, *žl̄kŃ, *žēžwē, *čimV, *gēžwV, *Gamčā
 goat (wild or domestic) *mūšVrV
 god *žāmsa, *bičē, *žwāiV, *čžambi
 goltre *q̄winV
 gold *mVlāē, *rēwčwi, *ril̄(w)e, *iV̄iV(wV)
 good *V(n)žV, *HVχwV, *-ln̄kwV, *-VčwV, *wēnāwē
 gooseberry *GHabrišwE
 gorge *k̄l̄wīV
 gossip *Gwātho
 grain *q̄wVīVqV, *q̄wāq̄wV(-iV), *mōhwV, *k̄Ńrk̄Ń(-nV), *lēkV, *hām̄k̄i, *q̄wamV, *gagV, *uidwarV, *qumqV
 granary *l̄wībV
 grandfather *babajV
 grandmother *jajV
 grape *žēqV
 grass *wicV, *žhūmV, *χērō, *wexU, *χūiV, *mVl̄V(-iV), *čVrV, *HwVrdV, *hōrtV, *wēl̄V, *mHolžwV, *šānšū, *šērčV, *jVrgē, *iVn̄gV, *q̄wVčV
 grasshopper *q̄amVčV
 grave *mōšwV, *fl̄wī
 gravel *χHērχV
 graze *h̄l̄rV, *-āžV
 grease *māh̄wV, *xwVmV
 green *hVčwīlV, *HmīčwV, *šīnV
 green colour *GožV
 grey *HčwārV, *HčarV, *čVχV, *būrV, *q̄VhwVrV, *sVrV
 grind *HēmχwV
 grindstone *jal̄χa(-nV)
 gristle *q̄ām̄jV, *čaxV
 groin *l̄wVn?V
 ground *čHālu, *gwanžū, *mēl̄žV

group *gwapV, *qāwīqā, *ywar(V)ıŋ
grow *-cg(w)V, *-VŋV, *-HıgE
growth *mıjwı
grumbling *būrŋV
guard *hıfV, *-aŋV, *Hūqwa
guest *qVmbVıV, *HıŋŋwE, *LōıV, *xal?V
bullet *garV, *cŋwıŋV
gulp *-VŋV, *xwıw(V)ıV
gum *dān?ı, *xelxamV, *sımv, *sawānŋı
gum (in mouth) *kērkv
gutter *mVŋVıV
hall *ŋıgV
hair *cŋhwāra, *mērA, *kıwıV, *cūrŋıV, *ıaswE, *wVıV, *ŋ(w)āw?ı, *k(w)ıwı
hair-lock *cōıŋı
half *-eŋE, *hāmŋE, *hıxwV
hammer *bııVgwi, *kādŋV, *kwıŋı, *gānı
hand *xōra, *kwıı?ı, *mehwŋV, *bııakV, *bōŋŋV
hand-bone *xōra
handful *mHōŋı, *gēmıV, *kēmV, *mōŋŋV, *mār[ı]ı
handle *mōŋŋV, *kūn?V, *cōıŋıwı, *būŋV
hang *-enxVr
hank *kweıV, *cık?ı
hard *cēbV, *HamŋwA, *LwērV, *bVıV
hare *qHanŋV, *LārV, *Gwōr?e
harrow *barhV, *mō[n]ıgV
harvest *xōmŋV
haz *qHapE, *ıaıV
haunch *wēnŋŋV, *GHĠGV
hawk *uacV
haystack *GwHŋbŋV, *xāıV
haze *cııxwV
he-goat *dVrŋwV, *ııgV
head *wēnŋV, *hŋwēmV, *māhııı
healthy *ŋōıV
heap *gwapV, *Gwānme, *bhēkV
heap of grass *HrVŋŋV
hear *-eŋu, *-ıqE, *xŋŋV
heart *jērkwı
hearth *ānārGwi, *hVııagE
heat *-ērŋŋV
heavy *hēŋwV
hedgehog *qHanŋV, *kHūŋV, *hVııŋE, *qHwırdV, *qVŋŋV(rV)
heel *k?ar(V)ŋV, *qHwōŋwV, *ıınGwŋV, *qHwVıV
heifer *qHarŋV, *HŋwııV
height *bārŋV, *ŋawŋV
help *ywa?ı
hem (of a garment) *mēŋV, *HLūnV
hen *pāHıV, *wēnVŋwE, *HwēıŋE, *gwāıa
herd *HıŋŋwV, *HnēıŋwŋV
hero *kwŋnVıV
herpes *hıaıwŋı
hew *-aıwV, *-VwŋA
hiccup *hōnŋV
hide *-unŋE
high *-ŋqE, *-āGV, *qā?VrV

hill *ıanV, *rēGV, *baHōıV, *bhēkV, *GwıntV, *qHwVŋV
hill slope *mıŋwŋV
hilt *mōŋŋV
hind *rāŋŋwE
hip *jamdurV, *?āıGı
hit *-hıwV, *-VgA(w), *-ıŋV(w), *HıŋA, *-VıVw
hoar-frost *dwlıŋı, *saŋ(w)V, *jansE, *sırvıV
hoc *gaŋā
hold *-āGAr, *-ıgV, *-VıwV
hole *cŋwıŋGwV, *bHōrŋE, *qHwaŋı, *kHwārV, *Gwōııı, *ghwāndŋV, *hwaŋmgV, *khalŋV, *wōıV, *kōŋV, *G(w)ēdV, *k[ıŋ]ıV
hollow *xāro, *qHwaŋı, *hōŋE, *gwVnıV, *ıerıwe, *wārŋV
hollow tube *ŋwōıV
home-brewed beer *cōhwa
honey *ŋw[ŋ]n?ı
(honey) > sweet *HnēHwŋV
honeycombs *cŋwııV, *HıwōrV
honorable *bıŋŋV
hoof *mıŋV, *cV[ı]ŋwV, *bımıŋV, *sāıkwV
hook *GhŋnVŋE, *cōkwV, *ŋıııŋV, *cāpV, *kıŋwı, *qHwēmŋV
hooked *cōkwV
horn *wēnŋV, *kōıŋwı, *hŋwēmV, *LwıŋV, *qwıŋV, *bıŋŋwV
horn (for powder or drinking) *qūrV
horned animal *LūrdV, *būıV
hornless animal *qHwōnV
hornless goat *Gwāıā, *qHōcV
horse *hıııŋwı, *farnE, *gwāıV
hostage *mVxē
hot *-ıLıV, *-HēwŋV(n)
house *būıŋV, *qōıŋV, *GwıııV, *ānārGwi, *c[ı]ııı
household *qwāıE
humming-top *pVrŋV
hundred *HıōŋwE
hunger *gaŋE, *mŋ[ı]V
hungry *-HıgV
hurt *HŋŋVw-, *ıVŋVr-
husband *mıııŋV, *xudu(ıV), *ıaıV
hut *paŋo, *qōıŋV, *kııı
hyena *wamhV
hypocrite *xwıııV
ı (ı-ıı p. pr.) *zō
ı (ııı pers. pronoun) *nı
ıce *zāwV, *mā(r)ıwı
ıclıclı *sırvıV
ııı *āŋE
ııı front *cwi, *wı(rV)
incise *-ıŋwE
inclusion *qāŋı
ink *sawānŋı
inner fat or pus *ŋāŋŋV
insect *ŋmŋV, *ŋwānVıı, *bāmbV, *xāraV, *wııııŋŋE, *ıındV, *qHwōııVŋı, *cıwŋV, *sēmŋā, *kākV, *cōıŋŋ, *ghŋŋŋV, *cwalıV, *LıVıV
interrogative pronoun *ıı, *cwi, *hi, *ııdV
interrogative pronoun (what) *āıı

interrogative pronoun (who, what) *xV
 interrogative stem *mV
 interval between legs *yali?V
 intestine *xHontV, *gchmV
 intestine (large) *bherxV
 intestine(s) *kwicE
 intoxicating liquor *Hxōnē
 iron *hilagV, *mōōxV, *xwōwV
 itch *HŭxVw-, *ekwV
 jackal *bhercI, *chwōlē
 jackdaw *qHwāyV
 jar *qHuntV, *kwōdV, *kwVmdarV, *HecōwV, *gažinV
 jaw *HāōV, *HāōQ, *xlnčV, *čāmaGū
 joint *kāliljV, *HricV, *wōmdV
 jug *gažinV
 juice *pīngwā
 jump *kān[č]V, *kanjV
 jump (from above) *-ōrgA
 kennel *iāmāI, *iāiV
 kerchief *kānzV
 kernel *jūmhV
 key *kuii, *hilagV
 key (or some other device) *gllowgV
 kid *xikV, *qHōcV, *bālcV, *gēšwV
 kidney *žawV, *kunHv, *čēčē
 kill *-iwxē, *irxwVr, *-ilqVw-, *VkwV
 kin *HilxiwV(-iV)
 kinsman *žāmV, *xai?V
 kiss *pā?V
 knead *kwVkv, *-HVqVē, *-Vā(w)V(n)
 knead (dough) *hiāūn
 knee *wēnžV, *qāmō(w)ā, *qHwaniV, *kāliljV, *nākwV, *kwānVčē, *HnēgV
 knee-bone *āngV
 knee-cap *āngV
 knife *čwīkwV, *HVrsA, *mirč(w)ē, *kīrV
 knit *-HikwVn, *-irxwVn, *-VλwE(n)
 knot *qwerqV
 know *-HaxVr-, *-āmpē, *-lqē
 knowledge *mēxV
 lace *hwimāV
 ladder *bVmēVrē, *gōnzi
 lake *hwmēhwa, *hwiri, *kālHV, *āVrV
 lamb *zilxU, *wili, *xlnxwV, *xāhā, *wliqō(rā), *wifhwV, *xwān?V, *čwōrgū
 lame *Hākv, *-alkV
 large *-lriV
 large fem. domestic animal (cow, mare) *qhwēiV
 large flat stone *hGwānū
 large intestine *qwaia
 larva *xVxV
 larynx *GwVnGwV, *mVqViv
 last year *VxwV, *xwājV
 laugh *-ōlē, *-HilVqVr
 lead *-ālēw, *-āčān, *-ā(n)qVw, *kwīwV, *jīš(w)i

lead (metal) *čHwāje
 leaf *bHacwe, *xāčā, *xwīr?V, *panGVihV, *Gwīr?i, *xāpi, *xapāliqwē
 lean *gwVčV, *jēqVw
 leap *ziV, *kanjV
 learn *-HimxwV
 leather bag *qwicVrV
 leather rope *xārwī
 leather sack *čēdV
 leather stirp *čwōli[ū], *HxōmV
 leathern sack *qēčV
 leave *-āiVr, *-agAr
 leaven *xōrHV
 leech *žimžV
 left *kwāčV, *VnāV, *čilapV(-iV)
 leg *Gēlu, *kHwanāV, *HnēgV
 leg bone *kwīrV, *bōiVkwō, *Hxwējma
 leg (of animal) *kwīrV
 leg-bone *iāks, *qāmō(w)ā
 lentil *hōw[ā]
 let *-āiVr, *-agAr
 lick *zižwV(r), *iamV
 licking *iamV
 lie *-inkwV, *-ālēw, *-VjwV, *-VgVl, *-ākAw, *-ēxE, *-agwV, *-axVr
 lie down *-inkwV
 life *čēlēwV
 light *kwānāV, *šVi?V
 light (of weight) *aliv, *kwimkV, *pabE,
 light-coloured *Hē[i]rV-, *HčarV, *čHwVbV-
 lightning *pārē
 limp *-alkV
 line *mōrgwV, *h(w)lčwV, *wīnχwā
 linen *nimsV
 lip *kwēmji, *xēlxamV, *xānpV, *simV
 liquid *čēmtū, *xwamV
 liquid (adj.) *xHwemV
 liquid secretion *rHoxV
 liquor *mHādwV
 listen *-i(r)kVl
 listen (> to talk) *-a(m)sV
 little *jiHV, *-ahV
 liver *HilāV, *wēmčū
 lizard *čēxV/, *mēVliqV, *čVrčV, *kVm(V)čV, *čuiV, *žVivjV, *xwiliwliV
 lock *rēnqwi, *kwēiV, *kuii
 log *HāxVnV, *kara, *dwiq(w)V, *iāžV, *kākV, *xVčV, *kōrdV
 long *HāxuiV, *-HūqVn, *qā?VrV, *-HilqV
 long bone *stinō
 long branch *čhwōra
 long hair *Hrčžwā, *mōčū, *GwēžV, *mēčuri, *kwīnčwV
 long rag *mērsA
 look *-VrλwEn, *wercV, *-HimsV, *H[o]kV, *ziV
 looming *čilxwV
 loop *iHvnkV, *iāhwē, *kōčV, *wāj(VH)V
 loop on belt *qHwarjV
 lose *-ēfwVn, *-igwVl, *-HurqV, *-aGwV(n)

louse *nēmɿ, *ǵānʔV
 love *-inɿwV
 low *iŋχV
 lower part *-ōχA, *ʔwāχwV
 luck *wēnλwē, *kirhē
 lung *pēχV, *ǵwəlōV(rŋ)
 lynx *cānǵV
 maimed *cHō[ɪ]GV
 make *-HōǵĒ
 make soft *kwVkV
 male *līwLĒ, *mōrLŬ, *cwiǵo, *wēršē, *mīlǵŋ, *kwŋnVɪV, *ʔirλwV, *mŋnxV
 male (animal or human) *χōɪʔV
 malt *winǵV, *λwinhV, *ǵwāndV
 man *līwLĒ, *cwiǵo, *HīrkwĒ, *mŋnxV
 mane *cūrĀV, *ǵāthi, *pVhVɪV, *λwīrV, *GwēzV, *HincwV, *ǵ(w)āmʔɔ, *k(w)āswi, *bāiV
 manger *hwīrgV(nV), *ɪwōnʔc
 manure *λwīrdi, *Hrēmkwī
 many *bŋHV, *iāwqV
 march *harχi
 mare *farnē, *ǵwāǵc
 mark *hāwāǵi
 marrow *iūmhV
 marsh *λwīlǵwV
 marten *cārgwi, *χHVr[č]V, *cĒrǵV, *hŋwVɪǵĒ
 master *ʔVǵV
 mastix *kwVnV
 mattock *Hrāǵū, *ǵaǵa
 maturity *j[ō]rǵi
 meadow *HēnqwV, *mīcŋŋ, *HwVʔV
 measure *rāχV, *-āicŋm
 measuring vessel *ǵārdV
 measuring vessel (4-5 kg) *rāχV
 meat *χwliʔi, *rāǵi, *ǵāǵV
 medlar *cāmčō
 melt *-lǵwĀr, *-lǵVn
 mercy *ǵāmbi
 middle *-Hīqwa, *-ōGwV, *-cĒĒ, *hāmčĒ
 milk *-HōǵĀi, *rhāλwŋ, *ǵāmʔV, *χanʔā, *nhēλV, *-āmǵŋ
 milk product *awīra
 milk product (butter, cheese) *nhēλV
 milk product (cheese) *χanʔā
 millet *λwīʔwV, *bōicwī
 mint *cVɪrV
 mire *rōiʔi
 mirror *rHāχwVnV
 mitten *xaiV
 moisture *hŋmēhwa
 molar *qāmkv
 mole *kwimje, *ɪVnǵō
 month *wōmǵō
 moon *wōmǵō
 moral experience *bičē
 morning *bāǵa, *hwērī
 mortar *kwVmdarV

mosquito *kārā
 moss *āāmāV
 moth *pārVpāiV, *ʔw(i)nīrcĒ, *qāwǵ(w)l
 mother *babV, *nānV, *dājV, *jājV, *ʔānV(jV)
 mould *ǵāχwA, *bhincwi, *λwēiʔc, *qudV
 mound *mōǵwV, *GwiniV
 mountain *wicc, *fānV, *muñaiV, *bārǵV, *rǵwĀ, *bēngwā, *bōHoiV
 mountain goat *bHēmāi, *hānχV, *whiswe, *wHīrχV, *λiHmV, *Gamčā
 mountain pass *wārχV, *ǵhwaǵi
 mountain pasture *wīlǵwV
 mountain ridge *hāwǵrǵē, *kīwɪV
 mountain slope *ʔāwqV, *Hā[n]ǵV
 mouse *rǵwĀ, *hānǵwā, *qweicā, *jVcwĒ
 mouth *HāoiV, *ǵwēcV, *bēkwā, *hkwēiV, *cŋwŋiHV, *cwinǵV, *hōmGwī
 mouthful *χwim(V)ŋV
 move *-ɔiV, *-iǵA, *-ēʔV
 movement of air *λ[a]rǵV
 mow *-ōcV
 mucus *mHārčwV, *h[a]mǵū
 mud *iūrV, *pāliǵwā
 mule *qwilcōmV
 muscle *ǵekŋ, *ǵēhmV, *cwiwV
 mushroom *shwōmkV
 musical instrument *dwōnʔV
 muzzle *qHwangwV, *malǵwV, *ǵumVāV
 nail *hāwīnŋ
 naked *-HīcĀi, *ʔādV, *kHwenčwV
 name *ǵwērhi
 name of a season *bŋinʔV
 nap *ǵāthi
 narrow *-VīcV, *qwarHV, *cHVrdV, *iVjāV
 navel *ǵōnʔū
 near *hīǵVrV, *bāmV
 neck *ǵārV, *qHwōiV, *dHāqwĀ, *rǵwĒ
 negative particle *dV, *ǵō
 neighbour *LōiV, *cūqā
 nephew *χudu(iV)
 nest *ǵ(w)irʔV, *mōngwē
 net *qwirʔV
 nettle *mhānǵi, *uēlyV
 new *cānʔV, *-VčwV
 night *hniǵwŋ, *bŋsV, *ʔiēlā, *rVmāλ
 nine *ʔiǵwi
 nipple *mōmV, *biǵA, *iŋwǵi, *hunji
 nit *ǵānʔV, *jaHnā, *cŋinhV, *sarasV
 noise *GōiHV, *bŋērʔV
 noodles *ǵi[r]ǵwV
 nose *mīhŋwɪŋ, *qHwangwV, *pūrV
 not (negative particle) *hŋV
 now *ǵwē, *h[ā]nV
 nut *wārλV, *qāwχwV
 oak-tree *χwīrkV, *nīrχV, *mhōgwe, *nŋčē
 oat flour *winǵV, *ǵwāndV, *cwiwHV
 oath *nēkwī, *qwejŋ

object made of iron *māðxV
 obstacle *xōnV, *čānkV
 odorous grass *HmāfhwV, *māfhwVrV, *swVtV, *šVāVjmV, *stwirV
 odour *HmāfhwV
 offence *Gwātho
 offspring *mhēlqwV
 old *swērho, *HnāqwwV
 old (person) *ōnqV(IV)
 one *cHō
 one day (two days) after tomorrow *ēVmv
 one of several wives *qHāmVēwV
 oneself *šl
 oneself (3d-4th class) *č[ū]
 onion *p[ē]lV, *kwāncV, *xšwχV
 open *-aχwVn, *-ēwλ(w)V, *-aχV
 opening *bHārčē, *k[ir]jV, *k[is]V
 ordure *čHlqwā
 orphan *pVsv, *HubV
 otter *χHVr[č]V
 outerwear *gārV
 owl *līmV, *būhu
 ox *jōmčō
 pack *x[ā]lV
 pack-saddle (for a donkey) *kwāncV
 paint *ēōl, *-lrxwVl
 palate *hkwēlV, *HniχwV
 palm of hand *gēmiV, *bHakV
 panther *čānqV
 part of a spindle *tHVnkvV, *wōngū
 part of arm or leg *b[ā]lV
 part of door *māānē
 part of face *bēkwā
 part of face under the nose *pūrV
 part of leg *χwVnV, *gwizV, *lHālqwwV
 part of stomach *qHwllqwwV
 partridge *GēGVbv
 pass over *-ēV
 paste *-aswVn
 pasture *malxwē
 patch *dHeqwwV
 paternal uncle *ēmV
 path *Hrinl
 paw *kwānVčē, *b[ā]lV, *kwāsV, *HapV
 pay *māšwē, *mVxwV
 pay tribute *-VšwV
 peach *qVrčā
 pear *yōnV, *qHūro
 pea(s) *qōr?ā
 pebbles *malčV
 peg *hāwlnV
 pen *šlV
 penis *bilV
 penthouse *cVGVrV
 perceive *-HaxVr-

person *Hlrkwē
 peater *-lrx(w)V
 phlegm *Hāχ-tu(jV)
 pick *-lōdV, *-lrxVr, *-člkwV[n], *-lilwVr
 piece *qāčl, *čāmcV
 piece of log *gōrV
 piece of wood *čwēχV
 pier *bōlāV(-lV)
 pierce *-VχV
 pig *wHārāwā, *šā[r]qV, *Hōqwa
 pigeon *lānwē, *GwlnGwV
 pile *šāihl
 pillar *qHwVqV
 pillow *GHlrlwV, *γlmiV
 pimple *mōmV, *lwar?l, *līmāwV
 pincers *Gāāmcā
 pinch *-lōdV
 pine-tree *bhlākwV
 pipe *blāwV, *HpeilV, *dāwōdō, *lāmhl
 pit *kHwōrV, *wVrkV, *gāwāndV, *gwVntV, *dwōnkV, *lerjwe
 placher *qHunlV
 pitchfork *qHōnlV, *xōlnā, *kwānāV
 place *jlcwā, *wirāw, *wllqwc, *māwānV, *mēlčV
 plain *dwlrqV, *čālV, *ārV, *HwV?V
 plait *kōlčwl, *čūrāV, *q(w)ān?š, *šlmišV, *kwlnqwwV, *k(w)lāw, *šāilV, *-VλwE(n), *Hrvčē
 plane *-Vwčā
 plane-tree *plrl
 planking (for the ceiling) *garV
 plant *hāčā, *plāwV, *čāmhV
 plaster *čHēpl, *lšwV(r)
 plateau *čālV
 play *HōgV, *-HlrxwV
 playful *HōgV
 pledge *mVxē
 plot *HēnqwwV
 plot of land *HdūrV
 plough *-āmzū, *-ērāV, *gwltanV
 ploughshare *čwālvV, *mō[n]qV
 pluck *-lōdV, *-lilwVr
 plug *?ēmlwV
 pod *hāilVlV
 point *-āhV, *mhōrcū, *kwēkē, *čūmV
 pointed stick *čōwrē
 pole *bhōnqV, *hwēbē, *gōrV, *apVlV, *χVčV
 pond *hwrl
 pool *hāwēhāwā
 popular assembly (godekan) *glm?l
 possession(s) *qwāje
 possibility *jelāV
 post *bhōnqV, *hwēbē, *qHwVqV
 pot *qwāpā
 pound *-VqVn
 pour *-lwcā, *-lVl, *-VχVn, *HVqVr, *-Hōšāl, *-lāmzē, *-VlV, *-ōšwV, *-Hāčwā, *HlrgVl, *HēχwV

power *ɕäqV
 praise *-liɕV
 prayer *kʰipɪ, *kākV
 pregnant *GHōnl
 preserve *HūqwA
 press *ɕVqV, *hiɕŪn, *HiɕĀn
 pretence *xwɪʔV
 price *maswɛ, *mVxwV
 prick *ɕäɕɛ
 prickly weed *jhāta
 prince *nɪwc(w)Ā, *ʔVĀV
 prohibitive particle *ma
 protruding part *mhərɕŪ
 provide *-ikĀr
 pull *-HɪqV(r), *-ɪwgŪn
 punch *-VĀV
 puppy *kiɕi, *kwimɕ(w)ä
 pus *xwɛ[n]ɕV, *xāmVɕV, *rōiʔi, *mHārɕwV, *λwirdi, *nɛwqū
 pussy-cat *biɕV
 put *-āɬɛw, *-ɪɕĀ, *-VgVi, *-ɛxɛ, *-ɪɬV
 put clothes (on the upper body) *-VĀV
 put on (trousers, shoes) *-omɬV
 put (together) *-ākĀw
 quail *Hwɛɪɕɛ, *mVqV
 quarrel *-HəɕwAn
 quick *-āɕV, *wVnɕA
 quiet *-eʔ(w)Vr, *-uɬwV
 rag *ɕwɪlV, *bɛrtkV
 rain *-uGwV, *HVɪɕV, *ɕäɖV, *ɕōwgi, *ɕigV, *ʔxōmV
 rain season *GHōlnV
 rain-cloud *mārĀwĀ
 raise *HɛɕV-
 rake *ɕVxwV
 rake up *-HɛɪɕU
 ram *kwɪʔni, *dwānʔV, *wɪqə(rə), *ɕ[ə]rV, *hānxV
 ram (2 and more years old) *qāɪkwə
 ramson *p[ɛ]lV, *awəpV
 rare *ʔVnɕV
 rash *qVrɪwV, *biɕi
 raspberry *gwapV
 rat *hānɕwə
 raven *qHwāyV, *bHɛɕV, *gənhə
 ravine *bɛngwā, *jhɛrgwi, *kHwərV, *qəqə, *kɪwɪV, *qāhwaɪ
 raw *ʔɛɕwĀ, *ɕākwV
 ray *ɕVɪʔV
 reach *-arqVr
 reap *-ɪxĀ, *-ōɬwV
 receptacle *kūɖwV
 recite *-ɪkwVn
 red *hɪrV, *ɕVɕV, *hāwmiV
 red copper *rɛwɕwɪ
 red-haired *HrāsV
 reddish *HrāsV

reed *Hnɕwɛ, *ɕāʔV, *ʔārɕV
 reed-pipe *ɕHwɪV
 reflexive pronoun (obl. base) *HinV-
 reins *ʔxwɪrɪ
 rejoice *-HɪlVqVr, *-ɪrɕwVr
 relative *ɕāmV
 relative in the 2d/3d generation *ɕEnV
 rennet *-ɪrāɬV
 require *-HikV
 resemble *-āɬwVn
 reservoir *hāwɪV
 resin *pɪngwĀ
 return *-ɪɕwɛ
 rheumatism *ʔwɛni
 rib *rɪmswe
 rich *birɕV
 right *nāwɕV, *-ɪnkwV, *Hānɕɛ
 ring *HɪɕV
 ripe *-Vɕɛ
 ripen *-Vɕɛ, *-ɪrqwĀ
 rise *-əqɛ, *-Hɪqɛ
 river *hāwɪV, *ĀErV, *ɪmɕwĀ, *bHwadVrV, *ɕVrV
 rivulet *ĀErV
 road *Hrɛmɕɪ, *Hrɪnɪ
 road metal *ɕāmpV
 roar *būrbV
 roast *-ɪmɕɛr, *-ɛɕŪ, *-ɪɪɕwɛ
 roast (grain) *-ɛɕĀ
 roasted grain *qəwVHmV, *qHwārɕV
 rock *rɪqwĀ, *bɛngwā, *qwɪɕ, *xwɛɪu, *swāɖV
 rock layer *bɛɕne
 rod *ɕw[ɛ]ɪi
 rodent *wɪnɬViV
 roe *ɕiHmV
 roll *-ɪrbwV, *gwɛrV, *-akūr
 roof *xəɕwV, *GawV, *həɪqwɛ
 root *HɪɬiV(-iV), *mɪrgwā, *GwabV, *Gwɪrʔi, *mhɛɪqV
 rope *HxəɕwV, *ɪāhwɛ, *qəwāiV
 rot *HVɪqV, *-HɪɕV, *-Vrɕɛ, *-ɪwVr
 rotate *-akūr
 rough skin *barkwĀ
 round *gɪrgwV, *gwɛrV
 round bread *ɕimɕwV(iV)
 round object *gwɪɪɕwə
 rub *Hārqa, *ɕVqV, *-ābV, *-VĀ(w)V(n)
 rubbish *ɕɛxwĀ
 ruins *xānɕwV
 ruler *nɪwc(w)Ā
 rumour *Gwātho
 rumple *-HVqwɛ, *-VĀ(w)V(n)
 run *ʔiɬV, *-arkV, *-ɪqwĀ, *-ɪɪVr, *hɪɪwɛ, *-ɪɬwVn, *-ɪɕwV(r), *kən[ɕ]V
 rust *mHirɕwV
 sack *ʔwɪrɕV(-nV), *GHɪrɬwV, *ɕiɕaɪV

saddle *xwile
 saddle-girth *qwaiv
 sale *nhaλV
 saliva *hamvčV, *h[a]mɜu, *hāiv
 salt *cwēnhV
 sand *čhālu, *čāmpV, *kwōpī, *swūre
 saw *jalχa(-nV), *?irχwV
 say *-iʔwV, *HilV
 scared *-vrχV(r)
 scatter *HioqVn-, *-HēχwV
 scattered *-ūsV
 scold *-axA
 scoop *čāqwa, *qwišV
 scrape *-VwqV, *čax(w)V, *HērχwA, *-alkwV[n]
 scratch *-ekwV, *qāigV, *čVqV, *HērχwA, *čax(w)V
 scum *χwərVtV
 scythe (or a similar cutting tool) *h[i]šwV
 sea *jarλwI
 seam *lūhV
 search *čEnχV(n), *-iχwA, *H[o]kV
 season *rāʔwV
 secretion *mhVrgV
 secretion in the eye *pHulqI
 see *-agwV, *-HārčV(n), *-āmčē, *-VrλwEn
 seed *HilχiwV(-iV), *qwačwV(-iV), *mōhwV, *thwōmV, *hāmki
 self *šI, *č[ū], *HinV-
 sell *-ičV
 send *-ašV
 set on fire *-ikwV
 seven *?črēI
 severe *lwērV
 sew *-irbē, *-ilqVn, *?irχwVr
 sewing pattern *lūhV
 shadow *HwVnV
 shake *-aqVi, *-čzwēI, *-ākē
 shame *?nVhV, *HimigV, *n[a]čV
 sharp *hūšwA, *-čmkV, *čaqV
 sharp stick *χwimil(-a-), *čāiʔwV
 sharpen *hūšwA
 shave *HamχV
 shawl *kānzV
 she-goat *?ejšwe
 sheaf *šw[č]li, *kōwiV, *kwimV
 shear *-VrgwE, *-VGAl, *HamχV
 sheath *GōLV, *qHwarV
 shed *χV:χV, *χwibV, *awēIV, *cVGvV, *wāršV, *bōrGwV, *Hvrxē
 sheep *?ilχU, *dwanʔV, *wifhwV, *mharšV, *čwōrgū, *iVmbagV
 sheep's tail *warqV
 sheep-flock *hVʔV
 sheepskin *Gērkwē
 shelf *χVhVmv, *qacwV
 shell *čhārV
 shin *wēnšV, *kā[i]kV
 shirt *?wirqV(-nV)

shoe *mVčwV
 shoot *mhēičwV
 short *šikwA, *kHōjwV/, *-VičV, *qanja
 short-eared (hornless) animal *kHōjwV/
 short-eared ram *qHuV
 shoulder *nHlwG, *qārčwV
 shoulder-blade *bHərχV
 shout *HarχU
 shovel *bVχV, *kāiV, *qHōnLV
 shovel up *-HēiχU
 shroud *musurū
 shrub *šagV
 sickle *m[ā]nχwV, *čVnV, *mirč(w)E
 sickness *?uniV
 side *HilwV, *bāgwā, *bVdV, *rimawe, *Gw[ā]iō, *?ilGI
 side (of the body) *būga
 sleeve *čāčV
 sift *?ižur-, *lā[m]čV, *-i[V
 slight *?werV
 sign *hāwāšI
 silent *-uλwV, *-a(m)sV
 silly *HōgV
 silver *hērVcwI, *iVtV(wV)
 similar *-āλwVn
 sin *hāGAl
 sinew *HpeIV, *χāiV
 sing *-čλwV
 singe *-črčAl
 sink *-HogV
 sister *-ičI
 sit *-ičwV, *-āsa, *-eʔ(w)Vr
 six *?rānšE
 skeln *kweV, *čikʔi
 skin *bHāčwe, *χʔamV, *Gērkwē, *?wārčwā, *GōLV, *GēičwV, *χwajčā, *šānkwwV,
 *qHāčwa, *kharI, *kōnmo, *čhārV, *-ārčV
 skin (of an animal) *ičʔwnI
 skin (of animals) *wākwV
 skull *gwi[i]gwā
 sky *šōwI, *šāma
 slaughter *?irχwVr, *-ilgwV-
 sledge *bōiʔV
 sleep *-VwVn, *-HVwχAn, *-VjwV
 sleeve *HilwV, *χēiHe
 sleigh *bōiʔV
 slide *-ižwV, *čirχwV
 slime *x[č]rxV, *čHēpI
 slip *čirχwV
 slope *malšwV, *jāčrgwi
 slow *hāiVhV
 small *kiʔwV, *jiHV, *mikwV, *-HimGwV, *HagwV, *-ahV, *HVnēV
 small bird *hnič(w)I, *čHwiliV, *šāqwV, *gōrčā, *šakV, *šwanVjū
 small bone *k(w)inV
 small cattle *bhāλwI
 small fruit or berry *neλwV

small intestine *qwičV
 small stack *kwimjV
 small stone *kŋrkŋ(-nV), *kəmkV, *čāčwV, *ŋhēwəč, *čHwlmV, *χHērχV, *iVrčwē
 small thing *kālķV
 small wild animal *dVIVgV
 smallpox *kəmkV
 smear *-āšwV, *-arkV, *ʔiʒwV(r), *-irχwVl
 smell *HwinjV, *HmīhVw
 smoke *kwlnhV, *kVwrV, *mūsi
 snail *civχV
 snake *bēmjV, *ēāhV, *wHōrλwVlV, *šadV, *čVrčV
 snatch *HIVqVn-
 snivel *qHōmVjV
 snout *x[č]rxV, *hwe[n]χV, *mHārčwV, *qHōmVjV, *HwinjV
 snow *dwlχi, *jāwzā, *marχalV, *jwλV, *jansē
 snow-drift *marχalV, *ʒwVnč(w)V
 snowstorm *ʒwVnč(w)V
 snuff *HwinjV
 soak *-VjwV, *-āλVr
 sock *šHwātā
 soft *pabE, *ʔčmtū, *kəmjV, *kwVķV
 sole *kʷar(V)čV
 some flat part of body *kiljwV
 some inner organ *pHVrtjwV
 some interior part of body *kwiljV
 some internal organ *rVHVnλwŋV
 some part of house *χhāni
 some part of leg *qWVrtV
 some part of the stomach *jālχV
 some scraping instrument *qaHlaχi
 something round or rotating *kwVrkV
 son *-lšwē, *dwirχE
 son-in-law *mVχwA
 song *maGwV, *jišwA
 soot *Hrimčwŋ, *swūre, *ēāhV, *qldV
 soul *ʔāmsa
 sound *maGwV, *hčwālō, *HarχU
 soup *hwnērqu
 sour *ččwA, *āmVjčwA, *čāķwV
 sour cream *kāmpā, *λōrHV
 source *ʔwincV
 southern slope *włse
 southern slope of a hill *šwēnV
 sow *-VλwVn, *-āmzčŪ, *-ērāV, *ʒa[r]qV
 spacious *hVnλV
 spade *bŋχV
 spadix *thwəwV, *wēλV
 span *HrVčŋ, *čŋmhV
 spark *čwijVkwō
 speak *-[i]mcŪ, *-algwA, *-iχwA
 sperm *čVmv
 spider *χarVcwV
 spill *gwēmV
 spin *-HikwVn, *-ilšVn, *-iʒV, *-irχwVn, *ʔVwλVr

spindle *ʔwōngū, *ʒVgwV, *tirungV
 spine *gwālgV, *šVmV
 split *twəjV
 spittle *x[č]rxV, *twəjV, *šHātV
 spleen *wēmčŪ, *kwīčE, *qwičV, *ʒwilerzWŋ
 splinter *gwēmV
 split *-ānčE, *-irqWē(r)
 spoon *čāqWā, *qwiswa
 spot *jemjV, *bičl, *kanjV, *dHeqWV
 spout *čōčV
 spray *iHānkō
 spring *hwljVmpū, *jwōnʔe, *ʔwāj(VH)V, *ʔwincV
 spring wool *GērVnV
 sprout *λōrχwV, *hākwV
 squeeze *HilčAn
 stack *GwHVbŋ, *gHānjV, *χāiV, *Gwānmē, *HrVʒŋ
 staff *hrensā
 staircase *bVrkwV
 stairs *bōilλV(-lV), *qHardV
 stake *qāmkV, *jālčwV
 stalk *Gwlrʔi, *Gwāli, *χūiV, *hmāhwŋ
 stalkfuel *lčkwV
 stall *awēlV, *bōrGwV, *HVRχE
 stand *-VmčVr
 stand up *-VmčVr, *-āGV, *HērčV-
 star *ʒwhāri
 stay *-āšA, *-ērχwV, *-āiVr, *ʔima(n)-, *-argwVn
 steal *-igwVl, *-unzčE, *HirGwē
 steam *pHāχV, *h[ā]iʔa
 stem *thwəwV
 stemthing *čwV
 step *ʔaiʔŋ
 step (of stairs) *qHardV
 step-relation *Hubŋ
 stern *ēwērV
 stick *jwēlʔe, *gāl(V)gV, *dwāli, *mučŪ, *jālčwV, *čēiēčl, *rēxwŋ, *k(w)ančV, *λhāwāχV, *čwēχV, *GHwālčV, *qwērčV, *kara, *hrensā, *lārʒV, *kālīV, *čwiliŋŋ
 *derλV, *ʔircV, *gālV, *gilV
 stick into *-ilqWVn, *ʔVrjV, *-HVik(w)Vn
 sting *ʔVrjV
 stinging insect *bēlʒwi, *miʒA
 stink *ʔwlnGV
 stir *-irkŋr, *-eʒwēl
 stocking *šHwātā
 stomach *λwlnʔi, *čārHV, *člwχV, *bVnkʷA, *HōnχwV, *-iraλV
 stone *GwērV, *λātū, *hrōmčwe, *hčārnū, *GōrGV, *χemqwV, *hāwVčō, *qwilē, *šwādV, *wāčV, *ʒwmkV
 stone (of fruit, nut) *jūmhV
 stone pillar *čHwildV
 stone plate *HVn(V)λV, *bēne
 stone plate or shed *λēpV
 stone roller (for roofs) *mVklirV
 stool *γlmtV
 stop up *ʔčmšwV

track *lētihV
 trap *q̄wimīV, *xonŋ, *čānkV
 tree *daro, *xwirḱV, *šwōnV, *dwālčV, *nirxV, *Gwāji, *rāswe, *čōiV, *Hā(r)žwi,
 *Hnirkwŋ, *āhwaū, *HrōLwē, *jālŋA
 tree (hornbeam, beech-tree) *xwirʹi
 tree or bush *q̄čleq̄l
 tree (rowan, cornel) *ʔājzāiʔV
 tree-fungus *HVpitiV
 tremble *-HāGwVn, *HlaswA, *-āḱĒ, *ʒ[u]rʒV
 trip *harxi
 troops *ʔwāhri
 trough *lāiV, *q̄amʹō, *qwaq̄wV
 true *wīmāV
 tube *dāhōdwō, *gwim(V)gV
 tuber *qahwV, *Gʹiwiē
 turf *qhwōrV
 turn round *-iršwV, *-ircV, *ʔVwāVr
 turn sour *-ItwVr
 turn to ice *-əčōr-
 twenty *Gō
 twig *pHōmʒV, *ʒw[č]li, *gwēmV
 twirl *-ircV
 twist *-Hizā[m]
 two *qHwā, *nāwāi
 two-year-old animal *nāwāi
 udder *wHenx̄e, *Gwāiŋe, *šāmʔV
 unbind *-HōjčwV
 uncultivated land *HčVre
 undernourished *jeq̄wV
 understand *-ičwēl
 unpleasant emotion *hVmčV
 unripe *HmičwV
 until *jejal-, *-HōjčwV
 up *ā
 upper part of body *būāV
 urge *-ārḱĒw, *-VčV
 urinary bladder *hnrḱwV, *rčGwV
 urine *čExwA, *ḱwōrfV, *hnrḱwV, *ʒwērc, *čāwnV, *čVmV
 uvula *qwił
 valley *dwirāV
 variegated *qHārčV
 vehicle *hwālkwe, *āwiri
 vein *HpeīV, *xwiʹrV, *gēhmV, *tāmāi
 veranda *qVmcV
 vessel *phāiV, *ḱwarV, *šVnVd(w)V, *kiV, *ičqŋ, *bōnʒ(w)V, *iVručV, *uār(V)GV,
 *qHēcwV, *gāpē, *jāqV, *ʔVrsāwV, *GwāiV, *gōrV, *iāḱwV, *q̄wVrdV, *qwaḱā, *qwišV,
 *gārdV
 village *š(w)irʔV, *šwerʹV, *GwlnʔV, *xwōrhV, *GwāiV
 vineyard *ʔčqV
 virtue *kiriŋe
 voice *hčwāiō, *jišwā
 vomit *-āwčā
 vulva *ḱhāičV
 waist *būga, *-Hīq̄wā, *-āčGwV
 wake up *-ēčV

walk *-HimGwV, *-IxwV, *-grāŋŋ, *-arkV
 wall *bōlcĒ, *q̄wīndō, *lāice, *čārV
 want *-inčwV
 war *čēiV
 warm *-Vwāwēr, *mhāiV-
 warm up *-Vwāwēr
 wart *čVnVke, *hīmV, *čāniwV
 wash *-Hāčwā, *-Vrcwā, *-VrcV, *HirgV, *-ImčVn, *-VāVn
 water *xānhi
 water jug *parčē
 wattle *žiV
 wattle-fence *hāzārV
 wave *-ēzweł
 wax *čwīlV, *q̄amʹV, *HāwārV, *nHircV
 we (1st p. pl. incl.) *Lā
 we (excl.) *ži
 weapons *ḱwVIVʒV
 weasel *čārgwi, *darqʹV, *riḱwā, *tenāwV, *čērcV, *hwiʒē
 weave *-iqār, *-iršē(l), *HrVčē, *-irxwVn
 wedding *bilitV
 wedge *jālcwV
 weed *bVhānkV, *q[ʒ]rV, *mVĠA(-IV), *mhāGwē, *qHwāičē, *mVlcV, *mVīāV(-IV),
 *qaiʔV, *bVhV, *iVmV, *ʔVičē, *ʔVičē, *ʔāmāV
 weep *-ōzV, *-VāVn
 weigh *-ālcŋm
 wei *-āλVr, *čHaxV, *čēmtū, *čHārV, *-iV, *-āλVr
 wheat *Gōlʹe, *qHwōžā
 wheel *hwālkwe, *āwiri, *ʔwiliā
 whet *ʔāwē, *-ēmkV
 whetstone *ʔāwē, *jālxa(-nV)
 whey *čāhwa, *xanʹā, *ʔVIVdwV, *šārHV
 which (interrogative pronoun) *kw
 whim *xwiliʔV
 whip *čāVm-jērāwV
 whirligig *pVrkV
 whistle *šHwV
 white *čHwVbV-, *čakwV-, *ḱVliʔV
 white clay *čuiV
 who *kw
 whole *žōiV
 wick *HmVrʒā
 wide *hārčē, *hwaVnāV
 wild animal *čwēnʔV
 wild turkey *ʔVmsāčē
 win *iāV, *-iχV
 wind *Hāwīma, *āHibV, *mīčwV, *āarV, *āwāiʔV, *dwīHV
 wind (v.) *-iāVn, *-Hizā[m]
 window *ʔōncwā, *hwaḱmgV
 wine *ʒw[č]lnʔi
 wineskin *GōčV, *q̄ečV, *gikV, *q̄wicVrV
 wing *HīuēV, *q̄liʔi, *āiia, *iʹšmV
 winnow *ʔāhV
 winnower *čāčV
 winter *HāwlnV
 winter (rainy season) *čōjwiliV

wither *čVχV
 witness *wlmqV
 wolf *wamhV, *bhērcI
 woman *qwanV, *λ(w)lrV, *λlnhV, *rilēwi, *hrVkwV, *3HŷjV, *cwōjV
 wood *rāswe, *rēxwV, *mhērqwē, *kākV, *hwālsə, *λwindV, *dūčV, *ʔircV
 wooden ladle *kājV
 wooden plough *pVrVcē, *Hrājcū
 wooden saddle for a donkey *bwalidV
 wooden shovel *qwiswa, *jā[i]lwV
 wooden vessel *jāpV, *čāqwa, *qəm̄ō, *HVbikV, *gwəjV, *χulV
 woodpecker *χwēlχwV
 wool *lāswe, *χwāhni, *balV, *mōwχē, *ʔalχV
 word *lčHwV, *rēšU, *maGwV, *hčwālo
 work *-liqVn
 worker *mīlāV
 worm *bēmV, *ʔəm̄kV, *mHilaGwV, *šadV, *qānʔV, *čVrcV, *hābarV, *šārI,
 *qāwq(w)l, *hwe(m)jI, *balVcV
 worm or insect *χwērcV
 worm or reptile *GHwōpV
 wound *HrVnλV, *HrVnλV, *-lčV(w), *HlrgwVr
 yard *qōnʔV, *HdūrV
 year *swērho, *šwānI, *HχwlnV
 yeast *χōrHV
 yellow *-ēgwA, *HčwārV, *čakwV-
 yesterday *swənʔV
 yoke *ʔrēgwē
 yoke stick *rikwV
 you (2d p. plur. pron.) *zwe
 young goat *čimV, *bja]cV
 young goat or sheep *šwēmhV
 young kinsman *čVduiV
 young man *kwVnVjV
 young (of an animal) *kwārnV
 young of animals *wīhV
 young (of animals) *čāku, *bHāēI, *šānV[k]wV
 young (of animals, birds) *kwirčē
 young (of donkey) *qHwančV

Типография ВВЦ
Тир. 500 экз. Зак. 114.